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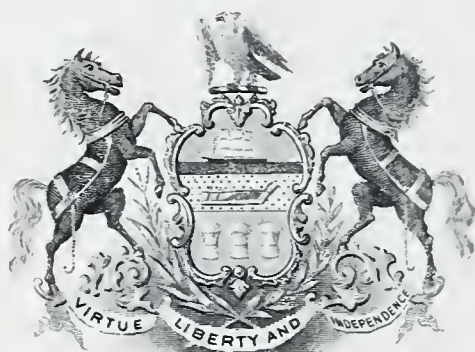
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THE



EVANGELICAL REVIEW

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“Es sei denn, dass ich mit Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, oder mit öffentlichen, klaren, und hellen Gründen und Ursachen überwunden und überweiset werde, so kann und will ich nichts widerrufen.”—LUTHER.

VOL. IV.



GETTYSBURG:

PRINTED BY H. C. NEINSTEDT.

1852-53.

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THE
EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XIII.

JULY, 1852.

ARTICLE I.

THE NECESSITY AND OBLIGATION OF CONFESSIONS OF
FAITH.

By the Rev. J. A. Seiss, A. M., Cumberland, Md.

Ueber die Nothwendigkeit und Verbindlichkeit der kirchlichen Glaubensbekenntnisse, von Dr. Ernst Sartorius, Generalsuperintendent der Provinz Preuszen. Stuttgart: Verlag von S. G. Liesching, 1845. p. 59. (On the Necessity and Obligation of Confessions of Faith in the Church, by Ernst Sartorius, D. D., General Superintendent of the Province of Prussia, &c.)

DOCTOR SARTORIUS is a living German divine, who occupies a high position in the Church. He is a man of profound mind, and a forcible thinker. He has a liberal heart, a conciliating temper, and a firm faith. He is a leading man in the Evangelical Church of Prussia, and a sound Lutheran. Though not exactly of the exclusive High-Church School of Hengstenberg or Löhe, he is a decided opponent of Rationalism in all its forms. We take him to be a true churchman; but enlightened and moderate in his method of applying his principles. He is in no sense an *ultraist*, but a faithful student, and a true son of the Church. In a word, he is just such a man as to deserve a hearing on such a subject as we here find him discussing. And his conclusions

should have the more weight with the members of our Church in this country, inasmuch as they proceed from one who cannot be denounced as "*a bigoted old Lutheran.*"

The pamphlet, the title of which stands above, is a re-production of two essays contributed by its author to the *Preussischen Provinzialkirchenblatte* of 1844. The reason which he assigns for their re-publication in this newly elaborated form, is the immense and vital importance of the subject to the preservation of the Church. The treatise is, what its title indicates, an attempt to set forth the necessity and obligation of our Symbols. To use his own words: "Its only aim is, to strengthen those members of our church who have not yet departed from its principles, in the common maintenance of them; and to confirm the conviction, that in giving up her confessions, the Protestant church gives up herself, and that, by adhering to them, her lasting continuance as well as her living development is guaranteed." (Preface, p. 6). Our object in thus calling attention to it, is the same which animated him who composed it. We wish to bring before the readers of the Review a few thoughts on a point which has been somewhat debated of late in this country; and especially, to sustain the views which we personally entertain, by quotations from a high authority which has never before been put within the reach of the English reader.

That there exists a necessity for a symbol, or creed, in the church, is generally conceded by christians. But, it is very doubtful whether christians generally see and feel this necessity as they should. Otherwise it would be hard to account for the diversity, misunderstanding, and controversy which have arisen respecting creeds, and their binding force. The truth is, that the creed, or confession, is a fundamental and essential thing in the church. It is the first and strongest bond of church-fellowship — one of the great pillars on which the church rests. It was on Peter's *Confession*, not on his *person*, that Christ promised to build his Church. And from the very nature of the case, no one can be numbered in the communion of saints, who does not confess Christ with them; for this is the principal bond of their communion. The Scriptures lay great stress upon this point. "*With the mouth confession is made unto salvation.*" Rom. 10: 10. "*Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God.*" 1 John 4: 2. 3. "*Who-soever therefore, shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven.*" Matt. 10: 32.

The reason is obvious ; it is not the Bible, but the common acknowledgement and confession of what the Bible teaches, that constitute the bond of fellowship between believers. But hear our author.

“The necessity of Confessions of Faith in the church, is founded in the necessity of the church itself ; and this necessity of the church, as a religious communion, lies in the very nature of religion. The essence of religion is, the spiritual fellowship of man first with God, and next with his fellow-man. The medium of this spiritual fellowship, through which the Holy Spirit discloses himself to spirit, and unites it to himself in truth and love, is *the Word*. It is the Word of God by which his Spirit—his invisible Being — his eternal truth and love — reveals himself to the human spirit, and raises it into fellowship with himself. To this Word, faith on the part of other spirits is the response, and through it they receive the communication, realize its truth, and unite in fellowship. The holiest, surest, and hence the only normative or canonical record of the Divine Word, is the holy book of the Old and New Testament. This is the canon of Divine Revelation, the rule of our faith, and the book of the covenant between God and man, the substance and centre of which is Jesus Christ the *God-man*. But this covenant, made and perfected by the Redeemer, is designed, not only to unite man with God, but also to unite men themselves together in fellowship with their Maker ; especially as sin has severed the bonds of love between man and man, as well as between man and God. The re-union must, therefore, have a supernatural and Divine foundation. And those who are joined and united by the Spirit in Christ, in fellowship with each other, constitute the family, or *Church* of Christ.

“As a spiritual fellowship between God and man, religion, therefore, realizes itself through the Divine Word, which, as the testimony of the Holy Ghost, produces faith in men. But as faith lays hold of the love of God, it also produces love, by means of which man gratefully reflects the Divine grace, and at the same time embraces his fellow man as co-heir of the grace of life. And as the union with God depends upon faith in his Word, so also does the union with our fellow man in church-fellowship, although the medium in the two instances may not be the same. In the first instance the begetting Word of God produces the faith that unite man with his Maker ; in the second, faith produces the confessorial word of man, which is the medium of his spiritual fellowship with his neighbor. The Word produces faith, and faith reprodu-

ces the Word. 2 Cor. 4: 13. Ps. 116: 11. When the testimony of God has begotten faith in his Word, faith begets the testimony of man, by and in which he confesses the truth, and proclaims it to his neighbor as his own conviction. As then, the Divine testimony first establishes the Divine side of religion, as a fellowship with God; so the human testimony establishes the human side of religion, in which one man is united with another in communion of spirit and faith, and the congregation of believers is formed. If faith were to remain mute within, or only spoke in solitary devotion before God, it never would bring men together as a church, or produce a common worship; and the essential power of religion to form and preserve a spiritual communion among men would be wanting. But, as faith manifests itself externally in a confession before men, so far as that confession gains the consent of others, it establishes a united community of believers — a church, for which that confession becomes a symbol, or an external sign and bond of their fellowship.

“The Confession by means of the symbol is, indeed, not the only bond which unites believers. The entire symbolism of the external *cultus*, and each common act in it, serves a similar purpose. But, as all the radii of the Divine Revelation have their clearest centre in the Word, so also the developments of the outward *cultus* have their concentration in the common confession of the Word; and that confession of the faith is hence the constitutive symbol of the church. As far therefore, as the church is necessary, and as far as the church belongs essentially to the Divine System of Salvation, just so far does there exist a necessity for the symbol as the concentrated expression of its common faith, and for the confession as a manifestation of its general religious consciousness, in which its various members have been collected, and continue to collect.” p. 1, 2, 3. So far Dr. Sartorius.

There certainly is a mistake, which unfortunately influences many minds against Creeds, respecting the relative position of the confession and the Bible. The idea prevails, that in proportion to the importance attached to the creed, the Bible is depreciated—that just as the creed is brought forward, the Bible is repulsed. It has been more than intimated, by so called “American Lutherans,” that those of us who insist upon the authority of our symbols, wish to wrest the Bible from its place, and put it in the back-ground; notwithstanding that the symbols themselves reiterate what we never cease to assert, “*that the only rule and standard according to which all doctrines and teachers alike are to be judged and tried,*

are the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testament." (Epitome of the Form of Concord). And the argument is continually urged, the Bible is the Word of God, the creed is the word of man, and therefore, the Bible is everything, and the creed is nothing. Hence we have an idolizing of the Bible, which is just as superstitious in its character, and as lamentable in its effects, as the adoration of the host, or the worship of Mary. We do not say, that men are in danger of revering the Bible too much, or of assigning it too exalted a place. But all must agree, that the Bible is only to be revered in its true character, and according to its real design. To wrest it, Peter tells us, is destruction. God must be worshipped as he is, and not as we fancy him to be; else we become idolaters even in our attempt to worship the true God. Christ must be received in his true and proper offices, and not according to imaginary ones which we may assign him; otherwise our trust in him is no better than unbelief. And so the Bible must be accepted and held according to what it is, and not according to what it is not. The Bible is not a creed—not a confession—not even a systematically digested book of Christian doctrine. It is simply a revelation of certain Divine acts, facts, and wishes, upon which our faith is to be founded and our lives regulated, and in accordance with which our confession is to be made. The Bible is a book of naked truths addressed to man; the creed is man's apprehension of the truths, and the echo of them from the consciousness of his own soul. The Bible constitutes a canon—a law; the creed is only a testimony, as the Form of Concord wisely says: "Other writings shall not be held of equal authority with Holy Scripture, but shall be subordinate to it, and not received otherwise or further than as testimonies." (Epitome). The Bible conveys to us the Divine truth; the creed is the answer which that truth awakens in our hearts. The Scriptures are the rule of faith; but unless there is a living speaking faith, such as realizes itself in the confession, it is not a rule of faith any more than in name. But hear our author.

"The Symbol is no law—no prescription of the faith—but a confession—a testimony of it—as indicated in its form. It does not begin in the imperative *crede*, but in the indicative *credo*. *Credo*, begins the first, the Apostle's creed; and the last, the Form of Concord, has only translated the singular into the plural, and shows its interior connection with the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship in the oft recurring form: *Credimus, confitemur, et docemus*. Moreover this Form of Concord expressly affirms, that the symbols are not judges of

faith in the sense in which the Holy Scriptures are, but simple testimonies and declarations as to what the Scriptures contain. But, although a symbol, in this churchly conception, is no *rule* of doctrine or faith, but a mere confession of it, it still carries authority with it; not, indeed, in a lawlike or imperious way, but certainly in a way that is real and self-evident. For he that subscribes a creed, or consents with the confession of a church, is *ipso facto* a co-confessor of it; and only he who contradicts it, or protests against it, is freed from its obligation, whilst he takes the position of a dissenter, or adopts a different confession. But the subordinate relation of the symbol to the Holy Scriptures is at the same time here manifest, and is very fitly expressed by the older theologians to this effect: 'The Holy Scriptures inculcate what we are to believe; the symbolic books present what we have believed.' The Bible is the authentic record of Divine Revelation. As originally given to men, it is the only sacred canon of faith and practice. The symbol which follows it, bears to it the relation of a human testimony—a confession of belief in its Divine truth, to which it is entirely subordinate. And by this subordination to the Divine record, it distinguishes itself from everything like continuation of the Divine Revelation, and from every tradition which may be held as coördinate with the Scriptures, or invested with similar or equal canonical authority; such, as in the Roman Catholic Church, as even adds fundamentally different doctrines to the teachings of the Bible, and, not content to assume the position of a testimony to the faith in a confessory manner, as the Scriptures enjoin, lays down canons and decrees in a legislative way according to its own judgment and fancy. The Symbol is not intended, and ought not to be a *second Bible*—a continuation and amplification by the church of the apostolic and prophetic writings—but only the reflection of their light—only the testimony to the truth therein contained and unfolded to enlighten the souls of men, and which has verily become known and believed, and has established among them a spiritual fellowship with each other. But, although the human confession is subordinate to the Divine Word, it must nevertheless necessarily and inseparably appear in connection with the Word. The Divine Revelation is given to men, not to remain hidden from them. This would involve a contradiction. It has been given to be manifest to them, and to become common truth, light, and life to them. And this takes place by means of their knowledge and belief of it, and their confession and declaration of it as their belief, whereby they are

united into a congregation of believers, in a church, which is the spiritual body of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“The Scriptures are the rule of faith; and if they are to have anything to rule, they must necessarily require faith which they control and form into a confession. They are *the only* rule of faith, as Christ, the kernel and centre of the Holy Scriptures, is *the only* fountain of salvation; but as Christ the only Head and only Savior is not without the body, which is the Church which he saves; so the word of God, the only canon of faith, is not without the congregation of those who believe it, not without a confessing church and its ministers. And he that would acknowledge nothing but the Bible as authoritative, excluding every human declaration by which the truths of the Bible become known and are confessed, and setting aside every human response to it, seals his own lips—abolishes especially all living preaching, and confessing, and witnessing on the part of the church—establishes in their place the reading of the Scriptures in their original languages only—puts to silence all the hymns of the confessing congregation—yea, and denounces even prayer also, which is not the word of God to man, but the word of man to God. Thus the Divine canon would be *factor sine factum*, a light without illumination, a cause without a fact, a truth without living faith. This would then most evidently be an obligation to the dead unproductive *letter* of Scripture; and who would prefer such an obligation to death, to the obligation of the symbol? Thus bound to the Scriptures, we should at once plunge ourselves into the severest slavery to mere letters. And if we are only to be obligated to the spirit, and not to the letter of Scripture, and it is not defined what that spirit is, then our obligation to the Scriptures, and our obligation to the symbol, though to be distinguished, are very similar to each other. And if it is to be embodied in words of living testimony, in what form, and to what extent, the church is to confess the spirit and truths of the Bible, the very words which define what the spirit of the Scripture, and what its substance are, become the symbol, without which there can be no church, and no congregation.

“There can be no question, then, as to whether the Scriptures, solitary and alone, are to remain in the church, locked up from the approach of anything like a confession. Every preacher is already a confessor. The only question yet undecided is, what confession shall be retained in connection with the Scriptures? And as no preacher is a mere self-constituted, isolated confessor, therefore, without a church-fellow-

ship, which the very nature of his office implies, there must be a common confession — *a symbol*—to which he declares himself as a fellow-confessor, both when he is invested with his office, and in the fulfilment of its duties. A solitary confession assembles no congregation. Nothing can do this but a *common* Creed. A solitary preacher, who remains isolated with his individual views, is not a preacher for the congregation — not a minister of the church. The ministry of the church thus necessarily pre-supposes the fellowship of a confession—of a symbol. The modern opposition to the ancient symbols of the church, therefore, by no means has, as it might seem, the tendency to set them aside by means of the Scriptures. It will only tend to put other symbols in the place of those that exist, and substitute new confessions for the old ones. This may be seen from the various but vain experiments of the rationalistic leaders to introduce new symbols, and needs no further proof. It has also been variously acknowledged by the opposers of the symbols of the church, that symbolical books are indispensable ; so that it will not be necessary to go into further proofs on this point.” p. 4, 5, 17, 18, 19.

There has been a very ingenious and specious theory invented within late years, with which it is sought to persuade men that they are not bound to the confessions of the church. It is maintained, we need not say where, that “Ecclesiastical obligations are voluntary and personal ; and not either hereditary or compulsory. Hence, the church, that is, the ministry and laity of every age, have as good a right, and are as much under obligation to oppose, and, if possible, to change what they believe wrong in the religious practice of their predecessors, and to conform it to the word of God, as were Luther and the other Christians of the sixteenth century ;” — that, “if the members of a church find a human creed, professed by their predecessors, it is their duty *individually* and *collectively* to compare it with the Scriptures, and if found erroneous, or of injurious length, to have it corrected by the infallible Standard.” Now, all this appears plausible ; and to the superficial thinker, it is doubtless satisfactory and unanswerable. At any rate, it is so agreeable to the latitudinarianism that abounds — so consonant with the ultra democracy of the times, that we may naturally expect to find many receiving it with loud applause. But it might be well to examine this theory before committing ourselves to it with too much confidence. We should, at least understand the premises of the argument, before we adopt the far-reaching conclusion. A

few comments, then, and we pass to our author's remarks touching this point.

1. By "ecclesiastical obligations," we suppose is meant, all obligations having respect to the church.

2. It is said, "ecclesiastical obligations are *voluntary*." This is only partially true. No one will deny, that baptized children are under special obligations to be christians, and, as they grow into years, to fulfil all christian duties. They bear the christian badge, and are bound to the christian standard; bound by the terms of a special covenant of which Baptism is the seal. But they have come under these bonds in a way in which no volition of theirs was concerned. Then again, ecclesiastical obligations are voluntary not in such sense as not to be binding until they have been actually assumed. "Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," are voluntary. These gracious dispositions are not wrought in us contrary to our will, or without our concurrence. But no one will attempt to maintain, that men are not bound to repent and believe until after they engage to do these things.

3. "Ecclesiastical obligations are *personal*." That is true so far, that they relate to persons, and not merely to things. But ecclesiastical obligations relate to something beyond the isolated individual. They concern the church as a whole, and even the *world* as a perspective part of the church, as much, if not more, than the individual himself; for the confessing christian confesses not only for himself, but for the whole church, and mainly with reference to the procurement of consenting confessors from the ranks of the unbelieving. He is therefore bound by the voice of the church in whose name he confesses; and the very nature of his position demands of him, not to swerve from the public faith of the church, nor to sacrifice any part of it for his own private notions.

4. "Ecclesiastical obligations are not *hereditary*." This remark must also be understood in a particular way, in order to be true. Ecclesiastical obligations are not transmitted from the natural parent to the natural child, as flesh and blood, and our bias to evil, are transmitted. And yet, there is a little of hereditary obligation transferred along with flesh and blood. The natural child of christian parents stands obligated to christian faith and duty, in a way very different from the children of heathen parents. A man is under obligation to the American laws, because his parents are American citizens, and gave him birth on American territory. This obligation began with

the hour of his birth, and never ceases until the moment of his expatriation. And after the same manner, there are rights and duties belonging to the child of christian parents, by reason of its natural birth within the pale of the visible church. Furthermore, the church is γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, a chosen *race*, a perpetual family, having its successive generations, and its own birthright entailments. It has its fathers and its children, and has an unbroken historical continuity from the beginning to the end of time. It is not like Melchisedec, ἀγενεαλόγητος, "without descent." Its individual generations are not independent of those that have gone before it, or of those which shall succeed it. And we are indebted to our Christian fathers, not only in the way of gratitude for what they have done for us, but, having succeeded to their positions, we are also indebted to them by way of obedience to the same christian laws, and the same christian faith which controlled them. Inheriting their religion, we inherit also their obligations with regard to that religion.

5. "Ecclesiastical obligations are not *compulsory*." If the word *compulsory* is used here in its proper sense, to denote the power or quality of compelling; applying force; driving by violence; of course, this statement is correct. There is no tribunal in the church, or out of it, having rightful authority violently to compel or persecute in religious matters. Even as respects the vital conditions of salvation, to apply physical or penal force to secure obedience, is a usurpation of prerogatives which have never been bestowed upon man. God himself leaves it optional with us to repent, believe, and be saved; or, to continue in alienation from him, and be finally lost. In this sense there is nothing compulsory. But this does not argue, that there is no *moral necessity* in the case. We are still under obligations to repent and believe, though we are not forcibly compelled to repent and believe. And so ecclesiastical obligations may have a moral weight and urgency not to be evaded, though they are not violently enforced by the arm of power.

With this understanding, then, we are prepared to reject the conclusion which these premises were designed to sustain, as illogical and untrue. If ecclesiastical obligations are voluntary, our refusal to acknowledge them does not abolish their binding force; if they are personal, they are also relative, and consequently not subject to one's own control; if they are not entailed like flesh and blood, they yet weigh upon us by virtue of our relation to our fathers; if not compulsory, they still have moral force which is not to be evaded. To say,

therefore, that the ministry and laity of every age have a right, and are under obligations to oppose, and, if possible, to change what they believe wrong in the religious practices of their predecessors; or that, if the members of a church find a creed professed by their predecessors, it is their duty individually to compare it with the Scriptures, and if they find it erroneous, or of injurious length, to have it corrected; we hold to be as false and dangerous, as it is inconsequent. *a.* It proceeds upon the assumption, that the individual examination of the Scriptures is the sole foundation of faith; whereas, "faith cometh by hearing," and there are multitudes now in glory who never saw the Scriptures, much less made a personal examination of them. And although we would send all christians to the Bible to confirm their faith and increase their knowledge, it is an established point, that the simple testimony of the church, given by means of her confessions, her cultus, and her speaking ministry, is the appointed instrument of the world's conversion, and is sufficient to beget saving faith in all, should they never even so much as read a page of holy writ. *b.* The passages of Scripture on which the adherents of this licentious theory rely, are unsatisfactory. As to the Savior's words in John 5: 39: "Search the Scriptures," &c., many eminent theologians and critics, such as Beza, Erasmus, Lightfoot, Campbell, Doddridge, Horsley, Heylin, Le Clerc, Bishop Jebb, &c., render the word ἐρευνᾶτε, not "search," but "*ye search*," and thus change the passage from an apparent injunction, to a historical statement totally foreign to the point at issue. But, to take it as it stands, it is addressed to *unbelievers*, whom Christ sends to the prophecies for the evidences of his Messiahship additional to those which they saw, heard, and discredited; and cannot be intended as a requirement from those who already believe, to receive nothing save what they shall personally deduce from the prophetic writings. And in Paul's remark in Acts 17: 11, "These were more noble than those of Thessalonica," &c., there is nothing more affirmed, than that the Bereans exercised commendable search to see whether Paul had rightly quoted the prophets in proof of Christ's sufferings and resurrection. There is nothing that assigns to them a right to believe contrary to what Paul and the other Apostles preached, any more than to believe contrary to the Bible itself. And still less is there anything making it the duty of each individual to believe only what he may privately learn from the Scriptures, or to cling to his private opinions and belief, when he is believing contrary to the judgment of the church at

large. *c.* And the consequences of this radical theory, if put into practical operation, would necessarily put all doctrinal purity in jeopardy, and eventually destroy all church-authority and fellowship. Few men are intellectually competent to extract the true doctrinal substance of the Bible, so as to know whether a creed is right or wrong; and a still smaller number have leisure and inclination for such a task. And if each one is to believe only as he individually learns the Scriptures, there is nothing to preserve the church from having as many creeds as she has members, and those creeds as diverse and contradictory as the tempers, prejudices, whims, fancies, and degrees of mental cultivation found in their several authors. And in proportion to the doctrinal diversities of men, will be their personal alienation from each other; every one will be the constituted judge of all who lived before him, and of all who live around him; bitterness and discord must become the order of the day; and we shall search in vain for "the faith once delivered to the saints;" whilst the church, as an organized body, with unity as one of its notes, will have disappeared from the earth. Nor does it require much forecast to see all this.

The position which we hold on this subject, and which we regard as the only safe and true position, is, that the church, the whole church, with its ministers and laymen, in common council assembled, or by private concurrence, has the right to sit in judgment on controversies respecting the faith, and, under the Scriptures, to give final and authoritative decisions with regard to them. Our limits will only allow us to give a brief indication of the ground upon which we rest in this matter. And, *a.* if we admit that individuals are to any extent authorized to judge, and some one must judge, what are the doctrines of the Gospel, it necessarily follows, that many, or *all* Christians must have the same right. For if the church collectively has no right to judge and decide in religious disputes, it is absurd to suppose that individuals have it. *b.* It is the acknowledged right and obligation of the church, to preserve itself uncontaminate from all open sinners, false prophets, antichrists, heretics, and those who teach what is contrary to the Gospel. But, if this right is to be exercised, and this duty discharged, the power to decide authoritatively in such cases is necessarily implied. *c.* The Church is "the pillar and ground of the truth;" 1 Tim. 3: 15. But if she is not allowed and empowered to judge as to what is truth, and to separate herself from false teachers and their errors, it is impossible for her to perform the office thus assigned her.

d. "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints." 1 Cor. 14:32. But if the church has no power to require unity of faith, it must be the scene of perpetual strife and discord. e. And the church from the commencement has always held and proceeded upon the right under the Bible, to decide in religious controversies. As Paul enjoined upon Timothy to "reject a man who is a heretic after the first and second admonition;" and as John inculcates upon all christians not to receive into their houses, nor to bid God speed to him who bringeth not "*this Doctrine*;" we learn from Irenæus and others, that the early christians were strict in denouncing and discarding all heretical teachers and believers. Usually the pastors, either separately or conjointly, published their judgments in condemnation of heresies, or in confirmation of the truth; and these, being approved and acted on by the faithful and their pastors in every part of the world, became known and acknowledged as the judgment of the church universal, and as such, as Bingham tells us, became bonds of union to the church as distinguished from all errorists. "And for any private man or church to dispute against them, was to give scandal to the rest of the world." (Bingham's Antiquities, Tom. 16, cap. 1, § 12). And Luther and his coadjutors were controlled by the same feeling and conviction. Luther taught, that "it is dangerous and frightful to hear and believe anything contrary to the unanimous testimony, belief, and doctrine of the holy christian churches, as from the beginning, and with one accord they have now taught, for upwards of fifteen hundred years, throughout the whole world." (Letters to Albert, Elector of Prussia). For forty or fifty years, he did not cease to appeal to a general council, by the judgment of which he regarded it sacred duty to abide. And the framers of the Form of Concord acting on, and recognizing the same authority of the church general, have said: "Whereas, in former times, the pure doctrine of Christ, in its genuine and original sense, was collected from the sacred Scriptures, and digested into articles opposed to the corruptions of heretics, *we also embrace and confess these three universal or common symbols, to wit: The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed.*" (Epitome). Even the Westminster Confession declares: "It belongeth to Synods and Councils, ministerially to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience. * * Which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the word, but also *for the power whereby*

they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word." (Chap. 31, § 3). And that the Oriental, Roman, and British Churches hold to the power of the church to decide in controversies of faith, will not be questioned. Indeed, the uniform and universal practice of the church, and of all religious communities respecting this point, renders it needless to refer to the accordant sentiments of leading theologians in different ages.

As the church general, then, has the right to determine controversies of faith, we hold furthermore, that such determinations, when once clearly ascertained, are *final*, and binding on all individual christians to the end of the present dispensation. a. Because Christ cannot have authorized two contradictory decisions; and if the church general has a right to give judgment, the judgment of the individual must yield. b. Because the church is infallible, and can never cease, or become apostate, as Christ's own words attest; and therefore its general testimony will never be dangerously wrong. c. Because it is incredible that any one man should be able to judge more wisely and correctly as to the nature of Christ's revelation, than the whole body of the church and its ministers. d. Because he who esteems himself wiser than the whole church, is too wise to be taught by the church, and assumes the character of those false teachers described by St. Peter as presumptuous, self-willed, and speaking great swelling words of vanity. e. Because the Savior himself has given direction with respect to the offender, (and he may offend in doctrine as well as in practice), to present his case to the church, solemnly enjoining, "*If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.*" Matt. 18: 17. And f. if men will nevertheless persist in claiming for the individual the right and duty, to review, reform, or altogether reject the judgments of the church at large, we have only to say, that so far as that individual acts on the flattering theory, he puts himself beyond the hope of ever reaching the truth. For by silencing the testimony of the church, and depriving it of its official authority, he not only puts himself under the necessity of examining the whole Bible in the original languages, and all the creeds that have ever been written whether true or false, before he is prepared to make up his decision; but he is far at sea with regard to the great fundamental question as to *what writings constitute the true canon of Scripture*. This is a question which the church, in the exercise of her rightful authority, and under the Holy Ghost has determined; and if her judgment is not final and irreversible,

we deny that it is known, or that it can be known at this late day, what really constitutes the inspired word of God.

Now then, if these positions are to stand, or if they have in them the least inkling of truth, the doctrine which we have been endeavoring to restrict, must be taken back for remodification. We therefore, conclude, that every man who is a christian, is bound to receive and submit to everything that belongs to common christianity; and that every member of the church is bound to receive and teach the public and acknowledged creed of that church, whether he has personally subscribed it or not. We accordingly return to our extracts from Sartorius, who exhibits the same conclusions by a different process.

“As it is certain, that the symbols are no laws of doctrine for the church, but mere confessions and witnesses of the acknowledged christian truth; so it is also certain, that ministers are in no wise legislators of doctrine (*Lehrgesetzgeber*) or masters of faith for the church, but that they are simply confessors and witnesses of the Divine word. Neither are they isolated witnesses and confessors for themselves, but confessors and witnesses for the congregation, and therefore, in fellowship with it, and with the whole church to which the individual congregation bears the relation of a member. From the conception of the symbol as a common or congregational testimony to the truth, proceeds, *eo ipso*, its obligation upon ministers, whose calling it is, to be witnesses of the truth for the christian community. The symbols are public confessions, and the preacher is a public confessor; but only then an associated confessor in the church when he confesses himself in harmony with the confessions of the church by whose servants he is ordained a fellow-servant. And where the preacher does not consent to the confessions of the church by whose servants he has been ordained, he is no fellow-confessor, and certainly cannot be a preacher of a confession which he does not acknowledge. In no event is the preacher individually any more a witness to the truth than the common testimony of the church in the symbols. He is not *above* the symbols, nor *under* the symbols, but a joint witness with them. Hence he does not submit in his ordination to some law of faith forced upon him by some higher or extrinsic authority; but the purport of his obligation, in giving his consent to the forms of doctrine contained in the symbols, is essentially this, that the minister, being called to the service of a public confession of the truths of the gospel, first acknowledges these truths as his own personal faith. The ceremony of his con-

secration, the laying on of the hands of the ordaining minister, and of the assisting brethren, indicates the fellowship of the ministerial and witnessing office to which he is dedicated.— Nor is he ordained only for the individual congregation to which he is immediately appointed ; otherwise it would have to be repeated with every change ; but for the service of the whole church as far as the limits of the communion of that confession extend. Thus, the more everything in the important act of ordaining a minister points to the congregation, and to the fellowship of the church, the organ of which he is ordained to be, the more binding is his concurrence with the common confession of the church whose preacher and liturgist he is to become, but which he never can in reality become without bearing in himself the consciousness of its faith.

“Whosoever mistakes this relation, displaces the whole position of the ministry in a very unprotestant manner, contradicts the primitive views of the evangelical church respecting a general priesthood and the minister’s relation to his congregation, removes him from his place in the spiritual communion as its organ, and assigns him the position of a schoolmaster surrounded by ignorant pupils whom he is to teach the rudiments of christian knowledge by his own personal wisdom, or that of a hierarch with a multitude of laymen assigned him to be taught according to his own pleasure and fancy. Such a difference of master and pupils — of lords and servants, the Lord himself has forbidden to his church, in which he alone is Master, and all we are brethren. And Luther calls it “the first wall of the Romanists.” And indeed, when the minister sets himself above the congregation as a teaching regent, though he would anxiously appear as *a liberal*, under the standard of freedom of speech ; he yet arrogantly degrades his people, essentially entrenches on their liberty of conscience, and whilst he refuses to bind himself to their confession, he popishly wishes to keep them bound to his office. The absolution of ministers from obligation to the common confession of the church, leads either to an entire dissolution of the confessional unity of the church at large, and especially of the individual congregations, or to a ministerial despotism which appears wherever the congregation and the church are made dependent on the ministry, when the ministry at the same time refuses to be dependent on the general consciousness and confession of the church and congregation, and seeks to rule with unlimited freedom. However much we may attempt to modify the pressure of the relation sought to be assumed, by a supposition of personal or even unlimited confidence in the

ministry, it must ever be unprotestant, and counter to the spirit of our church, which, in opposition to this naked personal dependence, directs to the written word, and puts the Bible into the hands of all laymen, exhorting them not to trust every spirit of every so called minister, but to try the spirits whether they be of God, and indeed, to make this trial according to their confession. It is the confession through which the minister publicly testifies his union with Christ the Head, and with the members which is the church. And if there is no confidence to be placed in his confession, or if he makes it with secret reservations, it is hardly possible to see how his preaching is to be confided in. Upon the ground of his confession Peter received his apostolic commission. Paul also, in his first Epistle to Timothy, which may be rightly called an Epistle on ordination, reminds that young minister very impressively of his good profession which he had professed before many witnesses. And in the second letter in which he brings to mind his unfeigned faith, and urges him to stir up the gift of God which was in him by the laying on of hands, he further says: Be not thou therefore, ashamed of the testimony of our Lord as a faithful fellow confessor of the Gospel. It is not upon the person of Peter and his successors that the church is founded; this is a Romish error; but upon his faith and confession, and upon his successors in the same faith, and the same confession. As a co-confessor of the confession of the Apostles and the church, the minister plants himself upon that same foundation-rock, upon which the congregation is as free from his personal mutability, as he himself is from the fluctuations of his members. For as the minister is no lord of the congregation's faith, so the congregation dare not lord it over his faith by the changing opinions of the majority. And much as the opinions of fallible individuals may change, so long as a communion does not adopt a new and different confession, their union on the existing confessions is to be received as lawful and binding. The pretence of an untrammelled, and hence despotic, liberty of discourse on the part of the ministry, can only be followed, by way of reaction, with a licentious revolutionary liberty of hearing on the part of those who will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts desire to heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. In the one case, as in the other, the true liberty of speech and of conscience of the Evangelical church perishes with the removal of churchly order, and the whole

is reduced to an arbitrary clerocracy, or to an equally arbitrary democracy and interminable sectarian divisions.

"With all this before us, he who would complain of the authority of the symbols as oppressive, either does not understand the nature of the church, the sacraments, and a cultus; or has, in his own self-conceit, dissolved all connection with them." p. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

"The symbols do not assume to themselves any more than to be witnesses for the truth; and it is great presumption for a preacher to wish to be more than this, or to raise himself from a witness to be a judge of the truth, above the Scriptures or the church. He is, or indeed should be, only a witness for the truth — not a preacher for himself alone, isolated and separate, as a testator of his own mere private opinion, but in association with the other witnesses and confessors, that is, in fellowship with the church as a co-witness with her testimony, and a partaker in the general confession which she makes. He does not believe *in* the symbols, but *with* them. If he is unwilling to take this position, and wishes with his new spirit to establish a separate and new congregation, he becomes farther and farther sundered from the common scriptural confessions of the ancient church, and has less and less of the testimony of the Holy Spirit in his favor." p. 21.

But some of our brethren are very free to allege, that Luther and his associates acted the part of Reformers, and claimed Divine sanction for their proceedings, and that we may do the same. It is said, these were but fallible men like ourselves, and if they had liberty to dissent from the creeds of the papal communion in which they were members, such right is certainly not to be denied us. We are told that they examined the Bible for themselves, and rejected what they regarded to be wrong in the received faith of the Romanists, and we also may examine the same infallible record, and correct what we believe wrong in the creeds which they have left us. To some this way of reasoning may seem fair and conclusive. But it will not bear to be sifted. First, it assigns to the Reformers a position which they never occupied. Luther and his associates never pretended to oppose any doctrines which had the sanction of the church general, or which had been in the church from the time of the Apostles. We have already quoted Luther's words to Albert on this point. On the other hand, confident as they were in the private judgments which they had formed from the Scriptures respecting the faith, it is notorious, that they were perfectly willing to a man to abandon and suppress all that they individually held and

taught, if a general council, taking the Bible as its law of faith, should decide against them. And secondly, it is a fact which must be acknowledged by all who look into the matter, that Luther, and the Reformers generally, were raised up and constituted by providence the special messengers for a special work; that they possessed an *extraordinary vocation* which cannot safely be taken as a model for the ordinary servants of the church. And he who now exalts his office in the church to an equality with that of Luther, evinces a lack of modesty which should pass for anything rather than a satisfactory endorsement of his individual opinions. But, as the words of Sartorius are more to the point, and more authoritative than anything that we can write, we continue our extracts.

“The Holy Ghost is the Spirit of truth and love, the bond of the fellowship of the faithful in all times and places. It is said in the third article of the creed: ‘I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, &c.’ Hence, when the church at any time falls into the whims of egotistic traditions, the Holy Spirit reforms her again by reviving the old common foundations, and removing everything that is not built on them, thus renewing and strengthening the glorious edifice of the church. And such was the work of the Reformers. They did not *form* the church in accordance with their own mutable spirit; but they *re-formed* it in accordance with the unchangeable canon of Scripture which the Holy Ghost inspired, and brought forward the oecumenical symbols of the ancient church, which rest on the same foundation, to be acknowledged anew. And it was only on the same ground already occupied by the oecumenical symbols, that they added others. It is therefore, singularly out of place for our new theologues to appeal to the example of the Reformers, from whom they so radically differ, in vindication of their contradiction and abandonment of the symbolic books. The Reformers repudiated none of the ancient symbols of the church, but even added others to them, and thus subordinated all self-wisdom and self-righteousness to the Spirit of God, which is by no means true of these after-comers. The Reformers desired not, and are not to be considered founders of a new church, but simply renewers of the old upon its ancient foundations. For they were fully persuaded, that whosoever departs from these, sunders himself from the communion of the catholic church, and falls back into errors and heretical sects that have long since been overcome. Hence they adhered steadfastly to them; and, on that account,

they were not only renewers and reformers, but also preservers and confirmers of the church. Now, if the Reformers, notwithstanding their *extraordinary vocation*, were also conservators of the church, it must certainly also be the duty of the ministers of the church in their ordinary vocation to take the same position. Indeed, the duty of preachers, (to whom ordination imparts no imperial or judicial position in the church, but the ministry of it), to preserve the common faith as public confessors, and to represent and sustain it amid the strife of individual opinions, is so self-evident, that where it is not acknowledged, either the nature of the ministry and of the church have been totally overlooked, or, there is no thorough knowledge and appreciation of the symbols themselves;—a case that is much more common among us than is generally supposed.” p. 21, 22.

Again, it is very confidently urged by those who would persuade the church to repudiate her confessions, that to adhere to them is to hinder the church from making that progress which the age demands. It is said, that everything is in a condition of advancement, and that the church, to sustain herself, must conform to the spirit of the times. It is alleged, that, by reason of the light of modern discoveries and researches, we are better prepared, than our less favored forefathers, to make right decisions in regard to the teachings of Scripture; that we would but cramp ourselves and the church by adhering to what they believed, taught, and contended for; and that, after all, *we* are properly the fathers, whilst they were mere children in enlightenment, and given to all the follies of children. And the argument is as palatable to the spirit of self-sufficiency which possesses men in these latter days, as it is specious in its character. How much truth it contains, and how far it is to be relied on, will appear anon.

We do not deny, indeed, that during the last two hundred and fifty years, the human mind has been in the highest degree active—that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy—that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life—that medicine, surgery, chemistry, engineering, have been very greatly improved—that government, police, and law have been improved, though not quite to the same extent. But we should like to know who has invented *improvements on christianity*. We should like to know what modern illuminatus has more divine light on this subject than those illustrious men of former ages whose names the church wears upon her heart. People talk largely of their Bible, Tract, Missionary,

Temperance, and other Societies, and call them the Apocalyptic angel with the gospel on his lips for every inhabitant of the world. But what does it amount to? A few hundreds of christians, with the bann of Empire over their heads, in more than one instance in the past history of the church, and without any of these boasted appliances, did more for the spread of gospel light and pure morality in fifty years, than fifty millions of modern christians have done in double the length of time. We do not depreciate these instrumentalities. Adherence to the symbols does not involve opposition to them, because they have no essential connection with the christian faith. And for this very reason they cannot be adduced to prove, that the men of this generation are any better prepared to say what is pure doctrine, than their fathers were. The truth is, christianity properly so called is the same *semper et ubique*. The compass, printing, gunpowder, steam propellers, gas, vaccination, the electric telegraph, and a thousand other discoveries and inventions, have not altered it, and cannot alter it from what it was when these things were unknown. Galileo, Newton, Harvey, Franklin, and their compeers, whatever they may have done in other departments, were not commissioned either directly or remotely to remodel the frame-work of the christian creed. Christianity is still what it was before they were born; and when thousands more, as illustrious and as useful as they, shall have appeared and disappeared, it will continue to be just what it is now. It is a Revelation from the God of nature; and, as he never contradicts himself, no discoveries of facts in nature's economy will ever serve to contradict its statements, or to lay a safe foundation on which to alter its features, either in this age, or in ages that are to come. Like everything Divine, it is immutable, and not capable of amendment. It has not, and it cannot have, a progress analogous to that which is constantly taking place in pharmacy, geology, and navigation. And to talk of rejecting and *correcting* ancient creeds to preserve for the church an advancement and progress akin to that which is going on in the departments of experimental science, argues no very superior skill for the work proposed to be undertaken.

We do not mean to say, however, that there are no respects in which growth and development are to be predicated of the church. And although the creed is settled, and has been settled from the very commencement, its bearings and remoter applications have to be gradually disclosed and decided as Providence may direct attention to them. Many obscure historical and prophetic passages of Scripture too, have had light

thrown upon them by scientific discoveries, and the examination of oriental relics. The Bible is also a book, which though designed for all time, has its particular revelations for each succeeding period. And as its statements come to be more and more clearly apprehended, the creed itself must advance in amplitude of detail towards completion. We have described the nature of the creed, as the answer of man to the revelation of God. It is of course, *human*. To talk of a *Divine Creed*, is nonsense. And as it is human, it also bears the impress of man's limited understanding. It is not complete at once. The concrete root — the all-containing germ is there in the beginning, but it needs growth and development. — We cannot take in the truth, in all its bearings, at a single effort, or in a single age. And our confession will therefore exhibit a natural and necessary progress as new points are brought up, examined, and decided. Not a progress like that which has marked the advance of the sciences of astronomy and geology; not a progress which casts all preceding systems and theories into oblivion; but a progress like that of an edifice which is many years in process of erection, where each successive set of workmen commence where their predecessors left off, and instead of revising or undoing what has been done, enter at once upon carrying the work to its destined consummation. Here, then, is development. Here is room for progress, real progress, as much as can be desired, without the revision, curtailment, or remodification of the symbols which our fathers have left us. Here is opportunity for every advance for which the wisdom of this or any other age is competent. And it is by this *co-working* of the church upon the one common edifice, that the creed is to expand and grow under the Bible and the Holy Ghost, until *the whole truth* shall be confessed as God has revealed it, and earth become radiant as heaven. And to claim for our Faith any other kind of progress, is to give ourselves to a radicalism which never gets beyond a few first principles, and to be ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. But, with the reader's consent, we will again hear Sartorius.

“That the obligation of the symbolic books, or the duty of co-witnessing with their testimony to the truth, does not stand in the way of the living development of the christian faith; is clearly shown by the form of concord, where that document exhibits the formation of the symbols themselves, as the result of a great process of spiritual progress. ‘They are only testimonies and declarations of the faith showing how, at any time, the Holy Scriptures were understood and interpreted on con-

troverted articles, and the doctrines contrary thereto rejected and condemned by those who then lived.' R. p. 572. — That is to say, the symbols contain the most important results of those great spiritual movements by means of which, development and form have been given to the christian faith amid diverse and manifold oppositions. The Apostles' Creed, so closely allied to the formulary of Baptism, was not, perhaps, settled as a *regula fidei* for the ancient church by the action of a general council. It was gradually brought into authority by free consent, which is the more remarkable on account of the many unessential individual differences, and thus became a general confession for candidates for Baptism in all congregations desirous of retaining their agreement with the universal or catholic church. This symbol stands at the head as the first, and the foundation of all others. From the apostolic times down to the Reformation, the list of symbols exhibits a great successive progression, continued through the lapse of centuries, toward the completion of the christian consciousness of faith, by which the creed arrived at a more and more clear and exalted distinctiveness through the influence of oppositions and heresies both external and internal. The history of christian doctrines clearly shows, how the Nicene, or Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol grew out of that of the Apostles, in consequence of the great controversies of the third and fourth centuries concerning the Trinity, and especially the Arian and Macedonian movements. The Nicene Creed, (for the thorough scriptural definitions and courageous defence of which, the highest praise is due to Athanasius of Alexandria), then was gradually formed into the *Symbolum Quicunque*, or Athanasian creed, in consequence of the oppositions of the Nestorians and Eutychians on the subjects of the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God. This creed, unlike the preceding, was not framed by a council, nor published by authority, but came into vogue by consent only, the consent, however, of the church general. And since the great separation in the sixteenth century, the Evangelical Church has retained it, not simply on account of the authority of the ancient churches, but for its entire accordance with scripture, styling it a short and faithful confession *in verbo Dei solide fundata*—firmly founded in the word of God. Nor is it possible for us to give it up. It is not only an amplified repetition, but an essential enlargement of the earlier symbols, especially on the point of the Unity of the Trinity so often repeated in the first part: "*Yet there are not three Gods, but one God.*" It is entirely indispensable to the preservation of the belief in one

God, as declared in the second commandment; and therefore to the rejection of all polytheism and idolatry; especially that form of it presented in the apotheosis of the creature in the Arian system. And not less important is the second part respecting the God-man, or the unity of the Deity with humanity in Jesus Christ, which is the source of salvation to men; for out of it results the whole work of reconciliation and the reunion of sinful men with God, the sanctifying influences of which are enjoyed by all who exercise christian faith. Hence no one should think it strange, that the Athanasian Creed makes the salvation of man depend upon his faith, and conversely, his damnation on his unbelief.

“Having therefore identified the Athanasian as the third symbol in the course of the development of the confession of the church, and assigned it its necessary and unrelinquishable place in relation to the church general, we must also understand the symbols of the Reformation, which, after a long interval joined themselves to the oecumenical creeds as the necessary complement and continuation of the same. In earlier periods of the church there were great and important controversies which turned especially on the anthropological and soteriological articles of sin and grace, but which never received a general symbolical decision. Hence it was, among other things, that, in the middle ages, the unevangelic reliance upon works taught by Pelagianism, (which united itself as well with the Aristotelian scholasticism, as also with other elements,) again exhibited itself in the church in various forms. And against this departure of Christendom from Christ, there had necessarily to follow some such mighty spiritual reaction as was manifested in the Reformation. Nor was it then to be avoided, that the controversies respecting these articles, which are the very life of Christianity, should in like manner eventuate in settled confessions. The less the ancient symbols, which refer especially to the theological and christological articles, say about those points, the more necessary was this completion of them by means of the symbols of the sixteenth century; among which the Augsburg Confession is unquestionably the dominant one. The same has also been substantially inwrought into all the Evangelical symbols whether in or out of Germany; and, by reason of the oppositions it awakened, also determined the decisions of the council of Trent. The Apology, and the Smalcald Articles, in their apologetico-polemical position against the Roman Catholic perversions and contradictions, and the Form of Concord in its regard for the protection and defence of the Evangeli-

cal Church against internal controversies, illustrate and develop the Augsburg Confession, and strictly adhere to it in a way similar to that in which the Nicene and Athanasian symbols keep themselves to the Apostles' creed.

"Accordingly, all these symbols themselves, show as a gradual progress in successive developments, which have gone through the spirit-moved history of the church for the fortification of the Christian creed which has been continually enlarging against new or renewed heretical attacks. And of that development, the same stem is common to the general confession of all the leading branches of the church—the Roman Catholic, the Greek, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. On this common stem of the oecumenical symbols the later confessions branch out in various directions, but still always regarding the Augsburg Confession as the principal. And in every step of this development, we have an accommodation to the several stages of christian improvement, to the age of infancy and the age of manhood, to the condition of peace and the condition of contention, to pupils and teachers, the school and the church, laymen, and clergymen, and scientific theologians. From the one that has just been baptized up to the learned Divine, this progress of the Apostles' Creed to the Form of Concord, adapts itself to every want and claim, in this variety of confessions, now in a simple affirmative, then in an apologetic, then in a polemic, then in a popular didactic, and then in a scientific form.

"If therefore the symbols themselves exhibit a course of development in the consciousness of christian faith and doctrine, continuing through centuries, in which they separately form particular phases, we may also suppose, that this course of development is still in progress. And as in former times there was an advance from one symbol to another, so we are not now to consider the formation of the christian system of doctrine as entirely completed; but rather take the ground, that there is still room for further developments, not backwards, but forwards, as new spiritual movements in or out of the church may render necessary. As in the case of the early symbols, new ones were added in the course of the church's history, with amplifications and definitions, so there may be occasion for adding to, and defining the symbols which we now possess, in accommodation to the ever-growing wants of this spiritual community. In each living confessor, there must constantly be new fortifications presented to sustain his confession against the ever-renewed oppositions of sin and falsehood. The truth

which he holds must ever be brought forward in forms more definite against error, and be both offensively and defensively established against all shiftings and changes, and continually have the reasons as well as the consequences of its own statements further explained. In a word, it must *live*, and *live on* in its confessor as a common testimony of the fellowship of spirit and truth among christian believers, and not lie torpid and motionless age after age like a nunnery. And if it continually lives, it also continually grows. If the first confessions developed and expanded themselves in subsequent ones, they have only undergone a certain transmigration, and still live on in new forms, and are not superseded or abolished, but rather preserved and established. Accordingly, as the later symbols have not negatived and superseded the former—as the symbols of the Reformation did not render the oecumenical symbols nugatory and useless—and as the Smalcald Articles and the Form of Concord have not come into the place of the Augsburg Confession and made it void—so further developments of our present symbols may yet have to be produced; developments, not looking backwards and downwards, but forwards and upwards, to the establishment and preservation of the symbols we now have; developments analogous to those which have already occurred, which were not a relinquishment and departure from, but a continuation on the same ground and in the same direction of the original movement. In this way the church connects *stability* with progress, the old is united with the new as in one family, and all together remain, amid the many changes of time, the never decaying Ark of the truth which is never to be gainsayed by any who are called to serve at the altar of the church.

“From this, then, it is evident, that the obligation of the symbols involves neither a dead stability, nor yet a backward movement towards inadequate or extinct forms of the past. Just as certainly as the history of the church has not remained stationary for the last eighteen centuries, so certainly she has not yet reached a point upon which she may rest without further advances. The church, the commonwealth of the confessors of the Lord, is *militant*, and as such, she must go *forward*. Though sometimes oppressed and dismayed, she shall yet be always victorious, and finally meet her Lord who is approaching in triumph. *Forwards* she moves, not upon ways of error and bypaths, but upon that true straight road on which she has been travelling since the days of the Apostles, through the midst of the war of opposing errors, with weapons of righteousness on the right hand and on the left. Steadily

she keeps to the true golden medium in the glorification of her Mediator both as respects his person and his work. And this mighty spiritual movement, which flows through all ages of the christian church, and which has laid down great results in the symbols which mark its most significant epochs, little innovators have impudently presumed to resist—to declare all those results null and void—and, as if they were the first to be enlightened by the spirit to understand the Scriptures, conceive it to be reserved for them alone to define what Christianity is. Cutting off the whole fullness—the entire organism of the doctrinal development of the church, their wish is, to reduce everything to some few simple and general sentences. And even these again are too definite for others, who would reduce and refine still further into the indefinite abstract; until, at last, nothing remains but what the selfsufficient reformer could already have learned from his own simple reason without the need of a revelation from God. If this is a proper proceeding, man has made no essential progress, either by means of the Bible, or by means of the Church. Nay rather, everything that has grown out of the Bible by means of the church must again be thrown aside, in order to come back to the standpoint of the confession of natural reason, and there only to rest. And it is here worthy of remark, that such a retrograde movement—such a return to natural religion, has been announced by the so called friends of light, as special progress. But in truth, there is no sadder relapse than that from the religion of the church of the New Testament into the religion of the Old, or still deeper, into that of the mere natural man. Nor is there a more dreadful apostacy than that from the Son of God and his revelation by the Holy Ghost, to the announcers of the revelation of natural reason.” p. 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

But once more, it is alleged, that the symbolical books, all taken together, are entirely too voluminous to be used as a confession of faith. But if we rightly understand the objectors, there is not a single one of these books, so far as peculiar to our church, which is short enough. The Augsburg Confession is too long, the Apology is too long, the Form of Concord is too long, and even the Smaller Catechism deals too much in particulars, in the estimation of these men. Yea, and the Athanasian Confession, too, is thrown overboard, as worthless lumber which did all possible service many years ago. And all that we are to have to fill the awful chasm sought to be made in the embodied faith of the church, is the insipid song—“the baneful effects of transfundamental and

very extended creeds." It is also a little remarkable, that the very men who are crying out against the symbols of the church because of their length, are heartily agreed to adopt *as their creed* the entire Bible, a book three or five times as large as what is contemptuously designated "*the whole mass of the symbolic books*." And it is quite curious to see how charmingly pliable this magic argument in relation to the Bible is. One moment it is trumpeted round, "the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the legitimate creed of the church;" and the next breeze brings us tidings, that "*the Scriptures have furnished us no confession of faith*." Now we are told, a short creed is necessary to exclude fundamental errorists; and in a little while the same pen informs us, that the Bible has not conferred authority on any one to impose *such a yoke* upon the church. We hope to be pardoned for saying, that there is something *too limber* in this mode of reasoning to command our confidence in the conclusions deduced. We do not agree that the Bible is entirely silent on the subject of creeds; but what if it were? Will that argue any further against extended creeds than against short ones? Does the Bible speak of the telegraphs, sabbath-schools, or endowed seminaries? Are these things antisciptural because the sacred records omit to speak of them, "an omission that was certainly not accidental if their inspiration be conceded?" And after all, is it proper to expect a creed to be given in the word of God, although a creed should even be an essential thing for the church? Is God a believer? Is He a confessor? He may reveal truth; but is that revelation *a creed*, except so far as apprehended, and believed, and confessed by the associated members of the church? Is God to believe and confess for the church? or, is the church to believe and confess for itself? And if the church is to confess the truth, is she not to confess *all the truth* which she can gather from God's revelation, without stopping to decide whether infinite wisdom has been at the pains to reveal things unessential or unimportant? And if the church is to confess all the truth, dare we interpose to prescribe the limits of her confession to so many lines or duodecimo pages? Are we to stand before the growing consciousness of the church as to the revelation of her Lord, and say, "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther?" The thing is preposterous.

And when we come to look narrowly into the matter, the creed of the church, as contained in the symbolical books, is not of such formidable length as we might suppose. For, as there are many things in the Bible which are not *in fact* the

word of God ; so there are many things in the symbols which are really no part of the creed. Sartorius well remarks, that, "compared with the compendious brevity of the oecumenical symbols, they indeed appear voluminous ; because, unlike the ancient confessions, they do not present the mere statements of the creed, but also give a doctrinal exposition, confirmation, and defence of them, and point out and condemn such teachings as may be opposed to them. Besides, they also have appended to them prefaces and postscripts, relating to historical and ceremonial matters, which are only of introductory or casual importance, without properly belonging to the symbols. The doctrinal, argumentative, apologetical, and polemical parts, of course, belong to them, but without forming the essential obligatory substance of the symbols proper. Parts, again, consist of mere historical allusions, or dogmatical inferences, which are of use in discovering the sense, and even admirable in themselves, but not authoritative to such an extent, as that they cannot be otherwise deduced or established. — And other portions refer only to oppositions encountered at the time, but which have ceased, or are now to be met in a different manner. The true confessional substance of the symbols lies in among the incidental circumscriptions, and that is the only true and real *credo*, or *credimus et confitemur*—the truths of faith—the *articuli fidei*." p. 40.

Nor are the symbols a mere bundle of detached fragments of doctrine, such as the proposed curtailment of them implies. They are a great *whole*, with one all-comprehending centre ; and that centre is Christ. "*Christ, the Son of the living God*," is their beginning and their ending. As this is the Rock on which the Savior vowed to build his Church, it is the germ and centre of all the creeds or confessions of the church. No one cometh to the Father but through the Son. No man knoweth the Father but the Son only, and to whom the Son shall reveal him. And from the Father through the Son proceedeth the Spirit to assemble the church on earth, and to sanctify, enlighten, and preserve it unto Jesus Christ. — Theology and anthropology go together in the Theanthropology of the person of the *God-man*. The doctrines and ordinances of salvation treat only of the works of the Savior through which the guilt and power of sin are taken away. The doctrine concerning the church, is the doctrine concerning his spiritual body. The articles, on the solemnities of the last day, are only an account of his final triumph and glory. — Baptism, is performed in his name, and has reference to the issues of his death. The Lord's Supper is the highest and

most vital of all communion with him. And everything which the symbols contain have reference to him, either in his person or his work. He is the centre around which everything revolves. The great pervading theme of the Augsburg Confession is, *Justification by Faith in the name and merits of Jesus Christ*. The entire Apology bears evidence of having sprung from the conviction that its amiable and learned author was only defending the honor of Christ, and the glory of the reconciliation He hath wrought, in opposition to all self-glorification. The Smalcald Articles take as their leading and all-controlling strain, "*The work of Jesus Christ and our redemption.*" The Form of Concord defines its contents where it declares: "The article concerning justification by faith, is the chief of all christian doctrine; as without it we can have no true and solid consolation for our disturbed consciences, nor rightly apprehend the heavenly grace of Jesus Christ." And so, all the symbolical books, according to their essential constituents, are but one confession;—the confession of Him who is the Head of the church, and through whom all justification, sanctification, and redemption must come. No matter in what direction they branch out; whether upon man's original relation with God; or upon our separation from him by sin; whether upon our helpless and hopeless condition by nature, or our reunion with our Maker through faith; they have but one controlling thought, carried through its various bearings and relations, which stamps upon them a perfect unity. To mutilate them, would be to distort and obscure the church's confession of Christ, the very confession on which the whole superstructure of the church rests. To remove any parts of them, would break in upon the harmonious organism of the church's faith, and turn out the creed upon an unfriendly world, a maimed and everlasting cripple. To deviate from any of the articles concerning God, or upon any of the articles concerning man, must, at the same time, and to the same extent, be a deviation from the doctrine of „the Christ, the Son of the living God." To alter any of the articles concerning the person or work of the Redeemer, must also unsettle the whole system, to its very foundations. And if there are some few unimportant things in these books—some little blemishes which attach to all human works—some things extraneous to the general system of truth which they embody—the same may be said of the Bible itself. We would therefore say with regard to these foreign particulars, as Christ once said with regard to another subject, "*Let them alone until the harvest; lest, while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.*"

And as regards "the baneful effects" which are detailed as having resulted from the multiplication of symbolic books in the church, there is an explanation back of that so much harped on by our anti-symbolic men. We all know the deleterious effects of the union of church and state. They are detailed in the history of the church before the Reformation; and we may trace them in Germany, and elsewhere, since the Reformation. Many a time have political rulers, by mistaken policy, or by willful abuses of power too freely entrusted to their hands, caused the gates of Zion to mourn. Even the most sincere men have done vast mischief in this way when they did not intend it. We know too, that when political rulers, however pious, espouse a creed whether long or short, true or false, and enforce it by the civil arm, compelling men to receive it, human nature revolts, and truth loses its control over the mind which asserts its freedom in the face of all oppression. And it is greatly to be regretted, that so much purely political authority was ever permitted to show itself in behalf of the Lutheran, or any other creed. To persecute errorists, is only another mode of disseminating and strengthening their cause. It gives them importance; it excites sympathy in their behalf; and whilst it may reclaim the timid, it makes others tenfold more firm and active. Nor was the effect to be different in the cases of those princes and rulers who employed severe and bloody measures against the crypto-calvinists and others three hundred years ago. When carried so far by theological disputes as to behead Horst and Funk, imprison John Frederick, quarter Grumbach and Brück, hang their adherents, confine Peucer in a loathsome dungeon, banish Rüdiger, Crell, Wiedebraun, Cruciger, Pegel, and Moller, and to commit other deeds of violence against dissenters, no wonder that confidence was destroyed, hearts alienated, and multitudes driven to array themselves under another standard. And yet, such was the stormy aspect of things years before the Form of Concord was written. To this all approved histories bear witness. It was not the Form of Concord that originated these scenes of strife, bitterness, and blood. On the contrary, this new and valuable symbol naturally and necessarily grew out of these lamentable religious disturbances. It was framed with reference to their settlement. It was designed, as its name imports, to bind together the distracted church, to cast oil upon the troubled waters, and to save the precious ark of God from being dashed into irrecoverable fragments. It was for this that Augustus and his coadjutors instituted measures to bring it into being. It was for this, that it was submitted to the church for exami-

nation and criticism before its completion. It was for this that, Chemnitz, and Andrea, and Selnecker labored upon it with so much assiduity and prayer. And it was for this that it was at once acknowledged and subscribed by three electors, twenty princes, twenty-four earls, the lords of the four free cities, thirty-eight members of the Diet, and about eight thousand office-bearers in the churches and schools. Nor did it so completely fail in its object as is sometimes said. Though for a while rejected by Pomerania, Holstein, Anhalt, Denmark, and some other districts and cities; it was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the entire Church,¹ whose example was also soon followed by most of the dissenting churches. Though a little too stringently enforced by political authority, it served to disclose the internal and treacherous foe that had so long disturbed the camp, brought the Lutheran Churches together in a

¹ As an offset to the array of the names of those, who, from various motives, at first refused to subscribe the Form of Concord, we may be allowed to say, that its reception and adoption followed successively in the Electorate of Saxony, of Pfalz, and of Brandenburg; in the Dukedom of Prussia, Wirtemberg, and Mecklenburg; in the Margravate of Kulmbach, Baireuth, Anspach, and Baden; in Oberpfalz, Neuberg, and Sulzbach; the Princedom of Brunswick and Luneburg; in Thuringia, Coburg, and Weimar; in Mömpelgard, Magdeburg, Meissen, Verder, and Quedlinburg; in Earldoms of Henneberg, Ottingen, Castell, Mansfeld, Hanau, Hohenlohe, Barby, Gleichen, Oldenburg, Hoya, Eberstein, Limburg, Schönburg, Löwenstein, Reinsteint, Stolberg, Schwarzburg, Leiningen, and others; in the towns of Lubeck, Hamburg, Luneburg, Regensburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Biberach, Ezlingen, Landau, Hagenau, Rothenberg, Goslar, Mühlhausen, Reutlingen, Nördlingen, Halle, Memmingen, Hildesheim, Hanover, Göttingen, Erfurt, Einbeck, Schweinfurt, Brunswick, Münster, Heilbronn, Lindau, Donauwörth, Wimpfen, Gingen, Bopfingen, Aalen, Kaufbeuern, Kempten, Issny, Leutkirk, Hameln, and Nordheim. To these have subsequently been added, Lauenburg of Saxony, Sweden, Holstein, Pomerania, Krain, Kärnthen, Steirmark, and Ungarn. And even in Denmark, where it was once forbidden on pain of death, it soon obtained a high authority, and was really used as a symbol though not officially acknowledged as such.

And to show that this general reception of the Form of Concord was not secured "*by actual compulsion*," as Plank and his followers represent, we here transcribe a short paragraph from Müller's Introduction to the Symbols.—"The oft repeated offences and reproaches of this Symbol, were listened and corrected, with moderation and patience. Time was allowed to every one to consider. Indeed, each one was admonished, in the name of the Elector, *not to subscribe against his conscience*. And, although Hutter contends that many subscribed it reluctantly, it is a mere conjecture drawn simply from the arrangement of the signatures, which is no proof that the signatures themselves were obtained by force. Andrea confidently asserts, at the same convention of Herzberg, in 1578, '*I am able to declare most truly, that no man was compelled to give his signature, nor subjected to any undue influence. If this is not true, the Son of God has not redeemed me with his blood.*' In consequence of this declaration, the opponents were challenged to name *but one* who had been compelled to subscribe, *and they were unable to do it*; on the other hand, it was acknowledged by the theologians of Nuremberg themselves, who rejected the Form of Concord, that *the signatures were obtained without compulsion*."

closer and firmer compact, and helped to separate those discordant elements which never could have coalesced with the true Lutheran materials. It was not a loss, but a riddance, which the Lutheran Church effected by this proceeding—not a dismemberment, but a superior consolidation. And that the Form of Concord did serve to mitigate the religious troubles which preceded it, although it could not arrest their far-reaching effects, is unquestionable. We even have the testimony of an anti-Lutheran book, (*“Der Protestantismus in seiner Selbst-Auflösung ; Schaffhausen, 1843,”* p. 291,) that “after the acceptance of the Form of Concord, *the theological strife receded from the arena of public life.*” And Mosheim also testifies, that “the Form of Concord, though not universally received, *did not*, on that account, *occasion any animosity or disunion.*” (Methodist ed. vol. 3, p. 209). And although it did cause some troubles in some countries, by reason of the improper legislation of political rulers, its general effects certainly were conservative and good. It deserves our respect and veneration, not only as a great theological production, nor yet as a mere commentary on the Augsburg Confession, but as the solemn and well-matured testimony of the church in a most trying time.

The conclusions then, to which we have been looking in what has been said, are simply these : — *First*, that creeds of some sort, framed out of the ever-glorious Revelation of Almighty God, are essential to the church ; *Second*, that those church-creeds which have received the sanction of the church general, are binding upon each individual member of the church ; *Third*, that the binding obligation of the creeds of the church, instead of hindering the legitimate development of what the Scriptures teach, is the only guarantee of certain progress ; and *Fourth*, that for the church to relinquish, remodel, or curtail her recorded faith, is to undermine her firmest foundations, and to give loose reins to infidelity, false doctrine, and interminable revolutions.

And accordingly, if we should be asked to state what we believe to be the binding creed of the Lutheran church in this, and in every other country, we would promptly respond,

I. The three Oecumenical Symbols, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, as binding upon all christians, in all time.

II. The Augsburg Confession, interpreted, as we interpret the Bible, with reference to its authors, and the times and circumstances under which it came into being.

III. The Apology, the Smalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Form of Concord, as authorized commentaries, illustrations, and amplified proofs and applications of the Augsburg Confession.

This is our creed. We give our heart and our hand to it: As Luther once remarked, "We have not said *mum*, and played our part in secret; but here it stands, our clear, blunt, and free confession, given without reserve or crafty deceit." And we rejoice to know, that the same is the creed of millions now in heaven, and of millions yet on their way to the heavenly rest. If others cannot go with us, or give their consent to the confessions of the church, we are sorry for them, and have no bitter words to record against them. And in the charitable language of the preface to the Book of Concord: *Magna etiam in spe sumus illos, si recte de his omnibus doceantur, juvante eosdem Domini Spiritu, immotae veritati verbi Dei nobiscum et cum ecclesiis nostris consensuros esse.* Looking forward, then, to an approaching day, when our great history and matchless claims shall be understood, appreciated, and acknowledged; and earnestly praying for that period, when "there shall be one fold, and one shepherd;" we conclude with a short extract from Sartorius, which we commend to the careful and candid consideration of the reader.

"He that confesses Christ with the evangelical church, is an evangelical christian; and he that does not confess Christ with the evangelical church, is not an evangelical christian. And no dissenter from the confession of the evangelical church can, without great inconsistency, be a preacher or public confessor of it. The office of the gospel ministry, as instituted by Christ himself in the appointment of the Apostles, is, to give public testimony of a common faith respecting the justification, sanctification, and final redemption of sinful men through Jesus Christ, just as our church, in perfect harmony with the Scriptures, confesses. And he that cannot conscientiously and without hypocrisy become such a witness, is presupposed in good morals not to desire to be, and that he has no wish to enter a ministry which implies such an obligation. But he who notwithstanding seeks the ministry, and accepts it, must feel himself bound upon his conscience to be faithful and true to the testimony which his office carries with it.

"He alone has the right to repudiate the confessions of the church, which take the Scriptures as their foundation, who can prove them to be unscriptural, and has something more scriptural to be put in their place. And whilst this cannot be done to the satisfaction of the church, the old confessions are binding and unalterable."

ANCIENT EGYPT, ITS LITERATURE AND PEOPLE.

1. *Egypte Ancienne, par M. Champollion, Figeac, Conservateur de la Bibliotheque Royale, etc. Paris, F. Didot, Frères, Editeurs. 1847.*
2. *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, &c. &c. By Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, F. R. S. &c. In five vols. Third edition. Illustrated by six hundred Plates and Woodcuts. London: John Murray, Albermarle St. 1847.*
3. *Egypt, and the Books of Moses, &c. By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg. From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins. Andover, Allen Morrill and Wardwell. 1843.*
4. *Ancient Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth of the Bible, &c. By William Osburn, Jr. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. 1846.*
5. *The Monuments of Egypt, &c. By Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1850.*
6. *Ancient Egypt &c. By George R. Gliddon, Member of the Egyptian Society of Cairo, &c. &c. New York. 1843.*

No part of the world, perhaps, presents so many points of interest, and, at the same time, so many questions the solution of which is so difficult, as does Egypt. Its mighty river, the sources of which, after more than two thousand years of inquiry and investigation, are still involved in doubt and mystery; the land that it annually overflows and seems to threaten with destruction only to confer upon it new life and exhaustless fertility; the people by whom it is cultivated, now among the most abject of slaves and "servants of servants," but *once* the haughtiest of nations, and conquerors whose triumphs extended over three quarters of the globe; the monuments that stand upon its banks, and seem almost coëval with the existence of our race, and appear as though they might be as enduring as our globe itself; the sculptures, the letters, the history and life of extinct nations by which they are covered; the works of art, beautiful, glorious, inimitable even in their ruins, which are there preserved—the religion; the sciences, the language, the very origin of the former dwellers upon the Nile; and still more its relations to the Bible as the scene of some of the most wonderful events therein recorded, all present us with themes

for contemplation and speculation that can scarcely fail to stimulate and arouse even the most sluggish mind. And so it has been for more than two thousand, yea for nearly four thousand years, for the wandering Arabs and Chaldean shepherds in the time of Abraham and Joseph seem to have looked upon the arts and wealth, the science and civilization of Egypt with little less wonder than did the Greeks and Romans two thousand years later. And these feelings of admiration and interest are rather increased than diminished in our own day. Various causes, in addition to the intrinsic merits of the subject, have, doubtless, conspired to bring about this result. Prominent among these is the tendency of the human mind to go back and examine the origin and causes of things, to grapple with, to dive into, and to explain all that is mysterious and obscure. To this, not less than to the prevalent utilitarianism, we are to attribute that wonderful progress that has been made in various branches of the physical sciences, in chemistry, astronomy and geology. Of this, scientific men are becoming so conscious that they no longer hesitate to acknowledge it. — Thus one of them, speaking of the conclusions at which one of the most recent writers upon Geology (Mr. Miller in his "*Footprints of the Creator*") has arrived, says: "We may fairly entertain the hope, that the time is not far [distant] when we shall not only fully understand the Plan of Creation, but even lift some corner of the veil which has hitherto prevented us from forming adequate ideas of the first introduction of animal and vegetable life upon earth, and of the changes which both kingdoms have undergone in the succession of geological ages." *Agassiz* ubi sup. p. xxxvii.

Certainly nothing in their own history has ever more piqued the curiosity of men than the history, the customs, the mysteries, the monuments and the literature of ancient Egypt. — Centuries, or as we have already said, thousands of years had rolled around, and still Egypt was to the acutest intellects and most searching investigations of philosophers and antiquarians and critics like her own Isis whose face no one had seen, whose veil no mortal had raised. And yet, strange to say, there her history was, all the time, spread out before them, painted in the most vivid and imperishable pictures, whose colors are even now as fresh as when they were first laid on by the artist, it may be, three thousand years ago. Yes, there it was engraven deep in the granite rock, upon mountains, and upon temples to build which mountains had been despoiled of their hugest masses. There the records stood as if they had been engraven by the hand of time him-

self, who was therefore bound to spare *these*, whatever else he might destroy. There, larger than life, immortal in stone, stood the colossal statues of her most ancient kings, with their names engraven upon them, the nations they had conquered ranged around them, and the whole story of their exploits spread out upon the walls of the temples, they had reared as heralds of their fame to all future ages. Besides this, it cannot be doubted, that the ancient Egyptians had books, not only the records of their national history but likewise of their religion, their arts and their sciences. Some of these have even come down to our day, and others are expressly referred to by Manetho, the only native historian of whose works any fragments have reached us. The inkstand and the stylus, or pen, are found upon monuments of the very highest antiquity, plainly indicating that the art of writing was then well known. And yet Egyptian hieroglyphics and every form of their writing remained a sealed book and an inexplicable mystery to Greeks, to Romans, to Christians and Mohammedans, to ancients and to moderns, until within our own day.

The decyphering of Egyptian hieroglyphics and the resurrection of their written language and long buried literature, is undoubtedly one of the greatest triumphs of which modern learning has to boast. The steps which led to this, and the present state of the science of Egyptology, as this study has been called, may form a suitable introduction to what else we have to say upon this subject.

We must premise, however, that the Egyptians themselves, especially their priests, understood their ancient system of writing and hieroglyphics down to a comparatively recent period of time, that is, even after the commencement of the christian era. That they still wrote in this style, under both the Grecian and the Roman dominion, is proved not only by various inscriptions, bearing the names of the Grecian Ptolemies and Roman emperors, but also by numerous rolls of well preserved papyri written in the current hand of ordinary Egyptian writing. Even as late as the commencement of the third century of the christian era, Clement of Alexandria appears to have been familiar with the various styles of Egyptian writing, and in his "Stromata" gives an account of them, which although long unintelligible is now sufficiently verified by what we ourselves know. This learned christian father also speaks of the figures sculptured upon Egyptian columns and temples as a species of "writing." Even two centuries later, Horapollo, an Egyptian scribe, seems to have had some idea of the meaning of the various figures employed as hieroglyphics, but what

he left on record was so corrupted and obscured by his transcribers and commentators, who desired "to be wise above what he had written," that but little use can be made of it. Hence-forward the subject became more and more involved in "Egyptian darkness," and rendered but the more palpable by the attempts made to dissipate it. As an example of this we may cite the labors of the learned Jesuit, Father Kircher, who wrote six ponderous folios upon this subject. Although he did some service to the study by bringing together all that was known and all that had been written upon it up to his day (1636), the application of his imagination to the explanation of Hieroglyphics presents us with some, or rather a series and system, of the most amusing blunders that are upon record. Thus in attempting to explain the inscriptions upon the Pamphilian Obelisk, which had been brought to Rome by one of the Emperors, and erected in the Piazza Navona by Pope Innocent 10th, in 1651, he thus discourses upon the figures contained in one of the ovals: "It signifies the beneficent being who presides over generation, who enjoys heavenly dominion, and fourfold power, and commits the atmosphere by means of Mophtha, the beneficent principle of atmospheric humidity, unto Ammon, most powerful over the lower parts of the world, who by means of an image and proper ceremonies is drawn to the exercising of his power." But the simple meaning of the inscription thus ingeniously explained is, "*The Emperor Caesar Domitian!*" Gliddon's Lectures p. 3.

The learned Zoega, a Dane by birth, made the first real step towards the elucidation of the Egyptian system of writing, when in his work "*De origine et usu Obeliscorum*," published at Rome in 1797, he gave facsimiles of a number of hieroglyphic texts, suggested that the figures contained in the cartouches, or elliptical ovals, were, probably, proper names, that the figures represented sounds and so were letters, and the whole system *phonetic*, or expressive of sounds and words. Warburton also in his "*Divine Legation*," expressed the opinion that "hieroglyphics were a real written language, applicable to the purposes of history and common life, as well as those of religion and mythology." These happy conjectures were soon (1808) followed by the work of Quatremere, "*Sur la langue et litterature de l' Egypte*," in which he undertook to prove that the modern *Koptic* was identical with the ancient *Egyptian*. Although this puts the case too strongly, the *ancient Egyptian* differing from its modern derivative just as any other ancient language does from its later forms, still there was sufficient truth in it to give scholars the true key to the lan-

guage of the monuments, by which their long concealed treasures were, at last to be unlocked and added to the circulating intellectual wealth of the world.

The great work of the French expedition to Egypt, published upon the return of Napoleon's illstarred, though wonderful, campaign upon the Nile and beneath the Pyramids, supplied an immense body of facsimiles, descriptions, &c. upon which the learned of all countries could labor, and at least form correct ideas of ancient Egyptian art, if they could proceed no further. But, more precious than all, and the real clue to this Egyptian labyrinth, it brought to the light of day the Rosetta stone, which, better than any fabulous philosopher's stone, was soon to transmute the baser metals of conjecture into the pure gold of knowledge and truth. It was in the month of August, 1799, that Bouchard, a French officer of Artillery, whilst superintending the building of a fort in the neighborhood of Rosetta, on the western bank of the Nile, between that city and the sea, discovered this most interesting and important monument. It is a slab of blackish syenite, or basalt, about three feet long by two and a half wide, and from ten to twelve inches in thickness. The upper part was considerably mutilated, so that its original shape cannot be absolutely determined, but it seems to have been somewhat rounded off above, and left rough below, either for the purpose of sinking it into the ground, or because it was found to be larger than the contents of the inscription required. What attracted attention to this stone was that it was found to be engraved with characters of *three different forms*, or rather covered with three distinct inscriptions. At the top was what are usually called hieroglyphics, in the middle *enchorial* or *demotic* characters, and below the ancient *Greek*. Of course, there was no great difficulty in understanding this last where it was not mutilated. The purport of it was, that divine honors, the highest given to the ancient Egyptian kings, were bestowed by the priesthood upon Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was crowned as king in the 14th year of his age, about 186 B. C. But that which excited the greatest interest in this inscription, was its concluding sentence, which is to the following effect: "that it may be known that the Egyptians elevate and honor the god Epiphanes Eucharistes in a lawful manner, this decree shall be engraved on a tablet of hard stone *in sacred characters, in enchorial writing, and in Greek letters*, and this tablet shall be placed in each of the temples of the first, second, and third class existing in all the kingdom." Hence it was at once inferred, that these three inscriptions corresponded to

each other, and that the one was a translation of the other. But it was a long time before the correct principles for the reading of either the hieroglyphics or enchorial characters were discovered, although copies and facsimiles of the whole inscription were made at an early day, and circulated among the learned all over Europe.

We shall not detail the steps of this discovery in which De Sacy and Akerblad led the way, and Dr. Young and Champollion, Jr. completed the work. Much less shall we dwell upon the unfortunate quarrel between Dr. Young and Champollion in reference to the particular discoveries made by them respectively. We must be content with indicating the mode in which the discovery was actually made, and the system of writing thus unfolded.

Among the hieroglyphics of the Rosetta stone as well as of other monuments, it was early noticed that some were enclosed in a kind of oval, or cartouch. These, it was conjectured, must contain proper names—a fair illustration this of the value of hypothesis and theory, when based upon facts, and tested practically. By comparing several of these which contained the same figures, it was found, that they corresponded to the name *Ptolemy* in the Greek part of the same inscription, and in a similar manner various other proper names were ascertained. But it was by comparing different proper names together that the fact was ascertained, that each of the figures of which they were composed had a distinct phonetic value, or represented a sound, that is, were *letters*, analogous to the letters of our alphabet. Dr. Young first conjectured these constituents of the names of *Ptolemy* and *Berenice*; in which he was successful as regards the five letters *E, I, N, P, T*, but mistaken in respect to the rest. Champollion, however, seized the clue thus given him, with a skillful and vigorous hand, nor did he relinquish it until he had in a great measure explored the obscure labyrinth through which it was to guide. Obtaining a copy of the hieroglyphic inscription upon the obelisk of Philae, brought to England by Mr. W. Bankes, he found on it the names of *Ptolemy* and *Kleopatra*. By a comparison of these he ascertained that all the letters common to the two names in Koptic, namely, *L, E, O, P, T*, with the exception of the last, were expressed by the same figures, whilst the letters *K, A, R* and *M*, which are peculiar to one name or the other, are expressed by peculiar figures. By applying this process to a sufficient number of proper names, it is evident that the whole Egyptian hieroglyphic alphabet, if such a thing really existed, would be ultimately evolved.

This it was that Champollion did, and the results are exhibited in his "*Letter to M. Dacier*," published in 1822, and in his "*Precis du systeme hieroglyphique des ancienne Egyptiennes*," which appeared in 1824. In this way it was ascertained, that the Egyptian hieroglyphic alphabet, in the times of the Greek and Roman emperors, represented like that of the Greeks, some four and twenty sounds, both vowel and consonant.

But at the same time a very remarkable peculiarity in the Egyptian alphabetic system was brought to light, for which also we are indebted to the labors of Champollion. We have already noticed, that in his comparison of the names of Ptolemy and Kleopatra, he found that the letter *T* was expressed by one figure (the segment of a sphere) in the former, and by another (an open hand) in the latter. This suggested to him the idea of what he terms *Homophones*, that is to say, several figures or letters representing the same sound. And this principle has been amply verified by the researches, first of Champollion himself, and subsequently by others. Most of the letters are found to have such duplicates of which the number is, in some instances very great, Champollion himself giving no less than *fourteen* for the letter *S* alone, and for the whole alphabet over a hundred, which subsequent researches have considerably increased.

Here the question naturally occurs, how is so cumbrous an alphabet ever to be learned? or, is there any principle upon which particular figures are selected to designate particular sounds, or, as we say, to stand for particular letters? There is such a principle, very simple, and which to one who spoke the language must have greatly facilitated the process of reading it. Figures were selected the names of which began with the sound required. Thus the letter *A* in the hieroglyphic alphabet is an *eagle*, because, in the Egyptian language the name of that bird, *akhour*, begins with *A*. So the figure of a *lion* is *L*, *labo* being the Egyptian name of that animal. The same device has been employed, as most of us will recollect, to facilitate the acquisition of our own alphabet by children. Thus, as the nursery rhyme says:

"A, was an Archer, and shot at a frog,
B, was a butcher, and had a big dog. &c.

This also explains the fact that so many signs are used to represent the same sound, as every language has, of course, a great number of different words beginning with the same sound.

But the number of homophones, as these different signs for the same sound are called, appears to have been limited by various considerations. Some would be easier to make, or occupy less space, or be better understood, and the like. But a still more important consideration appears to have had a yet more extensive influence. This was the *symbolic* use of figures, whereby they were made to represent particular ideas. Thus an *asp* was the symbol of *sovereignty*, an *eagle* of *courage*, a *hatchet* of *divinity*, and so on. It is possible that the first form of Egyptian writing, like the Mexican, was purely pictorial. If so, the expression of abstract ideas would very soon produce a necessity for the introduction of symbols. At all events, we not only find such independent symbols in Egyptian writing, but, what is still more remarkable, we find regard paid to their symbolic import, even when the hieroglyphics are employed merely as letters. Thus the writer or sculptor could by the selection of his figures symbolically express the character of the person or thing named, and at the same time convey his feelings of admiration or approbation, pleasure or disgust, love or hatred. Mr. Gliddon has illustrated this very well in his hieroglyphic writing of *America*, which will also serve to familiarise us with their system. For the first letter, *A*, says he, "we might select one out of many more or less appropriate symbols; as an *asp*, *apple*, *amaranth*, *anchor*, &c. I choose the *asp* as symbolic of sovereignty." For *M*, I select the *mace*, as indicative of "military dominion." For *E*, the *eagle* is undoubtedly the most appropriate, being "the national arms of the Union," and meaning "*courage*." For *R*, the *ram*, by synecdoche, placing a part (the head) for the whole, emblematic of "frontal power" — intellect — and sacred to Amun. For *I*, an *infant* will typify "the juvenile age," and still undeveloped strength of this great country. For *C*, I choose the *cake*—the *consecrated bread*—typical of a "civilized region." For the final *A*, I take the "*sacred Tau*," the symbol of "eternal life." To designate, that by this combination of symbols we mean a *country*, I add the sign, in Koptic "*Kah*," meaning a country, and determinative of geographical appellatives." Lectures p. 16. Thus, together with the name *America*, we receive as connected with it the idea of *a sovereign, or independent nation, skilled in war, courageous, intelligent, youthful refined and destined for immortality*.

The last figure in the name directs our attention to the subject of *determinatives* in general. These are signs or figures placed after words written in phonetic hieroglyphics, in

order to indicate or determine the nature or genus of such words. Thus, after the word for cattle, was placed the figure of a cow, after the name of the god Amun the figure of an idol. Some of these determinatives are very ingenious and expressive. Thus the last character of the word *rima*, "to weep," is an eye shedding tears. In *shav*, which means "to strike down," or wound severely, the final figure is that of a man lying prostrate with an axe buried in his skull.

But, on the other hand, in opposition to this precision in conveying the idea, we must observe that the vowel sounds were noted very imperfectly. As in most oriental languages these were often omitted entirely, and even when they were expressed, the same sign often stood for *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, or *y* indifferently. Hence we may readily suppose, that the correct pronunciation of the ancient Egyptian, like that of dead languages generally, is now well nigh, if not irrecoverably lost.

Hieroglyphics are sculptured and read either perpendicularly or horizontally, from right to left, as in oriental languages, or from left to right, as in our own. But the place where we are to begin to read is indicated by the position of the figures of men and animals which always face towards the place of beginning.

As we have already intimated, the Egyptians had another system of writing besides the hieroglyphic. Of this there were two forms the *hieratic* and *enchorial* or *demotic*. Both these were abridgments of the original hieroglyphic system. The former gave merely the outlines of the figures, and in the latter they were still further reduced into something not very different from our own current hand, or cursive writing, as it is sometimes called. This latter was used in the ordinary business of life, and for literary purposes generally, and many remains of it still exist in the papyri, or books made of the celebrated Egyptian plant called by the Greeks *biblos*. Some of these, found in tombs and enclosed in earthen jars, are supposed to be coeval with the age of Moses, that is, about 3500 years old. Their contents are sometimes contracts, sometimes letters, books of prayers, and one or two poems. It is also to be hoped, that still more important discoveries in this direction may yet be made.

Such is a brief outline of the Egyptian system of writing and its discovery—one of the most brilliant of which the 19th century has to boast, and the full importance of which is not yet fully realized. This much, however, is certain, that it has opened to us a new volume of history and taken us further back towards the origin of the human race than any lit-

erary document of which we are possessed, with the exception of the Bible. Some will, indeed, think that in saying this, we do far less than justice to Egyptian history, which they believe, corrects the errors of the Mosaic history and chronology and goes back to a period far anterior to that there fixed for the creation of the world! The Egyptian monuments, and the data which they furnish for chronology and history, like every other great discovery of modern times, have been seized upon with avidity as a means of assailing and discrediting divine revelation. The result, however, we have no doubt, will be here just as it has been in every other case, where this issue has been fairly made, that is, confirmatory of the truth of Holy Writ, and the means of throwing new light upon it. Such has already, to some extent, been the case, and some of the boldest assaults of the enemies of the Bible have here also resulted in the complete discomfiture of those who made them. Such, for instance, has been the case with the use which some tried to make of the celebrated zodiacs of Denderah and Esneh. These are astronomical schemes representing the constellations of the zodiac, the planets &c. They were copied and brought to Europe by the Savans of Napoleon's expedition. Astronomers began at once to calculate the period when they were a correct picture of those parts of the heavens which they represented, and no one thought of a date more recent than 3 or 4000 years anterior to the commencement of the christian era. M. Gori was positive that they could not be younger than 17000 years! But when Champollion came to read the inscriptions upon these zodiacs, he found upon that of Denderah the name of *Augustus Caesar*, and upon that of Esneh the name of *Antoninus*, proving conclusively, that the one was simply coeval with the birth of Christ, the other 140 years subsequent to that event!

There is no doubt, however, that the history of Egypt runs back to a very remote period, and that it may be justly placed among the nations earliest civilized, and that to its people we are indebted for some of the most important discoveries in the arts and sciences.

Egypt is called in Scripture the land of Ham and of Mizraim, which would indicate that it was settled either by the son or grand-son of Noah immediately after the flood. In the time of Abraham, with whom the Jewish national history can scarcely be said to commence, for it was not until at least six centuries later that they shook off the yoke of Egyptian bondage and took the station of an independent nation, Egypt was a wealthy and well organized if not a powerful monar-

chy. Still more was this the case in the time of Joseph. And in the age of Moses, "the learning of the Egyptians" appears to have been proverbial: Acts 2: 22. Nearly two centuries before the siege of Troy, when but the first germs of civilization were making their appearance among the Greeks, (B. C. 1400) the Egyptians, under the powerful dynasties of the Osirtasens and Rameses, appear to have reached the zenith of their power, extending their arms and conquests into southern Africa towards the sources of the Nile, and east, through Syria and Persia into India, and to the very borders of China. Their arts and civilization at this period were, perhaps, superior to those of any of the heathen nations of antiquity.

The Egyptians themselves, however, if we may consider Manetho as their representative, traced their history back to the most incredible antiquity. What is commonly called "The old Egyptian Chronicle," preserved in a Greek translation of the 7th century of our era, by George Syncellus, represents the gods as reigning over Egypt for about 34,000 years, the demigods 217, and ordinary mortals about 2300, which would place the origin of the monarchy over 2800 years before the birth of Christ, that is, over 500 years before the flood, as dated by our current chronology. According to Manetho, the celebrated Egyptian historian who represents himself as living in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B. C. 250), Menes, the first king of Egypt reigned 5867 years before Christ, that is, 1867 years before the point at which our chronology generally fixes the first appearance of men upon earth. To strengthen his authority is a favorite idea with many recent writers, and with Mr. Gliddon especially.

We do not reject this chronology simply because it differs from the system that has been deduced from the Old Testament. The Scriptures cannot be understood as teaching anything like a system either of universal history or of chronology. It is true that they incidentally give many very interesting facts for the former, and some that we may assume as fixed points for the latter, but they do not give us sufficient data for the construction of a complete system of either. No scientific man now supposes that those wonderful revolutions, to which Geology bears such clear and conclusive testimony, have taken place upon the surface of our globe within so short a period as 5850 years. Nor do we understand Moses so to teach. For all that we know, or that Moses says to the contrary, millions of years may have come and gone between "*the beginning*" when "*God created the heavens and the earth,*" and the day in which the Great Architect, looking upon that chaotic state

of the earth when it "*was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep,*" said, "*let there be light, and there was light.*" Even the six days of creation, some of our most scientific writers, as well as our most orthodox and pious men, from the day of Dr. Good to those of Hugh Miller, the distinguished author of the "Footprints of the Creator," have regarded not as six ordinary days of twenty-four hours each, but as so many *periods*, during which our globe was undergoing those changes, with some of the wonderful results of which Geology makes us partially acquainted. We ourselves are rather disposed to place the great geologic revolutions anterior to this period, and very much doubt whether sound interpretation of the passage will allow us to consider those six demiurgic days, as they have been called, as so many periods each including, perhaps, many thousands of years, as would be the case if they are intended to designate the steps by which the divine power *gradually* gave to our earth its present form. I say "*gradually,*" for although we are generally disposed to represent the Creator as acting instantaneously, or, as it were, by a single impulse, as "*speaking, and it is done, commanding, and it stands fast,*" yet such is not a universal law, so far as we can learn either from the word of God or from our own observation. Thus, even according to the received opinion, the work of creation was spread over *six* successive days. And we also know, that the divine plan for the redemption of our race took *ages* for its full development, nor have we any reason to believe, that it has yet reached its glorious consummation. And yet we are assured, that "*the Lord is not slack as some men reckon slackness, for a day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.*" We have, therefore, no *a priori* reasons in the character of God's mode of procedure for limiting human history and confining it within a very narrow period. But so far as merely uninspired human history is concerned, we do in almost every instance find such a limitation in the past. Nations can trace back their annals to a certain point, generally but a few centuries, and there everything like authentic history stops. Beyond that, all is involved in darkness or fable. Such, as we have already seen, is the case with the Egyptians. Here, as in everything else which they attempt to teach, the Scriptures are the surest and simplest guide that we can follow. They are positive in their declaration that our race is descended from a single pair of parents, who were created by God himself in his "*image and in his likeness,*" and that after the deluge a single family again became

the source of the countless tribes of men by whom the earth is now inhabited. The Bible-chronology before the flood is certainly of a very unique character. The *long lives* assigned to the ten generations mentioned in the fifth chapter of Genesis, without any intimation that the life of man was subsequently shortened, or without any cause, so far as we know, why such a change should then take place, may naturally suggest, that our knowledge is here very imperfect and circumscribed, though it is difficult to see how any other conclusion is admissible, from the data with which we are here supplied, than that the flood occurred about 1600 years after man's first appearance upon earth. So we can scarcely reject the Scriptures as chronological authority in reference to subsequent events until the building of Solomon's temple, whence by other means we can, without much difficulty, descend to our own day. It has, indeed, been suggested by Dr. Prichard (Researches V. pp. 558, 559), that the genealogical tables given in Genesis, and upon which the calculations just referred to are based, may, like those of our Lord, given by Matthew and Luke, and like oriental genealogies generally, be considerably abridged by the omission of less important names, so as to make them less burdensome to the memory. The fact, that each of these genealogies (in Gen. 5 : 3—32, and 11 : 10—26) contains an equal series of ten, seems somewhat to favor this idea, but other considerations militate against it very decidedly. These genealogical tables are much more precise than those in Matthew and Luke. Not only the whole age of each person, but his age at the birth of the child inserted in the register is distinctly given. And in some cases the minuteness is very remarkable. Thus it is said (Gen. 11 : 10), that "Arphaxad was born *two years* after the flood." This contrasts remarkably with the looseness and generality of the other registers just referred to, as well as with that in 1 Chron. 1 : 11, where no ages are given and where (ch. 1 : 17), the sons of Aram are spoken of as though they were the sons of Noah. On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that there are some things in these tables in Genesis, that are not to be taken strictly. Thus we are told (Gen. 5 : 32) that Noah was 500 years old at the birth of Shem, Ham and Japheth, whilst we learn from Gen. 11 : 10, that he was, strictly speaking, two years older at the birth of Shem, who was, perhaps, his second son.

But, apart from all considerations of their inspiration, we are disposed to place much greater reliance upon chronological calculations based upon the Sacred Writings than upon

those derived either from Manetho or from Egyptian monuments, at least so far as the present state of our knowledge is concerned. As to Manetho, we have, in the first place, only imperfect fragments of his works, and those through mutilated and contradictory translations. Secondly, much of his history is evidently fabulous, as where he speaks of the reigns of gods and demigods, and his statements in regard to the Jews are contradicted by the highest authority. Thirdly, he is stamped as an impostor by the occasion upon which he professes to write his history, namely, as an introduction to prophecies of future events, and also by the professed sources of both the history and prophecies, viz. : "certain columns in the Seriadic land, engraven in the sacred dialect, and with sacred letters, by Thoth, the first Hermes, the contents of which were translated before the deluge from the sacred dialect into the *Greek* language, and written upon papyrus, deposited by *Agathodæmon* the son of the second Hermes, the father of That, in the sanctuaries of the temples of Egypt." See Hengstenberg's "Egypt and the Books of Moses," p. 244. In short, we can scarcely resist Hengstenberg's conclusion, that Manetho was an impostor who instead of living, as he professes to have done, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, lived under the Roman domination. Nor do we think, that the fact that many names of kings mentioned by Manetho, are actually found upon the monuments proves anything in his favor. He may have been able to read the inscriptions upon those monuments, or may have obtained them from some other source to interweave with his apochryphal history. Our so-called "historical novels" illustrate this trick sufficiently, and even the "Book of Mormon" may have in it some names of persons who really existed. Sir G. Wilkinson who proposes to follow the chronology of Josephus, and place the reign of Menes, whom all agree, to have been the first monarch of Egypt, 2320 B. C., that is, 125 years after the received epoch of the flood, does not pretend to find even by conjecture, as many as seventy names of kings on the monuments. But this, allowing an average of fifteen years to a reign, would not give anything like the period claimed for the duration of their empire. But, in addition to this, there is great reason to suspect, that many of the sovereigns inscribed upon the monuments were contemporaneous, and Bunsen (in his *Ancient Egypt*) has clearly shown, that cotemporary reigns of a father and son, of husband and wife, of brothers and sisters are thus celebrated. Thus we are told by an able writer, (in the *Edinburgh Rev.* for April, 1846), that, "in the genealogical monuments of the

latter part of the 18th dynasty we find two brothers and a sister of its ninth king, Horas, with the wife of the one brother, a son of the other, and a husband of the sister, all bearing insignia of royalty. The names of neither of the two brothers is entered in Manetho's lists, but to make amends for this, that of the queen of the one is entered three different times—once for herself, and once for each of her male relatives; whilst the princess royal and her husband have each a place as male sovereigns!" Now this is what is called confirming Manetho by the monuments, and this is the way in which the list of Egyptian sovereigns is swelled by the monuments! A few such mistakes as these would easily add scores of sovereigns, and hundreds of years to Egyptian history. Farther, it seems from this and similar examples, that the Egyptian monarchs were in the habit of associating others, generally, perhaps, the members of their own family, with them in the government. Hence a single king with half a dozen of sons or brothers might readily be formed into one of Manetho's dynasties, and spread over a century or more. Hence, we attach very little importance to Mr. Gliddon's long lists of kings derived from the monuments, and which he thinks so strongly corroborative of Manetho. On the contrary, not one name in a dozen corresponds, even according to Mr. G.'s own showing to those in Manetho's lists. But in addition to those whom he places in Manetho's dynasties he alledges, that there are numerous unplaced kings, as he calls them. Now all these together would make well on to a hundred, and if they are to be added to Manetho's 378, it is difficult to say to what period in time Egyptian history may not stretch back. We are, therefore, disposed to take his whole argument as a fair *reductio ad absurdum*, and suspect that a correct understanding of the facts would here also present him in a light but little less enviable than did the unwrapping of the mummy, whose history and condition he so confidently explained from the accompanying papyrus, until it was a matter of ocular demonstration that he had entirely mistaken the sex of the subject upon which he was descanting so learnedly.

With all this, however, it must still be admitted that Egyptian history and civilization run back to the most remote antiquity. Compared with them almost all other nations are but as children. Nor can their importance and services to the rest of mankind be too highly estimated. Not only did Greece receive several colonies from Egypt which are acknowledged to have given the first impulse to that civilization which

has descended from them through Rome to us, but the most distinguished Grecian philosophers and legislators are well known to have resorted to Egypt for information and instruction. The Jews, too, undoubtedly derived many of their ideas and arts from the same source. They were either indebted to them for their letters, or derived them from a common source. The same principle seems to pervade their alphabet as that which we have already mentioned as characteristic of the Egyptian hieroglyphic system. Thus "*Beth*," which is said to mean "*a house*," begins with the sound for which that letter stands. And so the other letters generally. It is also thought that in this letter \beth , there is a resemblance to be traced between its form and the outline of an oriental house with a flat roof. The signs for numbers, too, which we derive from the Arabians and call by their name, but which they received from India, and call "*Hindee*," are, in part at least, evidently derived from the same source. Their numerals or figures, 1, 2, 3 and 4, are precisely the same as ours. Their numerical system, however, was different from ours. Among them nearly all the useful arts first make their appearance. Agriculture they, of course, derived from an antediluvian source, but they undoubtedly introduced many improvements into its practice. Canals for irrigation and for transportation first make their appearance among them. Their skill in mechanics enabled them to cut out blocks of stone, and to elevate and transport them from place to place in a manner that is scarcely within our power, even with all our appliances of steam engines and railroads. They built ships of immense size, and circumnavigated Africa thousands of years before Vasco De Gama's boasted discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. Upon Egyptian monuments, and in the admirable copies given of them by Rosellini and Wilkinson, almost every craftsman may see the state of his art 3000 years ago. There is the shoemaker drawing his thread, and cutting his leather with a knife of the form now most approved; the chairmaker manufacturing chairs in forms that may well be taken as models of elegance in our day, and apparently luxurious enough for the most fastidious; costumes that vie in taste with the most recent importations from Paris; tables that might stand in any parlor, and vases that would ornament the palace of a queen. There, too, the worker in metals is seen using a blow-pipe of the most approved construction, and we know that they manufactured articles of enamel, porcelain, glass, bronze, copper and iron, and engraved seals upon a variety of precious stones. Paper is their invention, and their fabrics of wool and camel's hair, of

linen and cotton, rivalled in their fineness and color, and in the elegance of their patterns, the cambrics of India, or the products of modern power-looms. How they hardened their copper so as to cut the hardest blocks of granite, and sufficiently elastic for a sword, modern chemistry, with all its skill, has not yet discerned. The products of their pencil and of their chisel are still fresh and glorious before us after so many centuries have passed over them. It is true that Egyptian art is here defective in some most important points. Its authors knew nothing of perspective, and seem to have stopped at a certain point without aiming at any higher perfection. But in vividness of coloring and massiveness of proportion, they still retain their prëeminence. Many of the paintings that are found in temples that have been roofless for more than 2000 years, still look as fresh as when their colors were first laid on by the artist. It is true, their wonderful preservation is due to the dryness of the climate, but that has only preserved for us these specimens of artistic skill. And those colossal statues that form the columns of magnificent temples, or which, in a sitting posture, reach an elevation of *sixty feet*, cut out of a single stone, what age has ever attempted to rival? And what artist has ever produced a statue so sublime as that of the conqueror Remeses (Sesostris), now prostrate upon the plain where Memphis once stood?

But in its architecture Egypt still reigns without a rival. Its cities and villages were counted by the thousand, and every city had its temples, and sometimes the temples themselves were almost cities. Who has not heard of the pyramids and obelisks, and tombs? Of Beni Hassan and Abydos, and of Denderah? Of Thebes, and Karnac, and Luxor? Of Esneh, and Edfou, and Ipsambul? But here we cannot undertake to enumerate or describe.

Thus does Egypt present us, in its history, its literature and its arts, with some of the loftiest and proudest achievements and triumphs of the human mind. And although the race to which all this glory belongs is now degraded, fallen and almost extinct, we cannot deny our indebtedness to them, and are not ashamed to admit their claims to a participation in our common humanity.

But it has been made a question, and has been debated with all the acrimony that has, in our country at least, characterized every thing that is in any way brought to bear upon the condition of the negro race, to what section of the human family, to which of the races of men, as they are now called, did the ancient Egyptians belong? It is now conceded upon

all hands, and their monuments confirm this, that they were the descendants of Ham. And Ham was formerly taken as the father and type of the negro race. It was long a favorite idea with certain writers that the blacks were the descendants of Ham, and that the divine decree had, in consequence of the sin of their father, condemned them to perpetual slavery. When it was observed that this sentence was pronounced against *Canaan*, one of the sons of Ham, and not against Ham himself, learned expositors were not wanting to suggest that there was an error in the Hebrew text, and that instead of "*Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be,*" it should read, "*Cursed be Ham!*" But when it was shown that the most distinguished nations of antiquity, the Assyrians, Babylonians and Tyrians, and especially the Egyptians, were all, according to biblical genealogy, the descendants of Ham, the argument assumed quite another form, and it was first denied that the Egyptians were negroes, and then Ham was regularly adopted as one of the most distinguished progenitors of the Caucasian race. This last is Mr. Gliddon's position, which he makes the corollary of almost every proposition that he lays down in his "*Lectures upon Ancient Egypt.*" What is the decision of history and of ethnography upon this subject?

It is now generally conceded that the Egyptians were a variety of the Caucasian race. Their most ancient paintings and statues, as well as the mummies found in their tombs, and the skulls taken from their Catacombs, prove this. In their pictures we see the elevated forehead and prominent nose and general aspect of Europeans, and the same result is given by the examination of their skulls and mummies generally. But that distinguished naturalist, Blumenbach, (as quoted by Pritchard II., 236, 237), has distinguished "three varieties in the physiognomy of Egyptians, as expressed in paintings and sculptures, or three principal types to which individual figures, though with more or less of deviation, may be reduced—the Ethiopian, the Indian [Hindoo] and Berberine. The first coincides with the descriptions given of the Egyptians by the ancients. It is chiefly distinguished by prominent maxillæ, turgid lips, a broad flat nose, and protruding eyeballs. The characters of the second are a long, narrow nose, long and thin eyelids, which turn upwards from the bridge of the nose towards the temples, ears placed high on the head, a short and thin bodily structure, and very long shanks. The third sort of Egyptian figures partakes something of both the former. It is characterized by a peculiar turgid habit, flabby cheeks, a

short chin, large prominent eyes, and a plump form of body. This is the type most generally followed in Egyptian paintings. It is supposed to represent the ordinary form of the Egyptians, and what may be termed their peculiar national physiognomy." This division is not irreconcilable with that of the late Dr. Morton, which is based exclusively upon cranio-logical examinations, which are, of course, necessarily partial, and limited in their extent. Blumenbach's conclusions are evidently more general and so more reliable. The modern Kopts are acknowledged to be the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and may, therefore, claim our attention in this connection. Travelers generally have remarked their approximation to the negro type, and describe them as mulattoes. Mr. Ledyard, an American, is perhaps as competent a judge as any we could select. He says: "I suspect the Copts [Kopts] to have been the origin of the negro race; the nose and lips correspond with those of the negro. The hair, whenever I can see it among the people here, is curled; not like that of the negroes, but like the mulattoes." With this agree the descriptions which the ancients give us of the Egyptians. Herodotus, who wrote 450 B. C., says that they were black or dark in their complexion, and had curly and woolly hair, with projecting lips. Pindar, Æschylus and Lucian, all employ similar language. Similar to this is the language of a very remarkable document discovered in Egypt not long since. It was written in Greek during the reign of one of the Ptolomies. It is a commercial contract, in which the persons of the parties are described with great minuteness. The seller, who is named Pomouthes, is said to be of a black or dark brown color (*μελάγχρως*); the buyer is described as yellow, or honey-colored, (*μελίχρως*); the nose and features are not described as those of a negro. The hair of mummies, also, is similar to that of the Kopts, as noticed above, not woolly like that of the negroes of Guinea, whose descendants form so large a portion of the colored population of the United States, but remarkably fine, and disposed to be curled and frizzled. The ancient Egyptians appear to have been as careful about their hair as we are, sometimes wearing it in long and flowing ringlets; and, as is proved by the remains found in their tombs, sometimes wearing false hair, curls and wigs. Whilst, then, the Egyptians belonged to the Caucasian race, it is evident that they differed materially in their physical appearance from the European branch of that race, and especially from the Germanic or Teutonic family of it, to which we belong, and which is distinguished for its fair complexion. They seem to be intermediate be-

tween this and the negro race properly so called; yet we cannot agree with Ledyard that they are the original type of that race. Cush [Kush], another son of Ham, whose descendants are generally called Ethiopians, or blacks, and who were also settled much higher up the Nile, and more in the interior of Africa than the Egyptians, is much more likely to have been the original progenitor of this race. There is, however, an African race that is, in all probability, descended from the Egyptians, but ethnographers do not class them as negroes. We refer to the Kaffirs, whose tribes are spread all over southern Africa, north of the Cape of Good Hope, and who have, for various reasons, long excited the interest of Europeans. The following description of their physical appearance is given by a recent writer (Rev. T. Smith), long a missionary in southern Africa. (See *Miss. Herald* for May, 1849, pp. 172, 175). "In stature, the Kaffir is often tall; in form, robust; in color, brown. The contour of his countenance is partly that of the negro, and partly European. He has the thick lips and the woolly hair of the one, the lofty forehead, the prominent nose, and something of the intelligent aspect of the other." Intellectually considered, "the Kaffir possesses the faculty of reason in a very high degree. In war he will form his plans, and carry on his purposes with the greatest dexterity and skill. In the councils of his people he will speak with fluency and eloquence in favor of the project he wishes to support." But his language has peculiarities that clearly identify it with the modern Koptic and ancient Egyptian. The Koptic differs from the Semitic and Indo-European languages in many particulars. "Its words," says Dr. Prichard, "are susceptible of but few modifications, except by means of prefixes and infixes. In this and in almost every other peculiarity of grammatical structure, the Koptic recedes from the character of the Asiatic and European languages, and associates itself with several of the native idioms of Africa. The distinction, both of gender and number in Koptic nouns, is by means of prefixes, or articles, both definite and indefinite, of which there are singular and plural, masculine and feminine forms; the nouns themselves being indeclinable." Such, too, is the character of the ancient Egyptian. In this respect the Kaffir is evidently a language of the same family. "With the exception of a few terminations in the cases of the noun and tenses of the verb," says Boyce in his *Kaffir Gram.*, "the whole business of declension, conjugation, &c., is effected by prefixes and by changes which take place in the initial letters or syllables of words subject to grammatical government." Thus, "indoda" means "a man;"

“ama-doda,” “men;” “inhlu,” “a house;” “izen-Chu,” “houses;” “un-Cambo,” “a river;” “imi-Cambo,” “rivers.” “So in Koptic,” says Pritchard, “from “sheri,” “a son,” comes the plural, “neu-sheri,” “the sons;” from “sori,” “accusation;” “han-sori,” “accusations.”

We do not hesitate, therefore, to pronounce the Kaffirs a branch of the old Egyptian stock, and we are inclined to hazard a conjecture in regard to their first separation from their kindred in the valley of the Nile. We are informed by Herodotus that about 650 years before the commencement of our era, a large body of the Egyptian army, numbering, as he says, 240,000, though this is no doubt an exaggeration, becoming offended at their monarch Psemmitichus for his partiality to certain Grecian mercenaries, whom he had enlisted in his service, determined to forsake their native country. Ascending the Nile, they took refuge in Ethiopia, and entered the service of its monarch, who gave them homes in a large tract of country upon its confines, whence they expelled a tribe of people at that time in rebellion against the Ethiopian prince. Not having brought their families along with them, they, of course, intermarried either with the Ethiopians or with some other African tribe, and this may account for the stronger development of the negro features in the Kaffirs than in the ancient Egyptians or modern Kopts. Not only their physical appearance and language, but likewise their military habits argue in favor of this origin of the Kaffirs, who, it is well known, have long given the British government immense trouble, and are even now waging a doubtful war with it. Their restless and roving character also corresponds to this.

If this is the origin of the Kaffirs, as we are inclined to think it is, we have here an instance of the lapse into barbarism of one of the most highly civilized nations of antiquity. Such, at all events, was the fate of that vast army of deserters mentioned by Herodotus. And do not the histories of Assyria and of Persia, of Greece and of Rome, when overrun by barbarians, teach the same lesson, viz.: that nations, even after they have made great advances in civilization, may sink into barbarism? Such, too, we suspect has been the history of our own continent, over so great a portion of which we see the traces of once civilized communities, either the Mexicans, or a kindred race, long since blotted from existence, or mingled with the savage hordes by whom they were overrun. Thus, too, may we account for the barbarous condition of the African tribes generally. Separated from their parent stock, isolated in various parts of the immense continent of Africa, lost

in its dense forests, relieved from the necessity of any great exertion either of mind or of body by its tropical climate and luxuriant vegetation, instead of rising in the scale of humanity, they have, age after age, continued to sink lower and lower. The superior power and cupidity of ancient Egypt, as well as of modern Europe and America, have contributed and combined to keep them in this position, for we find negro slaves brought into Egypt in the most ancient periods.

But with the Ethiopians, whom we have every reason to regard as the original of the black races, the relations of the Egyptians were of the most intimate, although not always of the most friendly character. Egypt was sometimes in alliance with Ethiopia, sometimes in subjection to it, and received from it, according to its own historians, several dynasties of princes. Upon this subject Prichard, who has undoubtedly prosecuted his ethnological investigations with more care and patience, with more learning and science, than any other writer, and who is equally eminent both as a naturalist and as a philologist, thus states his conclusions: "That the Egyptians and Ethiopians were kindred tribes, or branches of one ancient stock, the earliest known position of which is almost between the two countries, or at least in the southern region of Egypt, while the middle and lower tracts were perhaps, as Herodotus intimates, yet scarcely habitable, or at least but little inhabited, still remains a historical fact. It may be doubted whether those original Pharaohs, who dwell near Thebes and Elephantine, might more properly be termed Egyptians or Ethiopians. In their physical characters, the natives of that region of the Nile valley were probably of much darker color, and might perhaps be termed black when compared with the paler and redder inhabitants of middle and lower Egypt." *Researches* II. 245.

Such, however protracted it may appear, is a brief outline of some of the most important questions connected with the modern investigations of ancient Egypt. For the filling up of this, we must refer to the works which stand at the head of this article and to others, such as Rossellini's and Bunsen's, to which we have, unfortunately, not had access. Of these, Sir G. Wilkinson's is, in the department of Egyptian Antiquities, undoubtedly the most important and most satisfactory. It is amazing to find with what minuteness and clearness the life and habits, the arts and occupations of generations that lived four thousand years ago, are reproduced and described. Although many additions will, of course, be made to it from year to year, as he himself has done in this second edition, yet it

must long continue to be the great storehouse from which succeeding authors will derive their materials. Dealing but little in speculation, he gives the facts upon which others may speculate at pleasure. Very different is the work of Champollion Figeac, with all the excellencies and some of the greatest blemishes of French authorship, equally profound and clear, yet not a little self-confident and extravagant, with far more respect for Manetho than for Moses. Hengstenberg's work is one that cannot be too highly commended, especially to the student of the Bible, upon many passages of which it is an admirable commentary, and it is from him that Dr. Hawks has derived nearly all that is valuable in his volume, for which American typography has done its best, but which is greatly surpassed in this as in every other respect by the beautiful volume of Mr. Osburn.

Mr. Gliddon's lectures are a very clever introduction to the study of hieroglyphics, but a very unsafe guide, we fear, in every thing else, and even here his attainments appear to be much less trust-worthy than he seems to suppose, if we are to judge by his famous unfolding of the mummy, of which every body has heard.

Having thus generally introduced this subject, we hope occasionally to revert to several of its aspects, especially to its scriptural bearings and illustrations, if life and leisure are accorded us for the work.

ARTICLE III.

STRICTURES UPON APOSTOLIC TRADITION.

THE writer, while fully sympathizing with the author of an article in the April number of the *Ev. Review*, entitled "The Necessity of Apostolic Tradition," in deploring that the Holy Scriptures are used by sects as a cloak for their heresies, cannot agree with him in regard to the remedy which he proposes for this evil, and therefore begs leave to submit to his consideration and that of the readers of the *Review* the following remarks:

The train of ideas in the article under consideration seems to be this. The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he

know them, because they are spiritually discerned. Hence, as long as man is not regenerated and has no faith, he is incapable of understanding the Scriptures, and will construct their teachings into heresies. Therefore, man should be converted and have faith before attempting to read or expound them. But regeneration and faith are produced by Apostolic Tradition. Consequently, Apostolic Tradition is necessary to understand the Scriptures, and to avoid falling into heresies.

This summary of the leading ideas of the article might almost alone suffice to show that the ground taken by the author is utterly untenable, and I shall, therefore, be very brief in setting this forth.

In the first place, the object aimed at by the author is beyond the reach of human wisdom or power. His object is to devise something that would prevent the rise of heresies. But Scripture testifies that there will be false prophets to the end (Matt. 24: 23), nor is it in the power of man to secure faith on the part of all those in whose hands the Bible is found or placed, and thus there will not be wanting such as misconstrue it.

In the second place, the means pointed to for obtaining the desired result, is of rather doubtful existence. The author calls it "Apostolic Tradition," and though he nowhere explicitly states the meaning this term has with him, it may be gathered from various places in the article that he makes it refer principally to the Apostle's creed, and also to later symbols of the Church, and the knowledge of christianity found on earth at any given time. But by Apostolic Tradition, the use of the language would lead us to understand doctrines handed down from the Apostles to posterity, by oral communication, whether they be consigned to writing at some later period or not. Now, neither later symbols, nor the knowledge of the Christian religion met with in our time—and this alone can have any bearing upon the question—are such. For the teachings of the Apostles were written down by themselves, or in their times by apostolic men, so that Apostolic Tradition in the proper sense of the word, existed only until the N. Testament took its origin, since which time men might derive their information concerning christianity from the written source. Moreover, as it lies in the nature of tradition to dwindle away, and especially so when equally, or even more reliable and accurate information about a subject can be obtained from a written source, take as an instance, traditions concerning the pilgrim fathers in our days?—we are, I think, fully justified in asserting, that Apostolic Tradition is not embodied in later symbols,

and still less in the Christian knowledge prevalent at this day, but that both of them have the Scriptures for their source, so that it would be rather difficult to show the existence of Apostolic Tradition in our time.

There remains, however, the Apostles' creed. I will not call into question now whether this emanated purely from tradition, or from the combined sources of tradition and the Scriptures, or at least a portion of them, though I think there are some strong reasons in favor of the latter opinion, but grant it to be mere tradition. But then what of that?

In the third place, the author overrates the efficacy of the means, as which, however, as we have shown above, we can at most consider only the Apostles' creed, and this he does in disparagement of Scripture. Apostolic Tradition, he asserts, will remove prejudices from men's minds, and purify their hearts, and impart faith unto them, while the Scriptures are incapable of all this. Now, is not this altogether inconsistent, yea, does it not sound like—I would say blasphemy—were I not convinced that the author of the article meant no such thing, but has only (and I beg him to pardon even this expression) spoken inconsiderately. For even if the Apostles' creed and later symbols, and the knowledge of christianity were Apostolic Tradition, what good reason would there be to believe them to be more efficacious than the Scriptures, the former according to the author's own statement containing nothing that is not also contained in the Scriptures, and credited merely because contained therein, whether explicitly or implicitly? What good reason is there, for instance, to ascribe the power of converting man to the Gospel story, or the doctrines set forth in the epistle to the Romans, when presented as tradition would have them, whether in writing or orally, and at the same time deny it to that same Gospel and those same doctrines, when presented, as they are found, in one of the Gospels, or in the Apostles' letter? But what is worse, a like assertion is in contradiction to the high eulogiums bestowed by God Himself upon His word. When He says of it that it is "spirit and life;" "quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword;" "an incorruptible seed by which men are born again;" that it "enlightens the understanding," (Ps. 19: 8); "converts the soul," (Ps. 19: 7); "engenders faith," (Rom 10: 17); "sanctifies man," (John 17: 17); and is able to save his soul, (James 1: 21), and the like, and says so in general—how unwarrantable and rash is it not here to distinguish between Apostolic Tradition and the written word of God, and to refer those and similar passages to the forms to the exclu-

sion of the latter, and this, while the written word of God is an advance upon Apostolic Tradition, inasmuch as, according to divine testimony, it was verbally inspired. Moreover, there are express teachings found concerning the efficacy of the written word. John 5: 38, 39, we read: "And ye have not his word abiding in you, for whom he hath sent him ye believe not;" "Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." Here our Divine Maker refers those who are yet unbelievers to the Scriptures, in order to be made, by their instrumentality, believers. The Gospel of St. John concludes by saying, (20: 31): "But these (signs) are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name." Thus, the history of Christ, written by an Apostle, and not handed down from him orally, is said to be capable of producing faith. Comp. also 2 Tim. 3: 15: "And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Jesus Christ."

But then the author seems to adduce towards the end of his article some weighty authorities for the opinion advanced by him concerning the necessity of Apostolic Tradition, viz.: Luther, his coadjutors, the primitive Christians, and Rudelbach. Yet none of them lends support to the author's views.

The passage quoted from Luther's writings evidently means, that it is dangerous to doubt a doctrine, which has been unanimously held by all churches, ever since their foundation, because such a doctrine cannot be false, as from the very nature of the Church she cannot be without the truth, nor will she be, in virtue of the provision which God has made for this end, namely, His written word. How the author is sustained by that quotation, I do not see.

As to Luther's coadjutors and the Evang. Lutheran Church, the author is mistaken in believing, that they ever held fast to a certain form of sound words as delivered to her in accordance with which the Scriptures must be interpreted. All that seems required to prove what I advance here, is to recall the dogma held by the Evang. Lutheran Church, and expressed in the words: *Semet ipsam interpretandi facultas*, i. e. the power of the Scriptures to be its own interpreter without any other aid whatsoever.¹ Our Theologians call its perspicuity, indeed,

¹ Gerhard says: "Spiritus Sanctus est autor Scripturae principalis summus, ergo etiam est ejusdem interpres authenticus—ac proinde omnis legitima ac solida Scripturae interpretatio—ex ipsa Scriptura est petenda. And Quenstedt: "Non aliunde, quam ex ipsa S. Sc. certa et infallibilis interpretatio ha-

ordinata non absoluta, inasmuch as certain conditions are to be complied with in order to understand the word of God. As such are mentioned, knowledge of the idiom of the original, or a translation of it, attentive reading, yielding to the motions of the Holy Spirit, prayer, etc.; but by no means, as the author of the article seems to intimate, Apostolic Tradition. I need scarcely remark, that it created no difficulty with those theologians to demand of man, who is naturally blind and unfit for anything spiritual, to yield to the motions of the Holy Spirit, and to pray while reading the Bible, without assuming something like Apostolic Tradition, by the agency of which he would have been previously prepared for such spiritual exercises. For they saw that such a preparation was not absolutely necessary at all, Scripture itself being able to regenerate man, and thus to prepare him for its correct understanding and faithful explication, and that if a preparation was in place, as it really is in most cases, it might be had by construction taken from the Bible, whether imparted orally or by writing.

As regards the primitive Christians, it is true they had a certain Rule of faith, common to all, and by which they were guided in deciding what was orthodox and what was not. But so we, and indeed all Christians, have. For that Rule of faith was the knowledge of the Christian Religion possessed by its professors, and which in every emergency might be increased and confirmed by searching the Scriptures with reference to a certain dogma pretended to be Christian. And when we find ancient Fathers of the Church, e. g. Irenæus, and Tertullian, refer to tradition besides the Scriptures for proof of a doctrine, this need not surprise us, since at that early period, viz.: the end of the 2d and beginning of the 3d century (Irenæus being himself a disciple of Polycarp, who had had the Apostle John for his teacher), Apostolic Tradition, in a wider sense of the word, still existed, nor does it at all appear how this circumstance could second the author's view, concerning the necessity of Apostolic Tradition.

There still remains the quotation made from one of the publications of our much esteemed cotemporary Rudelbach. Even if we grant all that seems to be asserted there: that the Apostolic creed was composed and introduced by the Apostles themselves, and referred to in some places of the New Testament, which, however, is a disputed point yet; we will do well to

beri potest. Sc. enim, vel potius Sp. S. in Sc. loquens, est sui ipsius legitimus interpres. Obscuriores sententiae, quae explicatione indigent, per alias Sc. sententias clariores explicari possunt ac debent, atque ita locorum obscuriorum interpretationem Sc. ipsa largitur, facta eorundem cum clarioribus collatione, ut ita Sc. per Sc. explicetur.

bear in mind in the first place, that we know of no original form of the Apostles' creed, but only a variety of forms (ours being one of the number), and that probably not a single original, but several existed from the beginning, and in the second place, that no reason is apparent why we should take the introduction of their creed by the Apostles for anything more than a matter of expediency, since there was as much use for a creed then as there is now, a brief sum of the fundamental articles being needed both for purposes of instruction and edification, and in order to distinguish Christians from Jews, Heathens and Heretics. But then the Apostles' creed is no more binding upon us than any other apostolic institution, e. g. the one established at the convention of the Apostles at Jerusalem (Acts 15), enjoining to abstain from meat offered to idols, and from blood and from things strangled, and from fornication; that is to say, it is binding upon us and upon all Christians only, because its contents are set forth in Scripture as revealed truth. Had the Apostles, or rather the Great Head of the Church, desired us to have a different idea of the Apostles' creed, he would have caused it to be inserted in the Scriptures; for thereby he would have bound us to have an equal regard for it as for any other portion of the Scriptures, while, as it is, it must receive its authority from them. So the quotation from Rudelbach's treatise is of no avail.

In concluding, I cannot forbear to make the remark, that some in our days who love Zion well, and would fain see her broken down walls rebuilt, and herself secured from the inroads which her enemies make upon her, seem to imagine that there is something wanting in her to secure this happy end, and this desideratum they think they have found in what they call Apostolic Tradition. They do not want tradition in the Romish sense of the word,—by no means; for they hold this to be, what it really is, a source of heresies. The tradition which they want is an apostolic one. But such a tradition is, as we have shown above, though briefly, we trust clearly, a phantasm, excepting perhaps the Apostles' creed; and besides, in assuming it with a view to do more for Zion than the written word of God has been able to do hitherto by itself, and through the instrumentality of those who believe in it, there lies a great danger of falling into the fatal error of Rome, and this partly has happened to the author of the article under question, inasmuch as he makes the efficacy of Scripture depend on Apostolic Tradition, and thus causes it to resign its supremacy in matters of faith to something else, while it alone is ordained to be “a lamp unto the feet and a light unto the path” of those who seek that Jerusalem which is above.

ARTICLE IV.

The Delegation of the Missouri Synod in Germany, being a visit to that country in the winter of 1851-'52.

Translated from the German of Professor Walter, Editor of the "Lutheraner."

OUR Synod, the German Evangelical Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, which, at its last Synodical meeting, already numbered ninety-two members, as is known to most of our readers, was originally and essentially composed of two ingredients—the one, those Lutherans from Saxony, who immigrated to Missouri in the year 1839; the other, a company of Lutheran ministers who, almost entirely by the influence of Pastor Löhe, of Bavaria, in behalf of the congregations by whom the same were called thither, were sent to America from Germany in the year 1843. These soon discovered that after the first meager beginning, our Synod, through the numerous admissions by which it was growing up, even to its present respectable organization, would soon extend its operations abroad over a large portion of the States of our New Fatherland. And here, next to God, to Pastor Löhe does our Synod almost entirely owe her prosperity and quick grown strength, at which she so heartily rejoices; right truly should she honor him as her Spiritual Father. It would require the pages of an entire book, should any one even in short sketches attempt to relate what that dear man, with indefatigable zeal, and in the most generous and disinterested manner, has done for our Lutheran Church, and more especially for our Synod.

And as much dearer as this acknowledged instrument in the hands of God, for the building up of our beloved Zion in this far distant western land, is to our Synod, even with so much the more sorrow should we regard the fear which, during the last year has been gaining ground, that an alienation of feeling was impending between us and Pastor Löhe, which might perhaps soon be incurable, and that we were, therefore, in danger of losing our best friend, our strongest patron, and our most eloquent advocate, if he should be permitted to be lost to us, not by God, but by his own brethren here. It became more and more evident that a doctrinal misunderstanding was taking place, which threatened to break up, yea, in the end entirely to destroy the hitherto unbroken unity of spirit and the hitherto carefully guarded union between us in working for the

interests of the Church. Our Synod, viewing with alarm the written opinions of Pastor Löhe, believed that care was to be exercised, inasmuch as he appeared, in the doctrines of the Church, Ecclesiastical power, Church government, &c. &c., to have begun to Romanize, and to have adopted hierarchical principles, i. e. that in these matters he had become favorable to the teachings of the Roman Church, as also to a certain kind of priestly domination; so, too, Pastor Löhe, on the other hand, supposed that our Synod was giving way to the giddy freedom here prevailing, and that having sacrificed the dignity of the holy ministry, and the blessings of a uniformly arranged Church government, we were betaking ourselves to a false democratic position. In Pastor Löhe's published writings, *we* saw Evangelical freedom and the rights of the spiritual priesthood of believing Christians weakened and endangered, and so, also, *he* saw us destroying many divine and sacred regulations to bow down to the arbitrary judgment of the fickle multitude, raising up here a Church establishment which, resting upon an insecure foundation, could only be of short duration.

Our Synod were soon made aware of the fact, that it was impossible to remove the aforementioned difficulties by correspondence. Pastor Löhe was, therefore, repeatedly and urgently invited to come into our midst for a few months to take a personal view of our circumstances, and to engage in a personal and reciprocal interchange of thought with us; but he, alas! being engaged in his own country in various ecclesiastical contests, was compelled unhesitatingly to refuse the proffered invitation. What then was the Synod to do? Before them stood the whole array of mischievous consequences, which would result from a final breach between them and the man to whom they were so much indebted. They felt sensibly the whole weight of the responsibility under which they would be placed, should they shun any sacrifice by the offering of which they might hope to avert the threatening danger. "Endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. 4: 3), presented itself before them not only as a commendable work which they might also perhaps leave undone, but as a holy obligation of Christian brotherly love. They also viewed the blessings which would certainly accrue from an upright and sincere concern for the harmony of the Church. Hitherto, Pastor Löhe had been almost the only one through whose mediation our Synod had, up to this time, been united with the Church of our Old Fatherland, so that a break with him would bring with it, as a consequence, a separation from this; the serious misgivings which he had disclosed as to the ten-

dencies of our Synod, had also, as they became more and more known, awakened throughout all Germany the most injurious ideas, and the most serious fears for our Church position. It appeared, therefore, in reference to these things, that our Synod ought to regain the confidence of our brethren in Germany, which had been more than a little shaken, and that the harsh suspicions which had fallen before the eyes of the whole Church in Germany, concerning our doctrines and practice, and our fidelity to the Church, ought to be removed. On the other hand, also, for the honor of God himself, it appeared necessary that our brethren in our native land should unite with us in praising God, that He, through his great mercy, and of his unmerited compassion, had brought us out of many former errors, to the knowledge of pure Evangelical truth, led us back to the good old way of our fathers, and bestowed upon our Church, surrounded by a host of fanatical sects of mushroom growth, and in the midst the noise and fury of atheistic assemblages, a healthy and prosperous growth; instead of this, reproach was cast upon the work of God among us, as though it were the impure work of man, and as if God had given us over to our own perverse minds. Our Synod, therefore, thought it high time that *something* should be done that the honor of God might be vindicated; that His work among us might be made known; that our Church here might be reconciled with that of the Motherland; and that the blessing of union with our brethren there might be again secured by us. They, therefore, appointed two of their number to go to Germany, who should, above all, speak face to face with Pastor Löhe, and, by God's aid, strive to win back this dear man; and, in addition, also present to the various congregations of our brethren in Germany, a testimony of our doctrine and practice; thus establishing a general and cordial union with the Mother Church. At the meeting of our Synod, in June of last year, in Milwaukee, Rev. Wyneken and the writer (Prof. Walter) were appointed to this mission. In the meanwhile, the congregations, in connection with our Synod, upon a friendly representation of the matter, contributed so gladly and so liberally to defray the necessary expenses, so that a sum not entirely insignificant could be laid by as a surplus. Although great hesitation was at first felt by our congregations in regard to permitting both of their ministers to be absent so long, for the purposes designated, yet this soon vanished upon Dr. SIHLER, of Fort Wayne, being permitted, by his congregation with sorrowful hearts, indeed, yet with brotherly willingness, to become a sub-

stitute for both. Immediately a unity of purpose was manifested within the bounds of our congregations which filled all with joy, and strengthened the confidence of all, that this was not a work of man, but of God; that God himself must have brought it about, that in this work so many thousands so soon became of one heart and one mind, and stood and acted as one man.

Thus, then, did we delegates depart, in the name of the Lord, from our congregations and families, with much sorrow, indeed, yet bearing with us their best wishes, humbly feeling our incapacity for so great a work, yet joyfully and confidently knowing that we were called to it by the Lord of the Church. And, behold! our trust, which, with shame we must confess it, often wavered, did not dishonor God, and did not come to shame. Therefore, will we not say, boastingly, *how prudently we* commenced, and how great a matter *we* have thus wrought out? Much rather do we confess how weak, how foolish and how imperfect we are, inasmuch as in every thing which perplexed us we had fear; yea, with a sincere heart we acknowledge, that in whatever respects the work is imperfect, we are to blame, and that whatever good is there, in it we have no share; where we might have erred, if left to ourselves, the merciful hand of God laid hold upon us, led us on as young children, and conducted us to that which was good. And when we behold here what God has done, we are constrained to cry out, "Dear brethren, in Christ Jesus, both far and near, with us unite to love, and thank, and praise our God, since he, the Lord, has done great things for us, whereof we are glad."

Before I begin my official report, I cannot omit here, by way of introduction, that through the mercy and blessing of God, the object of our mission has been fully accomplished. That true servant and warrior of God, the old, best friend of our American Church on the other side of the ocean, who, with Pauline watchfulness, has long cared, for our forsaken and needy congregations, by night and by day, for many long years, has again become entirely ours; his fears in reference to us have disappeared from his pure heart, and *we*, in turn, have become assured, that his heart beats as warmly as ever in the cause of truth, seeking not his own, but the old, eternal truth of God, and laboring for the prosperity and joy of the Church, alike on this side of the ocean and on that. Yea, were we in former times united with him in a common bond of faith and love, so that the enemy of the Church, perceiving the blessings flowing therefrom, and envying the prosperity of the Church would willingly have separated us, in which, in-

deed, he had nearly succeeded, so now has God more firmly riveted that bond, so that it would be impossible for satan, with all his spite and cunning, to succeed in loosing it, unless God himself should so will. Moreover, God has so helped, that those fears, which our brethren in our native land entertained, especially during the past year, in reference to our course, have almost entirely disappeared, although not always with a perfect understanding of our position, yet with a full confidence in the propriety of our aims and the purity of our intentions, and the joyful conviction has been awakened, that God has among us a great work of blessing. Associations, formerly living and acting in Germany for our destitute American Lutheran Church, which, through the unfavorable opinion entertained of us in latter times, had become more and more restrained in their ardor, are again filled with new zeal for the holy work, and now hopes are entertained that their labor of love had not been in vain. Thousands again stretched forth the friendly hand with liberal gifts for the supply of our pressing necessities in this country. Multitudes of new friends were also won back to us, who could feel themselves bound with us in brotherly affection, and could bear upon their own hearts, and present to God our wants as members of one and the same body. With this general introduction, we now proceed to present to our readers a short account of our journey—in its details, repeating, for the sake of a full understanding, a little of that which is already known to them.

We were instructed by Synod to commence our journey as soon as possible after its adjournment. Pastor Wyneken, who had been earnestly urged by his former congregation to take advantage of his journey through the eastern States for a visit as Inspecting President of the Synod, started about the 28th of July, 1851. Occupied in the preparation of a refutation of the misrepresentations which our Synod had suffered at the hands of Pastor Grabau, this duty having been placed upon me by them, it was my expectation to start a few days later to meet Pastor Wyneken again in New York. At this time, however, it pleased God to consign me to a sickness, and thus beforehand to train me in His precious school of the Cross. Although when there, pondering over my past life, I would willingly have given it back into the hands of my Heavenly Father, yet, in accordance with the ardent prayers of my dear people for the preservation of my poor life, God lent a listening ear, and mercifully restored me to health, after a week's illness, so that I was enabled, although weak, to depart, on the evening of the 15th of August. A quick and

pleasant trip (upon the Mississippi and Illinois rivers to La Salle, in Illinois, thence by canal to Chicago, where I had the pleasure of spending a few hours with the brethren, Selle, Hoffman and Kùchle, thence across Lake Michigan to New Buffalo, then by railroad to Detroit, thence across Lake Erie to Buffalo, and from Buffalo to Albany) brought me in about five days to New York, where Pastor Wyneken was already anxiously awaiting me. As it was the express desire of Synod that we should here, on account of the shortness of the time allotted us, avail ourselves of a passage in one of the steamers, we were compelled to while away a few days in the house of our dear brother Brohm, in New York. While here, therefore, we improved our time in becoming better acquainted with the congregation in this great Metropolis, which is in connection with our Synod, which, although not very great in numbers, is, nevertheless, firmly grounded in the faith. On the 27th of August, we started for Europe in the Royal Post Steamer Africa bound for Liverpool. Finding every convenience, although in the second cabin, which could be expected in a voyage over the ocean, and favored with continued clear weather and a quiet sea, after a prosperous voyage of a little more than ten days, passing through the North Channel between Ireland and Scotland, by the Isle of Man, we entered the port of Liverpool about 10 o'clock, P. M., on Saturday, September 6th. We were obliged to remain some four hours in the river Mersey, when, after the Custom House Officers had performed their duty, searching all the passengers carefully for papers and cigars, we were taken to shore by a small steamer. By this time Sunday had already been ushered in, and as there is no traveling allowed in England on this day, we were under the necessity of remaining here at an Inn until the next day. Not being aware of the fact, that here, out of the many thousand Germans in England, a not insignificant Protestant Church had been gathered together, which we first discovered some time after, we attended Divine service in two English Churches. Both of them belonged to the [Episcopal] Church of England. In the one we heard a Puseyite deliver a dry sermon, to the effect, that the English [Episcopal] Church was *the* true Church of Jesus upon earth, (which he sought to establish principally from its constitution, and more especially from the succession of Bishops preserved therein); whereupon, the administration of the Holy Eucharist, after the gloomy and muttering manner of the Roman Catholic Church, was attended to, together with the offertory, which enkindles so much strife in England. The minister

whom we heard in the evening was very different. His sermon concerning the coming of our Lord to Judgment was lively and impressive, interspersed with many appropriate passages both from the Old and New Testament. But, alas! in conformity with the character of English divines generally, he failed in pointing out clearly how the awakened conscience might look forward to that time upon the grounds of justification by faith alone. We nevertheless entertained the hope, that as in his awakening sermon, this truth was not entirely kept from view, the numerous, and, for the most part, attentive audience did not depart from the house of God, before at least the seeds of truth had taken hold in some hearts to spring up thence again and bear fruit.

At noon, the next day, we took the first train of cars from Liverpool, by way of Manchester and Selby, to Hull, intending to go from this point on the Eastern Coast of England to Germany at the earliest possible opportunity. Such an opportunity, however, did not so readily present itself. We were, therefore, compelled to endure the nausea of this great sea port, where hardly anything but its matchless and magnificent dome attracted our attention, until the 10th of September, when we took passage on the English steamer "Hamburg;" and, after two days' boisterous voyage through storm and rain, reached our destination before noon on the 12th.

The first thing which we here did, was to inquire of a few Lutherans with whom Pastor Wyneken was already acquainted, where, if at all this year, would assemble the Synod of the *Prussian Separated Lutherans*, which met from time to time in Breslaw. It was rumored that this Synod was to hold a meeting on the next day, and we were consequently desirous of being present before going to the southern portion of Germany, where lay the principal object of our mission. To our regret, however, we then discovered that there would be no such Synodical meeting at all this year. But after the relinquishment of this hope, we learned that, after many years of vain attempts, a small Lutheran congregation had been collected in Hamburg, who had withdrawn from the Ministerium of that city, which called itself Lutheran, to be sure, but was unsound in faith, and aided by Pastor Löhe, and had called, as their minister, a candidate named *Meinel*, a man holding the true faith; contrary to their frequent petitions, this Church was not yet officially recognized by the magistrates, but was still patiently and without alarm awaiting recognition. The members of this congregation with whom we became very intimate, together with their beloved and faithful Pastor, ap-

peared to us as Lutherans of most blameless character, with whom we soon found ourselves connected in brotherly union. They pressed us to remain with them a few days, but we could not comply with their wishes in this respect. Bearing with us their fervent prayers that God would grant us favor with their beloved Löhe, we now pursued our journey by way of Harburg to Verden, a city of Hanover, lying a few miles south of Bremen. Here the aged mother of Pastor Wyneken, a pastor's widow, was still residing, and we had, therefore, determined to remain here for the purpose of recovering from the fatigues of our voyage, and gaining strength for our work, especially as the writer still suffered somewhat from the effects of his recent illness. We remained over night at *Harburg*, where we met with a most friendly reception from Harbor Master Stürje, formerly captain of a ship, who belonged to the few in that region who, through the grace of God, have been delivered from the meshes of the Union, and attained living experience of the blessings found in their old Evangelical Lutheran Church. We also met here the similarly minded Lieutenant Colonel *Von Platen*, and the Counsellor of the Consistory, Dr. Von Hauffstañgel, of Stade, both of whom manifested a most lively interest in our American Lutheran Church, and before parting earnestly invited us to visit Stade in our return. To our great joy, we here also learned that, through Pastor Löhe's influence, more laborers were about being sent to the aid of our Church from Germany, the missionary, *K. Diehlman*, and Pastor Deindörfer, who was destined as an assistant at Frankenhilf, in the State of Michigan, together with two young men, who intended to pursue their studies, already commenced in Germany, in our Seminary at Fort Wayne, preparatory to entering upon the duties of the holy ministry. In these we certainly beheld pledges of the old and true affection of Pastor Löhe towards our Synod, as well as speaking witnesses of the fact, that his late fears in reference to us were already vanishing. On the following day, the 13th, we went to Verden. Truly, the moving scene in the meeting of mother and son, after so many years' separation, did not fail to awaken in me deep regret, that it had pleased God to deprive me of a similar pleasure, by suddenly and unexpectedly calling away my aged mother, who, a few months before, was still living in Germany. Nevertheless, received not as a stranger, but as a second son and brother, I soon felt myself so much at home in the cottage of the aged widow, that I, too, was able to partake of the joy of my dear friend Wyneken, as if I were myself again

visiting the much-loved spot of my childhood, with all its fond recollections.

- As the next day was Sunday, we set out early in the morning for *Arbergen*, a small village near Bremen, where *Charles Wyneken*, a brother of my esteemed companion, is minister. From him did we again, in Germany, first hear the word of God proclaimed in a public sermon, and we were quickly led to rejoice in knowing ourselves bound to him in unity of faith. He accompanied us back to Verden, where in the evening we met the Rev. *Bohn*, one of the ministers of the place, and found him, too, a true servant of our Evangelical Lutheran Church. Although we had not yet gone far in our journey, we saw distinctly that, during our absence from Germany, great changes had taken place, and those, indeed, in many cases, for the better. From many places where formerly the most miserable Rationalism had prevailed, we learned that now faithful ministers were laboring, and that, through their labors, more and more persons are coming to the conviction of the necessity which exists, to hold fast truly and decidedly to the Church Confession, and to avoid any Church Union with errorists. We learned from many of those who formerly defended the Church Union, that they now saw more clearly the ungodliness and want of foundation in such a state of things, and that they have, therefore, on the one hand, more and more entirely separated themselves from the principles of the Union, and on the other hand, have settled themselves more and more securely upon the true Church basis.

We heard mentioned with great praise, as one of the strongest and most successful contenders for the true Lutheran doctrine in the region around Verden, the Rev. *K. Mönkel*, formerly a teacher in the Gymnasium, now pastor at Oiste. The next day, therefore, we visited him, and we may, indeed, right heartily rejoice in that we became acquainted with this dear man. His conversation soon gave us to understand that he had really been instructed by Luther, i. e. that he had studied the writings of that inspired man of God much more than many others, alas! who, nevertheless, make the highest claims to genuine Lutheranism. In this school he also naturally learned, that not only true doctrines were necessary to the faithful pastor, but likewise a firm stand in controverting error. He was, therefore, concerned not only to know how to instruct his congregation, who previously had been sadly neglected, and how he might awaken and lead them to Christ, but also how he might resist the encroachments of Methodism and Anabaptistic Sectarianism, then raging around them. In order to effect this,

and especially to guard the poor and ignorant people in Hanover against the poison of fanaticism which those sects were striving to infuse among them, he has latterly labored in a newspaper, published at Osnabrück, continually coming out more and more decidedly; for the same purpose he has also written some popular tracts breathing a proper spirit. Among others, we may mention one bearing the title, "*What is to be thought of the Methodists?*" another, "*Brief Instruction in Baptism and the doctrines of the so-called Anabaptists;*" a third, "*The pillar and ground of the Faith.*" Through these, *Münkel* has accomplished much good. Many, who had given faith to fond assurances of Methodism, and who had, therefore, given themselves almost entirely up to the same, by his writings, joined with the shameful proceedings of the Methodists themselves, had their eyes opened. In the country round about Oiste, where the Methodists and Baptists had already tolerably well established themselves, they have been for the present entirely scattered; and Christians in and around Oiste, who had become almost entirely estranged from their true Shepherd and spiritual Father, perceiving how they had permitted themselves to be carried away by the wind of a false spirit, to seek their nourishment upon dangerous and giddy heights, have again returned to the forsaken green pastures of the Gospel, as our beloved Evangelical Lutheran Church publishes it in the writings of its blessed teachers, and upon the pulpits of her yet living faithful servants. The more *Münkel* had dwelt upon the writings of Luther, whence he had taken deep draughts, the more did we sympathize in our convictions, whilst we presented to him the faith which we here proclaim to the world and to our erring brethren; and as the brotherly conversation of this worthy man strengthened our faith, so do we hope that our testimony in return may not have been altogether without a blessing to him. God grant that he may abound more and more in the light and salt of the Word; that his light may burn still brighter, and his salt produce still greater purification!

We left Verden on the afternoon of the 16th of September. Magdeburg was our next place of destination. Here we hoped to form the acquaintance of an influential member of the Lutheran Church of Prussia, and through his influence to effect a union with the Prussian brethren. After many fruitless inquiries here for the so-styled Old Lutheran Minister (by this title we were ourselves afterwards frequently pointed out to the preachers of the Union), we learned at last that Rev. Wolf, the minister here holding to the separated Prussian Lutherans, was

absent on a journey. We were, therefore, obliged to leave Magdeburg without accomplishing our object. From this place we went to Halle, where we arrived on the afternoon of the 17th. Here we could not permit an opportunity of speaking with *Dr. Guericke* to pass unimproved. We accordingly sought him out, and although the Doctor was already known to both of us as an exceedingly affable and humble Christian yet we met with such a kind and heart-felt reception as we had never anticipated. So we not only at once opened our hearts to him, and explained, without reserve, the stand of our Synod in doctrine and practice. With great joy, also, did we hear from this revered man himself, that he had followed with increasing interest, the development of our Church in America, and recognized the stand taken by our Synod as the right one. As a further proof of his agreement with us, he hereupon more fully communicated to us what he had inserted from his own pen and from others, in the last quarterly number of the *Rudelbach-Guericke Zeitschrift* of last year, just then put to press. Among other things, we found the following therein: "In America both parties, those formerly from Silecia, with Pastor Grabau at their head, and the Saxon ministers of Missouri, are already engaged in sharp contest. Admitting that on both sides there has been much harshness and misunderstanding on the real point at issue, which many do not yet understand, the Saxons have decided rightly, and the Silesians wrongly. No Scripture passages treating of the choice, ordination and office of the Christian ministry, neither the practice of the Apostles, nor the seeming fluctuations of the old Lutheran Church in constitutional questions, give authority, or even pretence for installing a Spiritual Order, which, resting upon an exposition of Heb. 13: 17, contradictory to the analogy of faith, and so fundamentally wrong, arrogates to itself the powers of the domestic and civil governments. Löhe * * * * also anticipates here an insurmountable gulf and sad fate for the congregations connected with Pastor Grabau." Let this warning also arouse us to greater watchfulness. Small and insignificant with the lauding of indifferent ceremonies, and a more than necessary value placed upon inferior doctrinal points, the papal monstrosity commences; then gradually forsakes the principle of the *succession of the means of grace* (the descent of the word and sacraments from the Apostles), through which alone christianity is to be built up, and in a covert manner goes over towards Apostolic succession (the unbroken succession of the ministry); after this, in necessary progression, it places the

principles of Christian life and experience entirely out of sight, whereby the Gospel passes into forgetfulness, and the ordinances and commandments of men attain to honor and respectability; at last it descends into the full papal system of the middle ages, which claimed for itself all divine and human right, and made every thing subservient to its own interests.

We would not by any means affirm that the Silesians and their adherents intend carrying their opinions thus far. Neither does the inconsiderate traveler, who, with his staff, breaks loose the flakes of snow from Alpine crags, desire that houses and men should be thereby destroyed; yea, he does not for a moment cherish even the thought of such a disaster. Can he, however, afterward restrain the destroying avalanche in its downward course? So, also, let him who prizes the blessings of Christian freedom, and the common priesthood of all believers gained by the blessed Reformation, beware!" Dr. Guericke also informed us, that *he* had been engaged in Germany in a contest similar to ours against the Graúbians, to-wit: that in the Prussian Lutheran Church to which he (Dr. Guericke) belonged, the existence of a party was discovered which was cherishing hierarchical opinions, and unconsciously, indeed, to itself, in doctrines of the Church and ministry generally, was strongly inclined towards Romanism; and that, between one of the representatives of these opinions among the ministers of the so-styled Separated Prussian Lutherans and himself, a severe contest had been carried on.¹ He also assured us that, in the Lutheran Church of Prussia, there were very many who perceived the error and the danger of such aims, and who, with great zeal, defended the true Evangelical teaching in reference to the ministry of the Church, Church authority, Church regulations, &c. Among this number stands that distinguished jurist, the Privy Counsellor *Huschke*, who is at the head of the Separated Prussian Lutherans in Breslaw.

By the earnest desire of one of the members of the congregation in this place, we accompanied him the following day on an excursion from Halle to Nordhausen, where a near kins-

¹ We heard elsewhere, that the Lutheran Counsellor of the Consistory in Breslaw, Wedenann, lately deceased, had so consistently carried out the hierarchical principles, now making their appearance in the Lutheran Church, that he was at last on the point of forsaking the Lutheran Church, and betaking himself to the bosom of the Romish Church, where he saw that basis carried out in all its parts, and the idea of a visible Church which he so fondly cherished, realized in full. God, in his mercy, however, so ordered that this great man, deeply troubled in conscience, was taken mortally sick, when, under the curacy of a friend, he was delivered from his errors and from his torturing fears, and died at last in the bosom of the Lutheran Church trustfully and happy.

man of his resided. To our joyful surprise, we learned that here and in the country round about Nordhausen, where, a short time before, the most active unbelief prevailed, coupled with the notions of the so-called "*Friends of Light*," a mighty movement in favor of Lutheran faith and practice had commenced. In Nordhausen itself, besides the United Churches, which have absorbed in them the Lutheran Church of the city generally, we found also a small old Lutheran congregation, which, visited by Pastor *Wermelskirch*, of Erfurt, worshipped in a neatly furnished room in the private residence of Mr. *Schöнау*, from whom, also, we met with a most friendly reception. Rev. *Abel*, pastor of the city, was described to us as a "*faithful*" man, who, nevertheless (as so many others), thought it possible to be good a Lutheran in the bosom of the Union. We likewise learned here as follows, to-wit: that in June, of the previous year, a Thuringian Pastoral Conference had been held at Neudietendorf, where a number of those present took this stand, that the condition of the Luth. churches, in the Duchies of Saxony as well as in the territories of Schwartzburg, was greatly to be pitied, inasmuch as they suffered greatly not only from the devastations of Rationalism, but were also leavened by the Unionistic element, as it had come to them out of Prussia. Those present, in accordance with this sentiment, determined to call a meeting of those members of the Lutheran Church in Thuringia, who held faithfully to their confession, to be convened at Ilmenau, for the purpose of forming a closer union for succouring each other, for the furtherance of the holy interests of their Church, and for counteracting the dangers which had for some time threatened them. They sent an invitation to this effect to about fifty ministers and others, in nearly all the districts of Thuringia, who met in Conference on the 14th of August, Pastor *Wermelskirch* being President of the Conference. Their aim was thus moderately expressed: "To take counsel, and to strengthen each other in view of the evils now threatening their Church, inasmuch as these dangers could not be sufficiently considered in the several districts Conferences." This question had been previously propounded, "How should a minister of the Lutheran confession, who resides in a country estranged from that confession, and from the liturgy and forms therewith connected, proceed, that he, together with his congregation, may show their external union also with the Lutheran Church, and exert their proper influence therein?" Pastor *Schinzel*, of Lichtentanne, had answered this question in writing, and his answer was made the subject of deliberation by the meeting. We propose to com-

municate to our readers on another occasion the particulars of this. We may hope with greater confidence in this movement for the restoration of the Lutheran Church in Thuringia, inasmuch as Pastor Wermelskirch, through whose faithful efforts this movement has been awakened and partly sustained, belongs to those Prussian Lutherans, who so emphatically oppose the admission of the hierarchical platform into the Church, and strive with great earnestness and zeal that the pure Evangelical principals of our Church may be restored to their proper position, and that congregations may be organized in accordance with these principles.

We thus returned, much refreshed by our excursion to Halle, by way of Saugerhausen and Eisleben, the birth place of Luther. We understood that a hundred Lutherans in Lingerhausen had come out from the United Church, and united themselves with a Lutheran congregation also brought to a knowledge of the truth, if we mistake not, by the efforts of Pastor Wermelskirch. In Halle we again visited Dr. Guericke, in accordance with his request, and were now heartily and faithfully admonished by him to hold fast the known truth; which admonition, as might be expected, was as beneficial to us as it was earnestly given. Before we parted, Dr. Guericke introduced us to Counsellor *Quinque*, who, with himself, is trustee of the Lutheran congregation in Halle, to which Pastor Wolf, of Magdeburg, ministers, and to Pastor *Rudel*, who was at this time performing the pastoral duties of Pastor Wermelskirch in the Lutheran congregation at Saarbrück, and was then visiting Halle. Thence we continued our journey to Leipzig, where we arrived towards evening on the 20th of September.

Here the writer, to his great joy, discovered that since the period of his former residence in this city, a great change for the better had taken place. Every where especially did there appear traces of the great good which *Dr. Harless* had been instrumental in accomplishing, during the short period of his operations as Professor in the University of this place, and as Pastor of the Church of St. Nicholas. *Prof. Dr. Kahnis*, the successor of Dr. Harless, is at present laboring to carry on the blessed work already begun. Among other things, under the supervision of this latter person, the Society of Students, under the name of "PHILADELPHIA" (see Rev. 3: 7-13), which was founded by the efforts of Dr. Harless, and has for its object the effecting of a closer union among those students, as well those not studying Theology as those studying, who, amidst the current of human inventions, hold fast and intend to strive for

the preservation of the well-grounded faith of our Evangelical Lutheran Church, continues its operations. This Union is so much the more important and encouraging, as the young men, through mutual spiritual assistance, have the practical in view rather than the doctrinal, although the greatest zeal in their studies is now evinced by them. Those, also, who once become members of the society, retain their membership after finishing their course of study, and thus, when in their fields of labor, they have gathered more experience, and have become more deeply grounded in faith and knowledge, they continue to benefit the society through written communications. As minister in the Church of St. Nicholas, Pastor *Ahlfeld* took the place of Dr. Harless. As he was called from Halle, and so from the United Church of Prussia, and, as may be seen from the "*Volksblatt*" of Halle, edited by him a few years ago, he formerly took a position opposed to the Separated Lutheran Church of Prussia, we attended morning service, conducted by him on the day after our arrival, simply because there was no opportunity of hearing a decided Lutheran minister in the city during the forenoon; for, alas! that dear man, M. Hænsel, who formerly belonged to the number of the most decided faithful ministers of Leipzig, and to whom, as his teacher, the writer is greatly indebted, has not advanced, but declined, and is now numbered among the opponents of decided Lutheranism. On the whole, Pastor Ahlfeld delivered an excellent and edifying sermon in simple yet comprehensive style, so that we were constrained to rejoice in seeing the large, beautiful Church thronged with attentive hearers. Among these was *Dr. Marbach*, Counsellor for Commissions, who had recognized us, and who approached and saluted us as we were about leaving the Church. Dr. Marbach was of the number of us Saxons, who, thirteen years ago, migrated to Missouri; becoming dissatisfied with the affairs of the Church as developing themselves in this country, he soon returned to Germany. Although our first recognition was mutually reserved, yet it soon became warm and heartfelt, and ended in mutual praise to God. Although led in different paths by God; and although in many weighty matters having now come to very different convictions from those we once entertained, we again found ourselves joined in a deep grounded unity of faith and spirit. Contrary to what we had expected, we were granted very profitable hours in Leipzig for strengthening our faith and love in the family circle of Dr. Marbach, whose lady partakes of his own sentiments. In the afternoon we heard Rev. Dr. *G. Schneider* (at present editor of the "*Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Missionsblatt*") in the

New Church, after which we visited him at the Mission House, where he resides. We met with a most friendly reception from him. At his house we not only became acquainted with several members of the "Philadelphia" (the candidate of Theology, *Von Zeschwitz*, the candidates of Law, *Von Heynitz* and *Auger*, and the students of Theology, *Neubert* and *Naumann*),¹ but had also the pleasure of Meeting Prof. Dr. Kahnis. God blessed our meeting, so that the fears which had been entertained in reference to the position of our Synod soon vanished, and gave place for mutual heartfelt trust, although we could not fully agree in regard to the doctrines of the Church and the ministry. Dr. Schneider had taken a firm stand in considering the *visible Lutheran Church* as *the Church* par excellence, i. e. *the Church* in the highest sense of the word, and that it *alone* deserves the name of "*the Church*:" this opinion we had to reject, as a matter of course, considering it unevangelical; for as certainly as the visible Lutheran Church, where she is organized in accordance with the Lutheran confessions, in doctrine and practice, is a true believing *individual Church*, which the visible Church societies known, to us certainly are not, and whilst these, on account of the great errors held by them, are only sects, so certainly, also, is a sectarian notion at the bottom of it, when we would view the visible Lutheran Church as "*the one holy Catholic (Universal) Christian Church*." In one sense, it may indeed be said, that the *Lutheran* is the Catholic Church, if by this we understand the one holy Church spread over the whole earth, to which all Lutherans, from Luther's time, have professed to belong; for the Lutheran Church did not separate herself from the Romish Church, in order thereby also to separate herself from the Universal Church, but in order that she might *not* be separated from it, but remain with it, without arrogating to herself alone, as does the Romish Church, the honor of being the Catholic Church. This has been beautifully and explicitly explained in our Symbolical books, more especially in the 4th Article of the "Apology," in the 3rd part of 12th Article of the "Smalcald Articles," and in the explanation of the 3d Article of our "Christian Faith," in Luther's Larger Catechism. We got into an argument with Prof. Dr. Kahnis, concerning the nature of the ministry, after we had expressed our view, opposed to his, that it is not a peculiar office, such as the Levitical Priesthood of the Old Covenant, but that

¹ This being the time of vacation in the University, we had no opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with any more members of the Society referred to.

through it a peculiar power is exercised, which was originally given to the whole Church, i. e. to all truly believing Christians; and that this power, in its public capacity, should only be exercised by suitable persons called by God through the Church thereto, in accordance, however, with the especial command of Christ and the holy ordinance instituted by Him, as it is clearly and comprehensively explained in the Appendix to the Smalcald Articles (not, indeed, by Luther,¹ but by Theologians of our Church, altogether in accordance with Luther's views and belief). Although neither now, nor in subsequently repeated conversations with these dear men, we were enabled to come to a complete union of sentiment, yet both were convinced that the doctrine confessed by us does not, as regards the idea of the Church, favor "*the Union*;" and, as regards the idea of the ministry, does not injure the honor and privileges of this divine institution, and sacrifice it to the whims of fanatical spirits, as might appear to be the case from a superficial and impartial consideration of the same. With us they praised God that he had done great things for us, and assured us of their heartfelt willingness to assist us in every possible way. Prof. Dr. Kahnis honored me at our departure with a present of a copy of his last work, "*Concerning the Sacrament of the Altar*." I cannot help here recording a peculiar, unexpected joy which God now furnished me in Leipzig. I here met my sister's son, whom, as a hopeful youth, I left thirteen years ago, now grown up to manhood, a heavenly-minded, zealous and accomplished candidate for the holy ministry, from the school of Dr. Harless; and, what was more especially refreshing to me, from the school of the Holy Ghost, who was about to undertake the ministerial office in a congregation of the Separated Prussian Lutherans. His name is *Robert Engel*. He accompanied us in our travels through Saxony.

From Leipzig we journeyed next to Müldenthal, my native place, where we were aware that a goodly number of believing ministers were laboring in the vineyard of the Lord, who also in former times had followed the development of our American Lutheran Church with no small interest. On Tuesday, the 23d of September, we went by railroad to Altenburg, and thence by stage to Waldenburg, in the Duchy of Schöenburg, where we arrived late at night. Through the influence of Rev. M. Pasig, Deacon of the city, and Pastor Schwaben,

¹ The endeavor is now frequently made to make Lutherans believe that that doctrine of our Church was only a private view of Luther, and that it never became a generally acknowledged doctrine of our Church.

who was at that time also the publisher of the "*Pilger aus Sachsen*," measures were immediately taken to hold Conferences on both the following days, one of which was to assemble at the house of M. Pasig, and the other in the newly erected Seminary building. According, together with M. Pasig, there assembled Rev. Wilhelm, Arch Deacon in Waldenburg; M. Meurer Pastor in Callenburg, the well known Biographer of Luther; Mr. Schnabel, Pastor in Tettau; Mr. Gotsch, Pastor of Ziegelheim; Mr. Kranichfield, Pastor in Wolkenberg; Mr. Niedner, Pastor in Langenschursdorf; Mr. Spiegelhauer, Pastor Vicarius in the old town of Waldenberg; Mr. Füllkruss, Pastor in Kaufungen; Rev. Schütze, Director of the Seminary in Waldenberg; Mr. Geissler, Teacher in the city school of the same, and a few other believing school teachers. In addition to these, also, as a welcome guest, Mr. Justus Naumann, the energetic bookseller of Dresden, took part in the Conference. As had happened in most places where we had been, so here the questions of the brethren in reference to the object of our mission and its explanation by us, occasioned a lively discussion about the doctrines of the Church and ministry, and other matters therewith connected. The opinions advanced pro and con, did not result in a full agreement with the position taken by us, some being more in favor, others more opposed to them than before. The ground here taken by our opponents was equally surprising and discouraging to us. Among other things, some asserted the absolute necessity of a public ministry for salvation to every one, and the utmost, which they were finally willing to grant, was, that God, inasmuch as he is not bound to any particular means, could, indeed, convert a man without the minister, through the reading of the written word alone; but that such conversion would be miraculous. It was to no purpose that they were reminded by those on our side, that if it were asserted that a man, converted by the reading of the Word, was miraculously converted, this assertion would take away the converting power from the Word, and give it to the minister. In vain were they also reminded, that our Symbolical books reckoned the reading of the Word among the means by which men could be converted.¹ In vain, finally, did we remind them, that we did not deny the need of the holy ministry; and that he who despises the public ministry cannot, indeed, rest upon this, that the reading

¹ Thus, says the Formula of Concord: "And by this means, and not otherwise, viz.: through His holy word, whether it be heard in preaching or read, and through the sacraments required by His word, will God call men to salvation, lead them to himself, convert, regenerate, and save them."

of the Word is sufficient, because the use of the public ministry is the way regularly appointed by God himself for converting men, and retaining them in the faith; and he, therefore, who will not receive the ministry, but insists only on reading the Word for himself, will not be converted, but continually become more and more deluded and hardened; not, indeed, that the Word read has not the power to convert, but that such a reader of the Word of God would be a haughty, spiritually proud despiser of a holy ordinance, inasmuch as he refuses to follow that path in which God will regularly convert and save us, and thus wickedly resists the Holy Spirit, who is also the spirit of order, modesty and humility. As has been said, our arguments were in vain. Some of our opponents remained in the positions taken by them; indeed, one of the opposing school teachers thought it could be made very plain by an example, thus: "It is with the preached word as with the sacraments; as in baptism the form of words was of no avail without the element, water, joined with it, so also can the written word convert no man, when (he could not better express it), *the spiritual water of the preacher is not joined with it!*" After such and similar expressions of opinion, we could not forbear declaring most solemnly, that if our brethren firmly cherished such opinions, we could not openly stand upon the same ground of faith with them; but would be separated from them by a gulf so wide, that we could no longer reach over it the brotherly hand; since what doctrine can be considered more necessary to the security of our Evangelical faith than the doctrine of the power of the Word? True, none of the opposing ministers defended the opinion advanced by the teacher already mentioned, yet there still remained a not inconsiderable difference of opinion between us and a part of the Conference. But this very school master, a zealous, honest and learned man, was among those from whom, at the close of the second Conference, we parted with the full assurance of brotherly union. By late advices, we have learned that the beloved brethren in Muldenthal have sought with great earnestness to become clear upon the points touched upon, and had held repeated Conferences for mutual discussion of the same. God grant his blessing upon them, so that all those who have such an important calling and influence in that country, may become one in eternal truth!

As I was now in the very neighborhood of my beloved birth place, Langenchursdorf, where one of my sisters is at present residing, I could not forbear spending a few hours

here. Great, however, as my joy was on the one side in beholding the lovely valley, with its old familiar houses, fields, brooks and ways, the few dear relatives yet remaining to me here, and the many beloved old friends of youth, that joy was almost entirely overwhelmed in grief, inasmuch as during my absence both my parents had gone to their eternal home (not, however, without many warm tears for their absent children then removed beyond the ocean); and at my return to my old home, therefore, nothing more remained to me but to seek out their graves. From this place, also, I now made a short visit to the village of Breunsdorf, where, fifteen years before, I had entered upon the duties of the pastoral office; but after performing its duties two years, through an erring sense of duty, I resigned my post. Here, truly, I was greeted by all with the greatest joy; by some with tears: here, also, my pain at again seeing this place outweighed, the joy need not be said. Particularly did it grieve me to hear that my successor in office, at Breunsdorf, was not a member of the Conference of decided Lutherans existing in that district of country. My sorrow was the greater, as I was compelled to fear that the evil fruits of the false and Romanish opinions relative to the Church and ministry, which we Saxon preachers, who emigrated thirteen years before, had then cherished, and in the following out of which, we had resigned our offices and left Germany as a lost land, for the purpose of being able to save our souls in the true *visible* Church here (in America), had misled only too many in regard to our beloved Evangelical Lutheran Church, and made even *true zeal* for the same to be suspected.¹

Here also I had the pleasure of meeting and conversing with two persons formerly members of Churches which I had served in America, and who had again returned to Germany. With joy I saw that the one, Fr. N., still remained firm in faith and love, and that the other, L. K., who, alas! had again returned to the world, was even now at strife with himself, with bitter tears confessed his deep repentance and hearty desire to return to God. God grant them both strength to persevere unto the end!

¹ Some may think that it is strange that we Saxon ministers in this country should now so strongly oppose the hierarchical opinions in reference to Church and ministry, which have begun to make their appearance here; but we only too well know, from our own experience, how terrible and pernicious such opinions are. We ascribe it entirely to God's mercy that He has thought us worthy now to endure reproach in defence of that truth which we ourselves in our ignorance formerly aided in destroying.

On Friday, the 26th of September, we again departed from Muldenthal. As we intended to go next to Dresden, our road brought us back again to Leipzig, where we spent the evening of that day in a mutual interchange of opinion in a numerous company of the believing Lutherans of this city, among whom, besides those already mentioned, were *Dr. Schütze*,¹ *Deacon Tempel*, and School Director *Melhorn*, of Merana.

ARTICLE V.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE CHURCH.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THIS admirable treatise appeared first in the form of two successive but connected articles in the "*Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*." Its importance, not only in view of the state of sacred science in Germany, but especially in respect of the posture of affairs in our Church in America, can scarcely be overrated. Its ample unfolding and distinct exhibition of doctrines and doctrinal distinctions, the candor with which it states and combats the objections of opponents, its sound reasoning throughout, manly and severe toward man's perverseness, reverent and humble toward the authority of Scripture, are all calculated to give it weight and power to silence those who, while they have much to say, show, in various ways, that they know not whereof they affirm. But it was one point chiefly to which we had intended to refer. The author of this treatise insists upon progress in respect of the clearness, definiteness and fulness of confessional dogmatics—upon organic progress in the clearer apprehension and richer unfolding of the great truths of our religion. Among us also, in America, a great deal is said, and extravagant pretensions are set up, in respect of progress in religious knowledge and christian liberality. Those who have most to say on this subject, have taken exception to the use of the word "organic," in reference to the church and religion: exception to the expression here used: "organic progress:" they consider it as here applied, inappropriate, scarcely intelligible, nay, unmeaning. We, on the other hand, regard it as perfectly appropriate, as deeply significant, and as perfectly intelligible to the simplest understanding. It is, indeed, a very different thing from the progress, of which there is so much vaunting in our midst. The latter consists in the abandonment and rejection of truths or doctrinal views, held in time past, and esteemed precious, by the church: in the abandonment and rejection of usages

¹ A member of the Committee of the Leipzig "Lutherstiftung," and the zealous editor of Luther's Shorter Treatise.

and practices transmitted to us by our fathers, and in the invention, or introduction and adoption of new doctrinal views, and of novel usages and measures. Organic progress does not receive from abroad, or adopt from without, but unfolds itself from within; develops into clearer, fuller statement of ancient doctrine, in accordance with, and under the guidance of, Scripture; it does not invent or devise: it merely expands—grows, in harmony with the laws of the inward life of truth: it is the doctrine, imperfectly, dimly, inadequately understood, gaining in distinctness and brightness to the apprehension of the church, in its collision and conflict with opposing error: it is progress like that of the development and growth of the human intellect, receiving impulses, indeed, from without, but unfolding itself according to the laws of its own being and the necessity of its own nature: it is progress like that of the development and complete unfolding into ample, beautiful and finished proportions, of the human body, from within, according to its own organic laws; whilst the progress, so much boasted of by many among us, may be appropriately likened to the operations of a number of experimenting innovators, by which a beautiful statue is entirely metamorphosed: one knocks off its Grecian nose, and supplies, in its place, one of Chinese or African type: another dislikes the finely proportioned and neatly sandaled human feet: he removes them, and puts in their place the hoofs of the satyr, or the webbed feet of the frog: thus one part is removed after the other, to make room for substitutes, either of modern invention, or capriciously selected from the mass of ancient follies and conceits, until the whole can be no longer recognized. Organic progress *keeps* the truth, but penetrates deeper into its vitals, and ascertains whether it has not deep and glorious meanings, or momentous bearings, not hitherto perceived: and, finding them in its heart of hearts, it unfolds these meanings and exhibits these bearings, in strict accordance or harmony with itself; modern progress, as advocated and patronized among American Lutherans, throws the heritage of the church away, and goes borrowing from surrounding sects; or it perverts and distorts the truth, to suit its own purpose of enjoying perfect license to believe what it pleases and practice what it likes, regardless of apostolic tradition, of history, and of church order.—There can be but little doubt as to which of these two kinds of progress will wear best, and last longest in its happy results.

We retain, in our translation, the word *dogma*, although we know that to many it is offensive. We can see no reason for objecting to it: it denotes doctrine in the form in which it is stated by the church's doctrinal system. The Germans are constantly using it in this harmless and proper sense: it is a legitimate and appropriate term, and we employ it here simply to denote christian doctrine, as embodied in the consciousness and expressed in the symbols of the church. And, at all events, those who object to the term *dogma*, must, in like manner, take exception to the universally accepted word, *dogmatics*.

The Lutheran Observer (April 9, 1852) speaks flippantly and disparagingly of translations from the German published in this quarterly, and describes them as presenting thread-bare arguments and dreamy representations. We shall say nothing of the worse than thread-bare arguments of those who assail the confession of the church: they are so old, and have done so much

hard and bootless service, that they are worn down to the most attenuated flimsiness. But as regards Dr. Krauth's translations of Thomasius' Protestant Principle, and the present translation of the same author's defence and vindication of the church's Christology (to say nothing of other very valuable translations), we greatly doubt whether any scholar, at all acquainted with the state of sacred science, in our country and abroad, will have the audacity to stigmatize them as thread-bare in argument, and dreamy in representation. We presume the editor of the Observer knows, that this world's inveterate hostility to the gospel, to the whole word of revelation, is now far less manifested in attacks upon external evidences, than it was during the last century by English infidels, but that it is thrusting its philosophico-critical scalpel into the vitals and the very heart's core of sacred truth, and striving to lacerate and crush the innermost seat of its life and power. With this envenomed enemy, modern philosophy and the "higher criticism," the battle has been, for some time, vigorously maintained in Germany by stalwart champions of the truth, among whom Thomasius holds a prominent rank; here also the battle will, ere long, have to be waged—the skirmishing has already commenced at the out-posts: and, unless the editor of the Observer and his co-adjutors are sure, that they are armed in full panoply for the conflict, and can wield the weapons of truth with more learning, skill and effect than our learned German divines, we conceive that the aids which their profound and thoroughly searching and satisfactory dissertations afford us, should not be spurned, but gratefully accepted: the hour may be nearer at hand than we think, when it will be help in need.

ARTICLE I.

OUR periodical has so often defined the position, which the friends and members of the Lutheran church occupy in relation to theological science, that we can scarcely conceive a misapprehension of it possible. We insist upon these two points: 1, *that there be a firm and sure basis*: 2, *that there be living, organic progress on this as its foundation*. As this basis we regard the Confession of that church to which we ourselves belong, and in whose doctrines we recognize the expression of our own faith, and in those truths which are declared to us by the divine word. Upon this confession we stand with the full conviction of our heart, because it is built upon that foundation, than which no other can be laid, and because it avows that faith concerning which we know from the sacred divine Scriptures, and from our own experience, that it justifies and saves. For this same reason the essential import of this confession is to us, at the same time, the basis of theology; for we do not regard the teachings of Scripture and the teachings of the church, faith and science, as so entirely distinct from each other, that we could possess or prosecute the one without the other. We regard theology, on the whole, to be nothing else than the scientific inquiry after, and the vindi-

cation, development and exhibition of the One divine truth, which has appeared unto the world in Christ, and of the One faith in this truth, which we share with our church: and, as the foundations of this faith, that is, the great evangelical doctrines of salvation concerning the Saviour and redemption are, in the present age, assailed from all quarters and placed in a suspicious light, we regard it as our first concern to protect them, and to place them in their true light. In that great conflict with the Roman Catholic church, into which we have been drawn without having provoked it ourselves, and in opposing the tendencies of a so-called "modern science," we have no greater duty to perform than to guard and defend those precious treasures, which, through the grace of God, our church possesses. At the same time, however, we are so far from regarding this as involving any hostility to the demand of vital progress, which we make upon theology and its representatives, that we are, on the contrary, only in this way sure of doing justice to that demand. For, as in all the departments of science, so here, also, true progress can be made only when we proceed from a firm basis, when we go on building on a good foundation. When this is not done, the house is built upon sand, and it is easy to foretell its fate. A development by which any thing is to be attained, must be organic. In this way the christian church has obtained its system of doctrines, and in this way she will continue to unfold it. But in our confession we find not only that basis, but in and with it, at the same time, the germs of such an organic progress. And not merely because particular points of saving truth, which have, in it, been incompletely or only partially exhibited, are waiting to be more completely set forth and unfolded: it bears within itself a fullness and copiousness, which of itself invites to further development. The entire tendency of our age, and especially its hostility to every thing that is churchly, conveys to us a summons to this work. As the great errors with which the church has had to contend, have, from the beginning, given rise to the richer unfolding, and the more definite expression of her faith, even so will the conflicts of the present time render her the same service. But, in order to advance in this way, it certainly requires a thorough acquaintance with that which the church has already attained: it requires that we should deeply penetrate as well into the divine word, in which the confession of our church has its root, as into the spirit of her doctrine, which is the expression of great experiences respecting the glorious excellence of that word; it requires careful consideration,—inquiry, and a holy earnestness of spirit; and it

does seem to us that in these qualities not a few of those are deficient, who at present talk and vaunt most of their progress.

These preliminary observations are designed to serve as an introduction to a contribution to the Dogma concerning the Redeemer.

It is well known that the church's [die Kirchliche] Christology, which constitutes the centre of the entire doctrinal system of the church, has, in our days, experienced the most violent assaults. For not only have Strauss and Baur, both proceeding from similar stand-points, the former in the Second Part of the "Christliche Glaubenslehre," the latter in the first and third volumes of "The Christian Doctrine concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation of God," &c., attempted to destroy the dogma concerning the God-man, but also has Dorner, in the "History of the Development of the Doctrine of Christ's Person," raised in part the same objections as those just referred to, to the form in which our church expresses that doctrine. And this may seem the more fitted to create anxiety, because Dorner by no means sympathizes with the destructive tendencies of the present time, but is, on the contrary, rather laboring with ardent energy at the construction of a christian theology. But the peculiar character of those attacks does not by any means consist in their novelty. For they are mostly the old and long-known arguments, more particularly the objections of the Neustadt Admonition [Neustädter Admonition],¹ to the Lutheran doctrine, whilst little or nothing is brought forward of the rejoinders of our older theologians in the Apology or vindication of the Christian Book of Concord [Apologie oder Verantwortung des christlichen Concordienbuchs], of 1783, and in many other later writings. That which is new consists partly in the concentration of these more ancient assaults, and in their adroit combination with such arguments as are derived from the so-called modern theology, and partly in the arbi-

¹Die Neustädter Admonition, the Neustadt Admonition, to which Thomasius repeatedly refers in this treatise, is a work drawn up by Zaccharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, but chiefly by the former, by command of the elector Palatine, Frederic III., in 1562: after his banishment from Heidelberg, and during his sojourn at Neustadt an der Hardt, the author published this work, at the desire of Duke John Casimir, who was administrator of the Electoral Palatinate during the minority of his nephew Frederick IV. The date of the publication of this work is stated to be 1581; but the elector Ludwig VI., who was a strict Lutheran, favoring and zealously promoting the Formula Concordiæ, lived and reigned until 1583, when his brother, John Casimir, assumed the administration of the electorate: if then the Admonition was published in 1581, it can scarcely have been done with the consent of the elector Ludwig: yet, as Ursinus himself died in 1583, the year of the elector's death, we presume that 1581 is the correct date of the publication.—TR.

trary assumptions from which the opponents proceed. They are so sure of their victory over the ancient dogma, that they are already proclaiming its explosion, and many who hear this repeat it after them.

In opposing these efforts, and in defending her theology, the church has a two-fold duty to perform. The first is to show up these attacks in clear day-light, and to refute them. But we are, at the same time, to distinguish carefully between what is directed against the Confession of the church, and that which impugns the theological manner of representation or exhibition; for it is only the former, and not the latter, that we are called upon to defend. We are, furthermore, to distinguish between what is based upon a wrong understanding of the Confession, and is necessarily confuted through the Confession itself; that is, through a correct understanding of its meaning, and that which may with reason be alleged against it. In every instance in which polemical efforts have really been successful in fastening upon the doctrine of the church a defective meaning, or an unsatisfactory form in the exhibition of its import, this must be promptly acknowledged, and an emendation, or a further development of the truth attempted. For *truth* is, in theology, at all times, and therefore in all cases like that here supposed, the paramount aim. And with this we have already pointed out the other duty referred to: an attempt at a *positive exhibition* of the dogma, which includes at the same time its farther development. Whether such an exhibition be necessary, and under what aspects, can, however, only be ascertained by examining those attacks; to do this forthwith will be our business in the first section of this essay, in which, however, we shall confine ourselves to the most important.

I.

THE DOGMA CONCERNING THE REDEEMER IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

WE shall at once take up the dogma at that point in which it received, in the ancient church, its fixed symbolical stamp or expression. This it acquired through the decisions of the council of Chalcedon, which are the result of all the previous discussion through which the dogma had passed, so that it could here receive at least a preliminary definitive statement [Abschluss]. The declarations or decisions of that Synod have, in their essential import, been transferred into the so-called At-

hanasianum (the Athanasian creed), and have become, in this form, the confession of the occidental church.¹ That part of it which relates to our present subject, is as follows [we here translate it, giving the original in the note below]: “It is also necessary to eternal salvation, that we should sincerely believe in the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. This, therefore, is the true faith, that we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man: that he is God, begotten from the substance of the Father, before the beginning of time, and man, born in time, from the substance of his mother: that he is perfect God and perfect man, consisting of a rational soul and a human body: that he is the equal of the Father according to his divinity, but inferior to the Father according to his humanity: that, although he is God and man, he is yet not two, but one Christ; one, not in that the deity is converted into human flesh, but in that the deity has taken upon himself humanity: that he is indeed one, not by the confounding together of two natures, but in that he is one person (or, by the unity of his person); for like as a rational soul and a body constitute one man, so God and man are one Christ.”²

¹ The Chalcedon Formula, after first confessing respecting the Redeemer as follows: *ένα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτὸν, ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας* — — [We all teach fundamentally, that one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is one, the same perfect in his divinity, the same perfect in his humanity, the same truly God and man, [consisting] of a rational soul and a body, according to his divinity of the same essence as the Father, and the same, according to his humanity, of the same nature as ourselves, in all things like unto us, excepting sin] — — proceeds as follows: *ένα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστόν, υἱόν, κύριον, μονογενῆ, ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀχωρίσως γνωριζόμενον· οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης τὴν ἑνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ιδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης κ. τ. λ.* — [the same Christ is one, the Son, the Lord, the Only-begotten, made known to be of two natures unconfounded, immutable, indivisible, inseparable: the distinction of the natures having in no part been destroyed on account of the oneness, but rather, on the contrary, the peculiarity of each nature being preserved, and both concurring in the formation of one person and one hypostasis], according to the critique of Hahn's excellent *Bibliothek der Symb. und Glbrs.* Breslau, 1852.

² “Necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque domini Jesu Christi fideliter credamus. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quod Dominus noster Jesus Dei filius, Deus pariter et homo est. Deus ex substantia patris ante saecula genitus, homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus: perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana

The difference between this formula and that of Chalcedon consists only in this, that the latter points out still more distinctly the relation in the divine and human in Christ, in the following words:¹ "Following, therefore, these holy fathers [of the councils of Nice and Constantinople, together with Leo's letter to Flavianus.—Tr.], we unitedly declare, that one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is to be acknowledged as being perfect in his Godhead, and perfect in his humanity; truly God and truly man, with a rational soul and a body; of the same essence (*ὁμοουσιος*) with the Father, as to his Godhead; and of the same essence (*ὁμοούσιος*) with us, as to his humanity: in all things like us, sin only excepted; begotten (*γεννηθεὶς*) of the Father from all eternity, as to his Godhead; and of Mary, the mother of God (*θεοτόκος*) in these last days, for us and for our salvation, as to his human nature: recognized as one Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten; of two natures, unconfounded, unchanged, undivided, inseparable (*ἀσύνχυντως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαρέπτως, ἀχωρίσως*); the distinction of natures not at all done away by the union; but on the contrary, the peculiarity (*ιδιότης*) of each nature preserved, and combining (*συντρεχούσης*) into one substance [or personality, *ὑπόστασις*]; not separated or divided into two persons (*πρόσωπα*); but one Son, Only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ," &c. One Christ, therefore, true God and true man—this is the church's confession as regards her Redeemer.

The dogma is that expression for the faith of the church, which presents it distinctly to the understanding. It has, accordingly, two phases: one internal, the other external. The internal consists in the divine substance of the faith; the external in the human form [i. e. the form or mode of expression necessary to present it to the contemplation and reception of the human mind.—Tr.] The former gives to the dogma its verity, and contains at the same time the norm (rule or criterion) by which the latter is to be judged: it is the latter which gives the meaning conveyed the character of a dogma. For the truth, which is the object of faith, does not become a dogma until it has possessed itself of a distinct expression, in which

carne subsistens, aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem. Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus, unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum, unus omnino non transfusione substantiae, sed unitate personae. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita et Deus et homo unus est Christus."

¹ We give the words of the Confession or exposition of faith, published by this council, a little more fully than we find it quoted by Thomasius in the text. Tr.

the common faith of the church again recognizes its substantial import, and which it therefore openly confesses.¹

If now, in the first instance, we look away from the *form*, there cannot be a doubt that the *essential* import of *this confession* is no other than the original common faith of the christian church. For the church knows that, in the totality of her believing members, she is reconciled to God, and in the possession of a new and divine life; but the indispensable presumption of both these points of belief is not only the objective part of redemption, but the truth that the Redeemer is not a mere man, but that as man he is, at the same time, essentially God. For only the God-man can effect redemption, and secure, as Mediator, a divine life to the redeemed. And, therefore, the church acknowledges unum eundemque Christum, &c. (one and the same Christ), not two, separated and divided from each other, but *One* Christ, who unites, in the oneness of his person, the divine and the human nature. But it was not by a reference to her christian consciousness, or to particular passages of Scripture, that she obtained this view, but through the message [Verkündigung] of the Apostles, by means of which she herself was established. It needs but a glance into those ancient rules of faith, which summarily embody the substance of this message [or preaching], or into other relics of the apostolic age, to be convinced of this. For, according to Irenaeus (adv. Haer. I. c. 10. § 1.) the church believes on the strength of the traditio, quae est ab apostolis, unanimously εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας²) (Cf. III. 4, 2.), and, according to Tertullian the regula fidei [rule of faith], is this: credendi in unum Deum, omnipotentem mundi Conditorem, et filium ejus Jesum Christum—hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei³) (adv. Prax. c. 2. de vel. virg. 1.); but the Sacred Scriptures confirm these confessions as true. For that these [the Scriptures] designate the Son of man, who gave his life for the redemption of the

¹ This relation of the form and the substance or import, as respects the dogma, was very clearly and correctly understood by the older divines [Dogmatiker] of our church; and more particularly did they exhibit the significance of the former (termini ecclesiastici) in opposition to heresies. Cf. Chemnitz, loci I. de usu et utilitate loc. theol. et de trinitate c. II. § 4. (p. 86); Calov. Synopsis controversiarum. Aliud est, cum agitur de substantia dogmatis—aliud cum de terminis ecclesiasticis, quibus hoc dogma explicatur. p. 113, and that which follows respecting the mutability of these formularies.

² In one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation." TR.

³ That we must believe in one God, the almighty Creator of the world, and in his Son Jesus Christ,—man and God, Son of Man and Son of God. TR.

world, as the only begotten of the Father, and, as such, one with the Father, not only in his *Gesinnung* [we have no single word for this in English: we can express it only by circumlocution, thus: not only in that he was of the same mind as the Father], but also in power, life and essence; that they represented all the fulness of the Godhead as dwelling in him; all this is so perfectly obvious as to be admitted even by the opponents of the doctrinal system of the church. It is not necessary to appeal, in defence of this, to those passages in which Christ is unquestionably called Θεός, or to those divine attributes which the Scriptures ascribe to him: the entire series of testimonies in the gospel of John [which even after the attacks of Baur, we still presume to regard as genuine], which designate him as the absolute life, and the source of all divine life to the world, and especially to those who believe: John 1: 4; 5: 26; 14: 16, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ—Cf. I John 1: 1—3, compared with John 3: 36; 6: 33. 40. 47. 48., ὁ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον I John 5: 11. 12; also the passages which describe the community [*Gemeinschaft*] of power subsisting between him and the Father, John 10: 28—31, the oneness in activity, John 5: 17, in love and in spirit, John 16: 15—17, and those which represent this relation, manifesting itself more directly in the historical person of the Redeemer, as one existing before the beginning of time, and from all eternity, (John 6: 62; 8: 56—58; 17: 5, I John 1: 1, sqq. John 1: 1. 2), by virtue of which he who was made manifest in the flesh, was in the beginning with God, and was God; add to this the total impression made upon us by the writings of St. Paul, more particularly by such passages as the following: ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλῆρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς [in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily] Col. 2: 9, compared with II Cor. 5: 19, θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ [God in Christ]; Col. 1: 15. 19. (Phil. 2: 6, sqq.), Heb. 1: 3, all these prove to every impartial reader *the divinity of the Redeemer*.—Not less firmly established is the reality of *his humanity*, which, indeed, is not denied at the present time; and as regards the relation of the two to each other it is also undeniable, that according to the Scriptures that which is divine and that which is human belong to one and the same subject; that the same being [Ich] comprises within himself those opposite qualities that seem to exclude each other—a beginning in time and existence anterior to time,—human finiteness and divine fulness of power; that in general the entire person of the Redeemer, his selfconsciousness, his knowledge, his life and activity, appear as *one*, are manifestations of perfect unity. If we com-

bine together these indications, we have the following result: there is *one* Christ, *one* Redeemer, God and man in one person—and this is, at the same time, the *essential import* of the confession of the church. It stands and falls with the Scriptures.

If from this we proceed to the *form*, in which the church has expressed [ausgeprägt] this import [Inhalt], and by which it has constituted it a dogma, every thing here depends upon the *tendency* which the church had while thus employed. There is no greater error than to treat such definitions as logical formulas, or to regard them as expressions of a speculative mode of viewing truth; for by so doing we place ourselves, from the very beginning, upon a false stand-point. Videndum potius est, unde, quo consilio, et quibus de causis recepta sint haec vocabula¹ (Chemnitz), and thus is explained only by the historical connexion. From this alone the tendency of our dogma can be understood.

It is well known that, immediately after the decease of the great apostles, two extreme heretical tendencies took ground in opposition to the faith of the church in the person of the Redeemer. Ebionism had denied the verity (or reality) of his divine, Gnosticism that of his human nature. Both tendencies the church had rejected as erroneous, and had, in opposition to them, most positively asserted, and symbolically fixed²

¹ We are rather to consider whence, with what specific design, and from what causes, these definitions were received.

² It was the council of Nice which thus both asserted the doctrine, and fixed it symbolically, in the following confession: *πιστεύομεν εἰς—* *ένα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ — — Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινου — — ὁμοουσιον τῷ πατρί, κ. τ. λ.,* and by these farther definitions: *σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, ἀναστάντα, κ. τ. λ.* [“We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God — — God of God, very God of very God, of the same substance with the Father,” &c., — — “was incarnate, and became man; suffered and rose again,” &c.] For, although opposition to the Gnostic heresy is not here directly expressed, because this was then already excluded from the church, it is yet implicate contained in the words. But this opposition is expressed in the testimony of all the orthodox fathers of the third century, who oppose to Gnosticism at one time the church’s rule of faith (Iren. adv. Hær. II. 10), at another the christian consciousness of redemption through Christ’s suffering, death and resurrection, which is rudely assailed by this heresy. For example: Tertullian adv. Marc. III. 8: “Iam nunc cum mendacium (*δόκησις*) deprehenditur Christi caro, sequitur, ut et omnia, quae per carnem Christi gesta sunt, mendacio gesta sint. Sic nec passiones Christi fidem merebuntur, nihil enim passus est, qui non vere est passus, vere autem pati phantasma non potuit. *Eversum igitur est totum Dei opus.* Totum Christiani nominis et pondus et fructus, mors Christi, negatur.”] Now then as Christ’s flesh is regarded as a falsehood (a false notion), it follows that also all things which are accomplished through Christ’s flesh, are accomplished by means of a falsehood. Thus, also, the sufferings of Christ will deserve no faith, for he has not suffered any thing

the complete reality of both the divinity and the humanity of Christ. When, after this, she proceeded more particularly to define the relation of the two to each other, there were again brought forward, within her own borders, two methods of explaining this, which endangered those original fundamental definitions. This was the case, when the reciprocal relation of the divine and human was conceived to be either something external (*συνάφεια*; a conjunction), or as an absorption of the one by the other, as a fusion (*σύγχυσις*—mixture). For in the former case the One Christ always appeared to be again divided into a duality of persons, and thus the notion [Begriff] of a God-man was destroyed: in the latter the human (element) was in danger of being absorbed, or rather extinguished by the divine, and of being degraded into a mere accident of this. Followed up consistently, the former, i. e. the Nestorian tendency led back to Ebionism, but the monophysitic, to Docetism;¹ but by both, the scriptural faith of the church in the

who has not *really* suffered; but a phantasm cannot have really suffered. *Therefore the entire work of God is overthrown.* That which constituted both the dignity and value of the christian name, the death of Christ, is denied.] It is well known that to the later apollinaristic heresy, which denied the totality of the Redeemer's human nature, similar arguments were opposed. *Τὸ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀδεράπεντον,** say the Greek fathers; and A. D. 378 a Roman Synod declares: "Quod si utique imperfectus homo susceptus est, imperfectum Dei munus est, imperfecta nostra salus, quia non est totus homo salvatus."—Mansi Collect. Concil. P. III. p. 461. [The unassumed is incurable; irremediable. But if he is really assumed to be an imperfect man, the gift of God is imperfect, our salvation is imperfect, because the whole man is not saved.]

* NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.—In explanation of these two words, we give the following from Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecc.*: "*Ἐστ ἐνὶ μὲν πρόσληπτος, μὴ προσλαμβανόμενος, non assumptus, Joh. Damascenus Orthod. fidei. lib. 3, cap. 6, p. 197, de Salvatore nostro: "Ὁλον γὰρ ὅλος ἀνέλαβε με, καὶ ὅλος ὅλω ἡνώδη, ἵνα ὅλω τὴν σωτηρίαν χαρίσῃται. τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόσληπτον, ἀδεράπεντον. Totum enim totus assumsit me — — —. Nam quod assumptum non est, est incurabile."* Haec sunt desumpta ex I. Epit. Nazianzeni ad Cledonum. p. 740. We translate the Greek: "The whole of him has assumed the whole of me, and the whole of him has become united to the whole of me [has united himself to the whole of me], that upon the whole of me he might bestow salvation. For that which is not assumed, is incurable;" i. e. that part of human nature which has not been assumed by the Son of God, cannot be made whole—cannot be saved.

¹ When Cyril, in the name of an Alexandrine council (430), upbraided Nestorius for regarding the relation of the Divine to the Human in Christ, as being analogical to the manner in which God dwells in the saints or the prophets, and thus teaching, as respects the Redeemer, neither a true incarnation, nor a true divinity (Mansi V., 502), Nestorius did not, indeed, avow these consequences, but that his doctrine involves them, has been admitted, in other passages, I. 735 & 772, even by Baur. In like manner Cyril could repel the charge of Docetism, as "silly babble," (Cf. His letter addressed to Theodosius, Mansi IV. 628); nevertheless he did not claim for Christ's hu-

Redeemer, and hence in redemption itself, was overthrown, because its entire significance depends upon the Redeemer being Godman, and his doing and suffering being godmanlike [ein gottmenschliches]. If it be merely human, it is destitute of the universal, world-reconciling importance; if it be only divine, it sinks down into an empty semblance, and has no particular relation to our race.¹

In defining the dogma at the council of Chalcedon, the object which the church had in view was, to exclude *both* these tendencies, which had, in the preceding controversies, been already partially suppressed, together with their consequences, and on the other hand to defend, and to fix symbolically as well the complete reality [Wahrheit] of the divine and the human nature of the Redeemer, as the unity of his person. *This is the aim and tendency of the dogma*, as is obvious from the whole history of its development, and as it is clearly expressed in the Chalcedon symbol. From this it is manifest that the church formula (Kirchliche Formel) is nothing else than the definite expression for what we have above designated as the essential *import* of the christian faith in the Redeemer, in opposition to the errors which endangered it. Even the celebrated distinctions ἀσυχύτως (unmixed or unconfounded) ἀδιαπέτως (undivided), &c., are only intended to guard against those false views; positive determinations relative to the manner in which the relation of the Divine and the human nature in Christ is, consistently with them, to be conceived of, they do

man nature all that is due to it, and it was by no means from a mere love of carrying out principles to their possible consequences (as is suggested by Fuchs in the Bibliotheca of the Church-councils IV. 188), that a great number of the oriental bishops again and again took up this accusation. For, how strenuously soever Cyril asserted the contrary, that error certainly lay concealed in his doctrine.

¹ It is precisely these points upon which the representatives of the two opposite tendencies respectively insisted with great emphasis. For not only does Cyril endeavor, in the letter referred to, to show how it follows from the doctrine of Nestorius, that not *the Son of God*, but only the *Man* had suffered for us, and risen again, and then contend that, if he has suffered only as man, he has not really redeemed us; that hence his blood is not really the proper blood of him who sitteth at the right hand of the Father; that, for the same reason, he has not conquered death, and that therefore, also, in the Lord's Supper, it is not the flesh of the life-giving [quickening] Word, that we receive, &c.; but the *council of Ephesus* declares, that it has condemned Nestorius: "Because he ascribes to the flesh alone the achievement of the scheme of salvation, in that he maintains, that only the temple of God (the body) had undergone the process of birth and death;" whilst, on the other hand, the opposite party writes thus concerning Cyril: "He teaches, that the Godhead of the Only-begotten, *and not* the humanity, which, for our sakes, he assumed, had suffered." Mansi IV. 1411.—We mention this here only in order to point out the intimate connection which was conceived to subsist between those christological controversies and faith in redemption.

not contain. In like manner the following expressions are merely designed to denote, δύο φύσεις (two natures) the essential reality, substantia, and ἐν πρόσωπον, μία ὑπόστασις (one person), unity of person (unitas personæ), one Christ (unns Christus). It is precisely this confession which is of paramount importance to the church, and hence it can only be regarded as a great mistake, to argue against the dogma from any metaphysical, especially modern, notion respecting nature or personality. It is just as inadmissible to return, with Baur, to those theories, which are at the foundation of the two excluded extremes, and to impute their mutual untenableness to the definitions of the church; for the sole object here aimed at is the defence of that simple truth, that Jesus Christ is the Godman (duo naturae, divina et humana in unitate personae inseparabiliter conjunctae), [two natures, the divine and human, inseparably united in oneness of person]. Let the modes of apprehending or conceiving it, within the circumference of which the church has fixed the dogma, appear never so contradictory—may even the attempts of orthodox fathers to explain and state it, appear to be failures,—all this does not here enter into consideration,—does not at all affect the correctness of the dogmatical definition, which by no means owes its origin to metaphysical assumptions, but has its source in the inmost life of the church. And hence the church does not allow herself to be alarmed by any assaults upon the dogma. For these either bear only upon the scientific modes of conception [Auffassungen], which the church is not bound to defend; or they misapprehend the tendency, and therefore the meaning, of the church's formulas; or they aim at destroying their essential import, which is the substance of the christian faith. And the church cannot be in doubt as to what is to be thought of such efforts. In opposition to them she says, in the words of the great apostle, to her Lord and King: "We have known and believed that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God."

Let us now consider the *objections* which are made to this form of the dogma. They amount to this grievous allegation, "that the definitions of the church contain incongruities, contradictions and impossibilities, and that, therefore, they must necessarily fall asunder again [wieder auseinander fallen müssten.]"

1. Dorner remarks (pp. 81, 93, 100, 184), that even this is inauspicious, "that, in constructing our dogma, the church had started from the difference of the two natures, as from a duality of substances opposed to each other, and yet had then made the attempt to consider these absolutely distinct natures as combined in the unity of one person." He further argues

that, upon a foundation so badly laid, only a structure could be erected, which, being ill joined together, was ever and again tending, on both sides, to fall asunder; that there was, therefore, no alternative left, except either to advance to a higher unity (respecting this see *infra*, §2), which the church had not done; or to sacrifice the one member of the contradictory proposition [paradox] to the other. The same objection is urged, in language still more peremptory, by Baur. In his estimation this duality of the natures is a downright abomination; and hence he never grows weary of charging upon the Chalcedon Definitions irreconcilable inconsistency, ambiguous indefiniteness, discordant incompleteness [zwiespältige Halbheit]. He asserts that, "its unity of person the dogma has from Cyril, its distinction of the natures, from Nestorius and Leo"—and that, if there be anything good in it, it is to be found solely in this, that it entirely subordinates neither the human to the divine, nor the latter to the former, and that thus it leaves to the future at least the possibility of comprehending both as constituents [Momente] of one and the same unity. With this we have the proper basis of Baur's criticism indicated. It is the assumption of the unity of the finite and infinite in the sense of the speculative pantheism; and he regards the *πρῶτον ὑπόθεσις* [primary error] of the church's doctrine to consist in this, that it does not proceed from this "unity of the divine and human, which exists *per se* and reconciles itself with itself," but form a real distinction between the two. In every section of his great and learned work this is again and again exhibited. But as we do not occupy the same stand-point with him, it cannot by any means be our purpose *here* to defend the dogma against his position. For we can scarcely conceive of a greater inconsistency, than to judge the doctrinal views held by the church in the first six centuries, according to a speculative-pantheistic mode of considering the same truths, prevailing in the nineteenth century. All objections which grow out of *this* assumption are of no special importance to the consciousness of the church, and we shall therefore confine ourselves exclusively to what is represented to be a defect existing in the dogma itself.

This, however, is not done by the allegations to which we have referred. Dorner is, indeed, in the right, when he maintains that it is inconvenient to proceed, in the construction of the Christology, from two abstract natures, and to represent the person as being, as it were, only produced by their meeting. This leads to the lifeless [unlebendigen] conception, which

cleaves to many christological representations. But it is unjust to saddle the dogma itself with this defect. For the church's definitions contain nothing with respect to this, no more than they do respecting an *absolute* diversity of the natures, which is said to be in the way of a living unity. Nay, it cannot even be said, that this is the assumption which lies tacitly at their foundation. For the church, as Dorner himself (p. 53) acknowledges, has not, in developing the dogma, proceeded from the duality of the natures, but from the unity of the person; and it is only by the various heresies which have arisen, that she has been compelled, in her conceptions to separate the two, and to consider each side by itself, in order afterwards to regard the presupposed unity as one that has been mediately effected, i. e. as one which preserves the distinction within itself. And just as little has she, from the beginning, set up such a conception [view] of human nature, as would necessarily preclude a union with the divine. This was, at least, not the case with the Greek Christologists, among the so-called apologists, among the theologians of the Alexandrian school, or with Athanasius, the Gregories and others.

It was, on the contrary, difficult for their peculiar anthropology to distinguish the divine Logos from the human, which latter they regarded as an emanation, or with Origen, as an essential constituent [Moment] of the one absolute Logos: we need only recall to mind the perplexity in which Gregory Nazianz found himself in his encounter with Apollinarism;¹ and although the school of Antioch distinguished with greater precision between the divine and the human nature, and even in some measure represented them as opposites, we are not to forget, that along side of this school stood its direct opposite, the Egyptian, so that there exists no reason whatever for ascribing to the ancient church the assumption above specified, as the basis of the dogma: this could be done only by maintaining, that it is involved in her assertion of the perpetual *ιδιότης* [peculiar distinct condition.—TR.], of the human nature in Christ, which remains, indeed, an offence to modern pantheism, but which the church had necessarily to hold fast, if she would not fall into Docetism, and utterly give up the facts of redemption. Whether this censure applies to the view held by the Lutheran church, we shall see hereafter; and we therefore proceed forthwith to the second and more important objection. It is this, that,—

¹ Cf. Ullmann. Gregor von Naz. 410.

2d. "The definition given by the doctrine of the church, that in Christ the divine nature is united with the human, *salva proprietate utriusque* [without prejudice to the distinct properties of each.—TR.], so as to result in the unity of the person, involves an internal contradiction, and a pure impossibility." For,—so those who advance this objection allege,—it pertains essentially to the peculiarity and completeness of rational nature, to possess personality—self-consciousness, intelligence and will; and that this, according to the church's doctrine, is the attribute of Christ, not only as to his divinity, but also in his humanity, appears as well from the words of the symbolum, "*verus Deus et verus homo, ex anima rationali et corpore*" [true God and true man, consisting of a rational soul and a body.—TR.], as from the later definitions, given in the monotheletic controversies. But that it is so utterly impossible for a two-fold Me, a two-fold self-consciousness, to combine or coalesce in the unity of one person, that it directly destroys this. That therefore the monophysites had justly, notwithstanding the declarations of the church to the contrary, always regarded a division into two persons as inseparable from the duality of the natures. (Strauss, 111, sqq.) But that this internal contradiction appeared still greater in its application to the given case. For that here we had, on the one hand, a divine reason, which, as the absolute, must have known every thing at once; on the other, a human reason, which, as finite, could have known only some things, and these one after the other: on the one hand, a divine will, the object of which is the whole world in the entirety of its development; on the other, a human will, which can direct its efforts to but one object at a time, and aim at the attainment of one object for the sake of another. That it is self-evident, that herewith the unity of the person is nullified. (Cf. Strauss, 113. Baur I. 806 sqq.) They further allege, that the same conclusion results still more directly from the manner in which the activity of the two natures is defined in Leo's synodal rescript, [or letter; *Synodalschreiben*]. For that although, according to this, each worketh that which is proper to it, in conjunction with the other (*agit utraque forma cum communione alterius quod proprium est*), we have still nothing else here than two series of acts transpiring along side of each other, of which the one proceeds from the divine nature, the other from the human.¹

¹ *Ea ipsa, quae inseparabiliter facta sunt, nulla promixtione confundimus, sed cujus forma sit, ex operum qualitate sentimus.*" Those things even, which are performed in inseparable union, we do not confound by intermixing them,

The humiliation, the suffering and death appertain, it is maintained, exclusively to the human nature; and, although to this divine names and predicates are ascribed, and, vice versa, human names and predicates to the divine, this is done only because the person of the Redeemer comprises both. But in this way, they further allege, not only the unity of self-consciousness and of action is annulled, but the natures themselves are kept entirely asunder: they contend, that it is of no avail against these objections that, in other passages of that celebrated epistle (Leo's; *vid. supra.*), Nestorianism, also, is tacitly rejected, more particularly in a later missive to the emperor Leo (A. D. 457), because the distinction between the *opera* is never given up, which, of necessity, again throws us back upon a duality of persons, and thus upon Nestorianism." These are the objections which, to some extent in following the example of Schleiermacher (*Glaubenslehre*, §96), Strauss 112, *sqq.*, Baur, at the place already referred to, particularly I. p. 812, *sqq.*, and even Dorner, p. 111, have urged against the doctrine of the church.

This is certainly an acute, and, as we have no hesitation to admit, in the main, just criticism, not indeed of the church's symbol (*vide infra*), but of the manner in which it is exhibited in Leo's celebrated missive to bishop Flavian, which writing obtained the approbation of the Synod. It is to this that all those assertions and attacks have reference. And to these we might indeed rejoin, that it was the principal aim of the patriarch of Rome to guard against the Eutychian heresy, and that from his language we are by no means justified in concluding, that in penning his epistle he had designed to depreciate the importance of the other side of his subject, *viz.* the unity, which, indeed, he expressly asserts, while he contends for the destruction between the two natures. It was, in fact, most decidedly the tendency of his mind and reasoning, to hold fast both the distinction of the natures, and the unity of the person, as equally important, and equally founded in truth: "*Salva proprietate utriusque naturae et substantiae et in unam coëunte personam suscepta est,*" etc. says he in c. 3; again, c. 4: "*unus enim idemque est, quod saepe dicendum est, vere Dei filius et vere hominis filius.*" And again, c. 5, "*Propter hanc unitatem personae in utraque natura intelligendam,*" etc.; and in this respect Dorner (p. 93), has already vindicated him. The charge of Nestorianism, which Baur (I. 819), brings against him, Leo

but from the quality of the works or acts we discern, to which of the two forms they severally belong.—*TR.*

has himself confuted, through the sentence of rejection which he passes upon Nestorius. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, that the manner in which he represents the relation of the two natures in Christ to each other, does not enter into the life and heart of the subject [eine äusserliche und unlebendige ist]. His entire view is pervaded by a dualism, which never admits of the entire and perfect truth being reached. "*The Saviour's state of humiliation pertains exclusively to his humanity, the exaltation to his divinity.*"¹ The latter is manifested in the miracles, the former succumbs under the cruelties inflicted upon him; the latter is exhibited in the feeding of many thousands: it is the property of the former to hunger, to thirst, to grow weary, &c.: to the latter it belongs to rule; to the former to suffer." Precisely at this point, that dualism is most conspicuous: "Sicut ergo, ut multa praeteream, non ejusdem naturae est flere, miserationis affectu amicum mortuum et eundem remoto quatrduanae aggere sepulturae ad vocis imperium excitare redivivum, ita non ejusdem naturae est etc.; and cap. 5: Propter hanc unitatem personae * * * * * et filius hominis legitur descendisse de coelo, cum filius Dei carnem de ea virgine, de qua est natus, assumerit. Et rursus filius Dei crucifixus dicitur ac sepultus, cum haec non in divinitate ipsa, qua unigenitus, consempternus et consubstantialis patri est, sed in naturae humanae sit infirmitate perpesus."² Such a duplicity [i. e. double state or condition.—T.R.] of the single acts, however, necessarily leads back to a duplicity (doubleness) of consciousness, of the Me,—and the one as well as the other is totally irreconcilable with that impression of an entire or undivided object, which is made upon every unprejudiced reader by the representations of the Evangelists. For we find every where in the gospels an integral

¹ As our translation of this sentence is very unsatisfactory to ourselves, we here give the German: "Die Niedrigkeit des Erlösers gehört ausschliesslich seiner Menschheit, die Erhabenheit seiner Gottheit an." We may render it thus: The lowliness of the Saviour pertains exclusively to his humanity, the exaltedness to his divinity."

² Therefore, just as it is not,—to say nothing of many other things,—the property of the same nature to weep, through a feeling of pity, for a deceased friend, and to raise, upon the opening of the tomb in which he had been three days buried, that friend alive, solely through the power of his word, so also is it not the property of the same nature, &c. On account of this unity of person it is said, that the Son of Man descended from heaven, whilst the Son of God assumed flesh from that virgin of whom he was born. And again, the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, although he suffered these things not in that same divinity by which he is the Only-begotten, Coeternal, and of the same substance with the Father, but in the weakness of human nature.

(or, to coin a new word, unital.—Tr.), knowledge and life, an integral (or unital) consciousness, an undivided Me, from which all the Redeemer's thinking, willing and acting proceeds;—hence, One personality in the fullest sense of the word. Of a duality, such as Leo's epistle supposes and sets forth, I can at least find no trace in Scripture, and therefore I have no hesitation in representing it as containing an exhibition of the dogma as yet defective and unsatisfactory; as a concussion which, if not proceeding from Nestorianism, must yet, when developed in all its necessary sequences, lead to that heresy.

And this is that form of the dogma at which the Reformed church stopped, but which our church has, by farther unfolding the doctrinal view, overcome and set aside.¹ Vide the following Article:

¹ In the numerous works which Reformed theologians have issued against the Lutheran doctrine, more particularly in the *Admonitio Neostadtiensis*, we find precisely the same view of the subject, the same duplicity [doubleness] of consciousness, and particularly *the same double series of acts*, of which the one proceeds from the divine, the other from the human [nature] in Christ: Neque tamen, it is here said (p. 21), *mutatae aut permixtae aut confusae sunt duae naturae in Christo* — — *sed unitas pariter et distinctas essentias et essentielles proprietates, et operationes in aeternum retinent*. Altera divina, increata, — — altera spiritualis—humana, creata, sustentata et vivificata ab altera, finita, corporea et uno tempore non nisi uno in loco subsistens. Sic gemina mens seu intellectus—gemina voluntas et operatio—gemina sapientia, robur et virtus. Then, with reference to the work of redemption: *distinctae naturarum in uno Christo actiones*—in which the Admonition follows the words of Leo: “*utraque natura operatur cum altera quod uniuscujusque proprium est*.” humana natura patitur et moritur, divina vult hanc obedientiam et humanam sustentat et resuscitat, humana praedicat Evangelium, divina dictat quod illa loquatur, humana adhibet preces, gestus et verba, divina efficit miracula; humana ascendit in coelum et terram deserit, divina antea est in coelo et in terra manet nobiscum, etc., p. 23: and, although we are afterwards told: Non tantum homo sed etiam Deus est passus; or: homo est omnipotens et ubique praesens; this is immediately retracted by the limitation, that this is affirmed of the entire person, *in as far* as in it both, Divinity and humanity, are united; i. e., it is said only in an *improper sense*. In fact, neither does the human in Christ partake of the divine omnipotence, nor has the divine in him suffered in any way with his humanity: *Erat aliud in eo moriens et aliud resuscitans*. — — *Unus et idem est crucifixus, et mortuus, qua homo est, et non crucifixus, qua Deus est, semper vivens et ipsa vita,—mortuus carne, vivificatus antem Spiritu*, p. 28 and p. 273, de officio Christi: *Sunt aliae in hoc opere divinitatis, aliae humanitatis partes*. But this separation appears still more conspicuous, when the Admonitio treats of the relation sustained by the activity of the exalted Christ to his humanity. Here the latter remains shut up in heaven, whilst the former works ubiquitously; or if the former descended once to the earth, quid me persequeris? clamabat caput de coelo, cum pedes calcarentur in terra. Compare with this the expression used by Beza at the Colloquium Montisbelligartensi, in the year 1586 [*Acta Coll. M.* p. 244], 246, 304, 253. This entire mode of viewing the subject has been surmounted and set aside by the Lutheran church. With Chemnitz, *Locis I.* p. 185 [Ed. 1709], she lays down the canon: “In Christ, however, the personal union joins together the divine and the human nature in a connexion so intimate, that it admits, in no wise, of such a dis-

However, just as the representations above exhibited are, *they do not at all affect the definitions (or determinations) of the church.* For these, in their negativeness and simplicity, enter into no particulars as respects the relation of the divine and the human in Christ, and respecting the mode of (active manifestation) of the activity of each, but merely assert the entire reality (veritableness) of both in the unity of his person. By approving the epistle of the Roman bishop, the council of Chalcedon did not, by any means, elevate the view peculiar to it into the absolutely valid and exclusive doctrine of the church, no more than it did the opposite view of Cyril, whose (second) synodical epistle to Nestorius it also approved. Whoever is acquainted with the history of that council, knows how sharply, during its sessions, the peculiar and opposite views of the schools of Antioch and of Alexandria came in conflict with each other, and how little the one was inclined to yield to the other. The decision between them continued to fluctuate through several sessions. But still two things had, amidst the previous contests, already obtained a universal recognition; i. e. the exceptionable character of the Nestorian, as well as of the Eutychian extreme, because both are irreconcilable with christian consciousness, and still more decidedly with faith in the person of the Godman, and the reality of redemption. *It was the purpose of the council to reject both.* And it is in this sense, with this *design*, that it sanctioned those synodical epistles: that of Leo, so far as it contends against the error of a mixture (or confusion) of the two natures: that of Cyril, so far as it contends against their separation: to this effect the council distinctly expressed itself as follows: "For the sake of those who undermine the mystery of the incarnation, and assert that he who was born of the virgin is a mere man, the council accepts the synodical epistles of Cyril to Nestorius and

tion of actions, as would justify us in saying: "this the divine, and this the human nature in Christ, does. But the One Christ, the One Son, and that one person, does, says, suffers all things." She directly describes, in the Formula Concordiae, and in its Defence (A. D. 1783), that duplicity; [double-ness] as Nestorian, and rejects it more particularly for this reason, that through it the work of redemption is degraded into one merely human. Cf. also Calov. Syn. contr. p. 296, sqq. In this, however, our theologians were certainly mistaken, that they thought they had Leo's epistle on their side, whilst, in reality, it expresses the Reformed doctrine. This [the Reformed doctrine] is not, therefore, in itself an absolute error, but merely a still defective view of the dogma, which has however remained behind the progress of the church. [The above passage from the Loci of Chemnitz reads thus in Latin: "In Christo vero unio personalis tam arcto foedere copulat divinam et humanam naturam, ut talem distinctionem actionum nullo modo admittat, qua dici possit: Hoc facit divina natura in Christo, hoc humana. Sed unus Christus, unus Filius et una illa persona agit, dicit, patitur omnia].

to the Orientals, for the confutation of the insane doctrines of Nestorius, and for the instruction of those who desire correctly to understand the meaning of the sacred symbol. In the same manner it approves also the epistle of arch-bishop Leo to Flavian, for the confutation of the Eutychian nonsense, inasmuch as it (the epistle) coincides with the confession of the great apostle, and constitutes a breast-work against the heretics." But if the council has, in this manner, distinctly indicated the point of view from which it desires to have the two epistles estimated, we have no right at all to allege that it has thus elevated their entire, in part contradictory, contents into the doctrinal norma of the church, which, on the contrary, it does so *far* only as they exhibit and contend against the opposite view, which it is determined to reject. Hence, also, we are not to impute the defects of these epistles to the church's symbol, which fixes the dogma simply in the middle between the two extremes, and thus leaves sufficient scope for further development; but thus much we do say, that the entire view and statement of the dogma belonging to that period, is not yet, by any means, the complete expression for the truth which lies at the foundation. It requires a further and important development, if the dualism, which cleaves especially to the exposition of Leo, is to be overcome and disposed of.

Of such farther development the dogma seems, however, to carry the germ within itself. For, when the church set forth the doctrine of the unio of the Deity and of humanity in the person of the Redeemer, her meaning, in thus teaching, was not that both stood along side of each other in equal self-dependence [*Selbstständigkeit*: this expressive German word has no adequate representative in the English language.—Tr.], but that the act of incarnation (*Menschwerdung*) proceeded from the Deity; that the Deity first formed for itself the humanity that was to be assumed, and that, therefore, the latter has its fundamental principle in the former. And as the Divine Logos was regarded as a self-existent (*selbstständige*) Hypostasy, the following expression was employed: "That he had assumed human nature into the unity of his divine hypostasy," and that the latter was, therefore, that which properly formed the person. This scriptural idea, which lay from the beginning at the foundation of the church's Christology, more particularly of the Alexandrian view represented by Cyril, was subsequently further unfolded by John of Damascus, to the effect that the human nature of the Redeemer is not, indeed, destitute of hypostasy (not *ἀνύποστατος*), but that it has not, any more, one of its own (*ἰδιοσύστατος*); that, on the contrary, it has

its hypostasy "in that of the Divine Logos." (de fide orthod. III. 9. & 11. cf. Augustine:—Deus verbum non accepit personam hominis sed naturam et in aeternam personam divinitatis accepit temporalem substantiam carnis). With this view, that dualism which we meet in Leo's epistle appears to be got rid of, and the unity of the person of the Redeemer to be placed in its proper light. Hence it passed over at once into the general doctrine of the church, by which it had been, from the beginning pre-supposed, although it was not at once expressly sanctioned by symbols. It lies at the bottom also of the view taken by our church.

However, this very doctrine of the Anypostasy of the human nature of Christ, a term not entirely correct, presents to the further attacks upon our dogma a new point to aim at.

3d, "If that view of our doctrine which has been discussed above, is fatal to unity of person in the Redeemer, and strips his divine nature of its just prerogatives, that which is now under consideration does away with the reality and perfectness of his human nature, and not only takes from it its most important attribute, [ihr bestes Theil], but converts the entire Christology into a monstrous conception. For it is obviously an essential attribute of human nature, to exist in the form of personality, that it is to say, *as a unity of rational selfconsciousness and will*. This is the essential distinctness of the [human] spirit; if human nature is destitute of this, it ceases to be a nature truly human, and there is, in reality, nothing left to it but the corporeal part." Such is the objection which is raised from all quarters against our dogma. Dorner acknowledges, indeed, that in the anypostasy there is a great stride forward; but he immediately adds, that this involves a derogation from the attributes of human nature, which can steer clear of Docetism and Monophysitism only by inconsequent reasoning. Pp. 116. 140. 185. Baur does not scruple to call it the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* [the fundamental error] of the church's doctrine: I. 772. cf. 458., and endeavors to show, that, and how the human is degraded into a mere accident of the divine nature; while Strauss expatiates with special delight on the same objection. "Not only," says he, "is it thus denied that the Redeemer possessed a human spirit, but even his body is represented as being only a docetic phantasm, inasmuch as it can be developed into a truly human body only through [vermöge] the spirit enclosed, as a living germ, within it, whereas without this it could become nothing better than an abnormal monster [Missgebilde]. Pp. 113. 115.

The same is true of this objection as of the former: it mixes up, only in a still higher degree, what is false and what is true.

Thus much, we admit, is perfectly correct, that the Redeemer's human nature, if *personality*, taking the word in the *modern* sense, was wanting to it, is not a perfectly [vollständige: possessing all its essential attributes.—TR.], and hence also no *truly* human nature; and that the dogma, if it thus really denied its possession of self-consciousness and spirit, would be self-contradictory, and in conflict with Scripture. In connexion with such a conception, all genuine human suffering would also, of necessity, be quite out of the question, because the want of self-consciousness would also imply the want of personal self-feeling [Selbstgefühl; we have no word for it: it means not only the capacity of feeling and suffering belonging to any individual personality, but denotes, in general, a sense of personal character, and moral worth: the term refers to man's moral nature, and not to his intellect]; and that thus, of course, the reality of redemption would be abrogated. (Cf. Strauss, 120). In this sense, therefore, we unhesitatingly abandon the non-personality to its fate.

But not by any means do we so in the sense of the dogma.

Here it appears no less true [richtig] than necessary, if the doctrine [Begriff: notion] of the incarnation is at all to be retained. For this—and it is here that we have the internal connexion of the church's doctrine—this, the incarnation, is *God's Act*, and does not consist in this, that the Son has united himself with any distinct, already existing, or even already developed human individual, and had afterwards, in the way of gradual impenetration or pervasion, glorified this human individual into unity with himself,—a conception which is, indeed, uncommonly easily and readily comprehended, but which degrades the whole mystery of the Incarnation into a mere platitude, annuls the miracle of divine love, places Christ upon a perfect level with ourselves, annihilates the Biblical notion of the Son-of-God's becoming a man [Begriff der Menschwerdung], and decidedly contradicts the sacred Scriptures. For, according to them, the Eternal Logos was made flesh (John 1: 14), and this does not mean that he, by his indwelling, deified [vergottet hat: converted into God] this or the other individual, but he has assumed human nature, that which is common to all individuals; and that he first formed and prepared it for and to himself out of the virgin, and assumed it into the oneness of his divine person. But if such be the case, then it is impossible that a separate existence of its own, or a

self-dependent life, prior to, along side of, and exterior to his divinity, should belong to his humanity; but the latter has in the former the principle of its existence, the internal and immanent basis of its being. It rests (depends entirely) upon the former; considered per se, distinct and apart from the divinity, it has no reality at all. This is the necessary sequence (Konsequenz) of the great truth: ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο—the Word was made flesh: the sole possible way of conceiving of the incarnation [Menschwerdung: the poverty of the English language affords us only the one term.—TR.], in accordance with the sense of Scripture, and of excluding the error of a double or two-fold person. And precisely this, nothing else, is the church's dogma designed to express.¹

The objection that the human nature is thereby deprived of an essential constituent, is based upon the erroneous opinion that there is any humanity perfectly independent [ausser] of God, purely and solely within itself and for itself. For, has not the nature of us all its immanent (indwelling) basis of life in God; and is it then so much the more imperfect and defective, in proportion as, in our being and life, we are dependent upon God, and conditioned [determined: bedingt.] by

¹ Cf. the explanation of Chemnitz. Loci I. 186. "Quia in Christo incarnato sunt duae naturae individuae, *intelligentes*, et tamen una tantum persona, quia unus est Christus, dicimus illas naturas unitas, non ita, quod humana Christi natura prius concepta et formata fuerit in utero Mariae, antequam natura divina ei uniretur. Si enim ullo unquam tempore humanitas Christi per se ante unionem habuisset *subsistentiam*, tunc sicut duae naturae individuae, *intelligentes* in Christo, essent etiam duae Personae. — Sed in Christo duae naturae sunt unitae unione personali; quia humanitas Christi nullo unquam tempore habuit *subsistentiam* per se, sed in principio conceptionis assumpta est a divinitate personaliter, ut ab eo sustentetur, ita ut si possibile esset deserere a λόγῳ, sicut Saul desertus est a spiritu Domini bono, (a comparison, however, which I cannot by any means accept: see the following Section) non posset manere et subsistere, sed redigeretur in nihilum. Cf. also Gerhard, Loci III. L. IV. 428 (ed. Cotta.): caro illa et anima non erant prius unita in unam personam etc.: Calov. synopsis controvers. p. 241. — We translate the here quoted Latin: "Since in the incarnate Christ are two individual natures, both *intelligent*, and yet only one person, because Christ is one, we say that those two natures are united, not so, however, as that the human nature of Christ had been previously conceived and formed in the womb of Mary, before the divine nature was united with it. For it ever, at any time, the humanity of Christ had had *subsistence* per se previous to the union, then, just as there are in Christ two individual intelligent natures, there would also be two Persons. But in Christ the two natures are united in a personal union; because the humanity of Christ had never, at any time, subsistence by itself (per se), but was, at the beginning of the conception, assumed personally by the divinity, that by this it might be sustained, so that, if it could possibly be forsaken by the Logos, as Saul was deserted by the good Spirit of God [see above], it could not last and subsist, but would be reduced to nothing." —

"That flesh and soul were not previously united in one person," etc.

him? How is it that the holy humanity of the Redeemer must, therefore, be destitute of self-consciousness, intelligence and spirit, because it has in [an] God its subsistence? Nor has the church's doctrine ever for a moment had the design or tendency to deprive it of any integrating constituent. It has, on the contrary, from the very beginning, and already in the Chalcedon symbol, declared, that the humanity of Jesus Christ is a true and perfect humanity: "ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῶς, ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος—truly man, consisting of a rational soul and a body;" it has positively rejected Apollinarism, which denied that it had νοῦς, mind: it expressly condemns the assertion: "dominum ac salvatorem nostrum *imperfectum*, i. e. sine sensu (ἄνοον) hominem suscepisse" [that our Lord and Saviour took into union with himself an imperfect man, i. e. one without mind or understanding (wanting understanding)], and knows very well for what reason: "Quodsi utique imperfectus homo susceptus est, imperfectum Dei opus est, imperfecta nostra salus est, quia non est totus homo salvatus, (Mansi III. 482. Greg. Magn. τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀδεράπεντον"). [But if, indeed, an imperfect man has been assumed, then the word of God is imperfect; our salvation is imperfect, because the whole of man is not saved;] for that which has not been assumed is incurable—beyond remedy]. On the other hand, it declares at another place: "Nos autem, qui integros et perfectos salvatos nos scimus, secundum catholicae ecclesiae confessionem perfectum Deum perfectum suscepisse hominem confitemur." ["But we, who know that we are saved, entire and complete, confidently believe, according to the confession of the church catholic, that the whole of God assumed the whole of man:" i. e. not an incomplete man, or a mutilated humanity.—TR.] Compare the Athanasian Creed (in Hahn, p. 123), and the Confessions of our church. How should it then, at the same moment, take all this back again, and maintain the direct opposite, with the doctrine of the Anypostasy? No! There prevails here, on the contrary, a *striking misapprehension*. The opponents of the dogma reason from the *modern notion of the personality* against the view of the early church concerning the hypostacy, which by no means coincides with the former. For ὑπόστασις does *not* denote self-consciousness, but subsistence, self-dependent existence, or being [selbstständiges Dasein], and is therefore not at all designed to declare any thing respecting the *nature of the being* (die Beschaffenheit des Wesens), and concerning the qualities which serve to complete human nature, but only respecting its *mode of existence*. It is thus that the ancient church, and thus that the Lutheran church have

at all times understood it. The theologians of the Lutheran church employ *ὑπόστασις* (hypostasy) in the sense of subsistentia. They say: "humanae naturae *subsistentia* est ipsa *τὸ λόγος* subsistentia:" they distinguish accurately between essentia and subsistentia, being and hypostasy; and, with their definition, so often assailed, they merely intend to indicate, that the perfect (complete) human nature of the Redeemer exists only through the *λόγος* and in dependence upon him. But to the reproach which we have cited and answered above, they oppose the following declaration: "These allegations we deny, because whatever is merely the manner of the humanity (the mode of its existence), and is truly and really distinct from this itself, that does not determine that man is man, and that, when this is taken away, he ceases to be man."¹

Hence, we can now consider the *third* objection also as groundless, and as entirely disposed of.

But quite a different question is this, in what manner we can bring to harmonize with the necessary and correct doctrine of the anhypostasy, that no less necessary assumption of a human personality of the Redeemer, taking the word personality in the modern sense? On this point not only the definitions of the Symbolical Books, but also the writings of the earlier theologians, afford us no light, and that for the simple reason, that they were not yet called upon to determine the true meaning and importance of the personality. The distinction between *ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία*, as we find it current in theology since the day of John Damascenus, does not at all enter into consideration here; by applying the definition, commonly employed in connexion with the doctrine of the Trinity: "*persona est substantia individua intelligens*," the question is more perplexed than elucidated,² and even the manner in which Sartorius, in the Dorpat Contributions (vol. I. p. 359), seeks to vindicate the impersonality, I cannot approve, because the possibility of a purely human development of the Redeemer seems

¹ "Nos hæc negamus, quia quicquid tantum est modus humanitatis (*τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπάρξεως*) et vere et realiter ab eadem distinguitur, id non facit, quod homo sit homo et eo adempto non sit." Cf. Gerh. III, L. IV, c. 7. 425 sqq. & Calov. synops. 245 sqq.

² Of this definition many Lutheran theologians avail themselves here, but in so doing they point us, with Chemnitz, to the words of Augustine, de Trinit. V.: "Magna prorsus inopia humanum laborat eloquium. Dictum est tamen *tres personae*, non ut illud diceretur sed ne taceretur omnino, Non enim rei ineffabilis eminentia hoc vocabulo explicari valet." Human eloquence [speech] labors truly under a great poverty of expression. However we use the expression *three persons*, not that this may be said, but that we may not say nothing at all. For, the greatness of an ineffable thing cannot be unfolded by this word.

to me thereby excluded. But as we shall now most strenuously contend for such a development, shall we not thus at once run the risk of again losing the unity, and of being compelled to assume a two-fold Me, a double self-consciousness, in the Redeemer, against which we have expressly protested above? I have no fear of this—provided only we endeavor to conceive of the relation of the two natures in Christ in a manner more thoroughly entering into the innermost life of the subject (*auf eine lebendigere und innigere Weise*), than is the case in the exhibitions which we have hitherto discussed. *The Lutheran church has felt the necessity of taking an important step forward in this way.* In this path we shall immediately follow her, merely yet remarking, that for our immediate purpose, it is sufficient to repel the attacks of opponents: farther on we shall endeavor to present and establish a positive development of our subject.

ARTICLE VI.

THE BIBLE A PERFECT BOOK.

“THE LAW OF THE LORD IS PERFECT.”

By Rev. C. Porterfield Krauth, Winchester, Va.

IN the nineteenth Psalm, a parallel between Nature and Revelation is drawn by the author of both. He shows no disposition to praise one at the expense of the other, but he does apply to the latter a term, which is no where employed in speaking of the former. “The law or doctrine, or instruction of the Lord, is PERFECT.” By the law of the Lord is meant revelation, perfect in David’s time, not because its details were finished, but perfect because self-developing, growing as the infant grows to the man, or as the pebble on the lake, originating the wave-creating wave. It is not more true of Revelation now, but it is more conspicuously true, for it has grown to its absolute and last form. *Consummatum est.* God has spoken in these *last days* by his Son—the Book is sealed, and as fearful a curse is pronounced on him who adds to the Record, as on him who takes from it. Nor is it strange that to so vast and varied a thing as Revelation, a term which seems so restricted as that of “Law” should be applied. All Revelation considered on the side of authority is Law, be-

cause in some way, whether it speaks in poetry or prose, of God or man, it works itself out in duty. Revelation is the book of worship, and “all worship is prerogative.” Its obligation on the faith and obedience of men, though highly rational, does not put itself at the mercy of the power of man to perceive its rationality. It binds the conscience not by its rationality, but by proving itself to be from God. If reason could reach all the results of revelation, we would still need revelation; for government must rest on law, and law on authority. Stealing is contrary to reason, yet what government proposes to prevent it by an appeal to reason. Reason gives the law to the lawgiver; authority binds it on the ruled.—Revelation is law. The Bible contains the constitution of a state and the annals of its administration. It is law in precept and law in cases, and that law is *perfect*. The original word here translated perfect, is a polygon, whose various sides have been given in different translations. The law of the Lord is *spotless*—immaculate, says the Vulgate. The Sun who is represented in this Psalm as the giant bridegroom espousing all nature, has his spots; but the Word has none. The law of the Lord, says Castalio, is complete, *integer*. It grows from its own life—needs no addition, and will bear no diminution. There is nothing in it, which should be out of it; nothing out of it, which should be in it.

“———*Fortis et se ipso
Totus, teres, atque rotundus.*”

It is “spotless,” “irreproachable,” “entire;” or as our translator well sums it up, it is “*perfect*.”

We have not time here to enter into a detail of the process by which we come to a designation of what is required in a perfect revelation. We are sure, however, that even the sceptic will not charge us with making the conditions of our proof too easy, when we state as essential to the demonstration of our thesis—“The Bible a perfect Book;”—that we must show, that it is derived from God, is mediated through man, and springing through human channels from the eternal fount, must have the power of tracing its way through the history of the race. It is divine, it is human, it is historical. Let us then look at this perfect Book, in the beauty of its humanity, the glory of its divinity, and the grandeur of its history.

First, then, the Bible is perfect in its high humanity.

It was an early heresy in regard to the humanity of our Saviour, which represented it as a mere phantom drapery of the descended God. He only *seemed* to eat, to languish, and

to suffer. Too often and too long has this phantom theory been applied to the Bible, in forgetfulness that it, too like that other word, has a tabernacle in flesh, is a revelation of Deity in humanity. In it, too, is seen the "true man" with the "very God." It is this mingled Gnostic and Apollinarian heresy, taking from revelation its true human body and true human soul, which has given to the reverence for it a false direction, and has made the most honored Book in the world, the subject of more crude, allegorizing and nonsensical interpretation than any other. The Bible has been filled with types, double senses, mysteries innumerable after the same fashion in which

"——— Sober commentators view
In Homer more than Homer knew."

Thus, Barnabas found, in the three hundred and eighteen persons, circumcised by Abraham, the mystery of the Cross. Clement, of Rome, sees a type of Christ's blood in the scarlet thread hung out by Rahab. Justin Martyr tells us that Leah and Rachel represent the Jewish and Christian dispensations. St. Augustine, who sometimes advances sounder principles, nevertheless runs into the same sort of false supernaturalism: "The dimensions of the Ark," says he, in the fifteenth Book of his *City of God*, "do signify man's body, in which the Saviour was prophesied to come, and did so; for the length of man's body, from head to foot, is six times its breadth from side to side, and ten times his thickness; whereupon, the Ark was made three hundred cubits long, fifty broad, and thirty deep: and the door in the side was the wound that the soldier's spear made in our Saviour; for by this do all men go in unto him: and the Ark being made all of square wood, signifieth the unmoved constancy of the saints: for cast a cube or squared body, which way you will, it will ever stand firm. The three stories of the Ark may mean the three Evangelical increases; thirty, sixty, and an hundred fold: chaste marriage dwelling in the first, chaste widowhood in the second, and chaste celibacy in the highest of all." And with this sort of thing he seriously confutes Faustus the Manichee, who denied that the Old Testament had any prophetic things concerning Christ. This is, indeed, what the Old Translator, from whose version we have quoted, aptly calls "screwing an allegory out of Scripture."

This falsely directed feeling of the divinity of the Bible, which utterly refused to let a human heart beat in it, and made it a book of riddles, a scheme of correspondences, long and wearisome, received a scientific shape in Origen, and cul-

minated in Cocceius, whose law of interpretation practically ran into this, that every thing is in a text, which the imagination of man can possibly get out of it. It has been thought that the Bible had new claims on us, when it was shown that it is not only a manual of Faith, but of Chemistry, Astronomy and Geology, that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, in the phraseology of the Copernican system, that St. James understood the parallax, and that Amos speaks of railroad cars and steam engines. "Jerome and Origen," says Luther, "helped to this allegorizing way. May God forgive them! Mere botching, child's play, harlequinade, is this sleight of hand with the Scriptures—trifling with it like the man who applied the whole of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to Christ. Suppose I took up the legend of St. George after this fashion. St. George is a type of Christ; the Virgin, he delivered, is the Church; the dragon in the sea is the Devil; his horse the humanity of Christ. Who does not see that such interpretation would be mere jugglery?"

An ancient and current, though not undisputed doctrine, was, that the sacred writers were not so much the conscious instruments of the Holy Ghost as mere machines. No tinge of style, no form of expression, no point of view was in any sense to be derived from the man. To all intents and purposes, the pen might as well have been moved over the parchment by that hand which wrote on the Babylonian wall, as by Moses, Isaiah or John. One author, indeed, calls the sacred writers pens, another hands, and another amanuenses of the spirit. Lightfoot grows angry at the bare suggestion, that the vowel points are not inspired. "I do not wonder," says he, "at the impudence of Jews who invented the story of their formation by wise Tiberians: I do wonder at the credulity of Christians who fall in with the idea." "No," he says, after giving the "wise Tiberians" a very rough handling; "No, the pointing of the Bible has the savor of the Holy Spirit, not of lost, blinded and crazy men." This dreadful heresy which he reprobates, has long since been embraced by every body.

It was also contended, that the sacred writings would in every case endure the test of the most accurate rules of Rhetoric, and of the severest technicalities of Logic, that the Song of Solomon would not be found wanting in the balances of Quintilian, and that Paul never reasons without the formalities of Major, Minor and Copula.

It was thought to border on the sin against the Holy Ghost to intimate that the Greek, in which he inspired Matthew to write, was not as pure as that of Plato. To say that a jot or tittle not longer than the visible flavor in vanilla ice-cream had got awry, was to play into the hands of Spinoza and Hobbes, if not to be "worse than an infidel."

These were monstrous suppositions, at war with facts, totally uncalled for by any interest of the cause they were designed to sustain, and rejected even when they were most prevalent by many of the profoundest minds and most pious hearts in all ages of the Church. Such a view contradicts every page of the Bible, a day's perusal of which suggests more difficulties against the theory than any ingenuity would be able to solve in a thousand years. This view, moreover, mars the beauty of the Bible, and stultifies its very plan. It makes a question of life and death out of matters that have no more connection in the life of revelation, than the spelling of a word has with the grandeur of "Paradise Lost."

God raised and inspired the Man. The inspired one is like a Lute, whose music flows from the hand of God, but whose power and tone are conditioned by the character of the instruments. If revelation were a simple, unmingled divine work, why take the Lute. For the stammering utterances of Moses and Ezekiel, why not give us the "daughter of the voice," whose tones should float upon the air direct from Deity? Why take many lutes, and pipes, and harps, unless revelation were designed to be symphony as well as melody, whose unity should be not that of the single strain, but that by which the great Composer pours his own divine Spirit of music into many parts, whilst wind and touch on instruments faithful to their own nature, unite in "Creation" or "Messiah" to form what is at once truly their's, and because such, truly his?

The word of God is perfectly divine in its contents; but except where the divine form is as necessary as the divine fact, no book is more perfectly human in its form. It is inspired, for it comes from God; it is human, for it comes through man. But remember, we do not say that the human is without the divine. The Spirit is incarnate in the Word, as the Son was incarnate in Christ. There is a deep significance in the fact, that the title of "the Word" is given both to Christ, the Revealer, and to the Bible, the revelation of God, so that in some passages great critics differ as to which is meant. As Christ without confusion of natures is truly human as well as divine, so is this Word. As the human in

Christ, though distinct from the divine, was never separate from it, and his human acts were never those of a merely human being, his toils, his merits and his blood, were those of God, so is the written Word, though most human of books, as Christ "the Son of Man" was most human of men, truly divine. Its humanities are no accidents; they are divinely planned. It is essential to God's conception of his Book, that it shall be written by these men and in this way. He created, reared, made and chose these men, and inspired them to do this thing in their way, because their way was his way.

Take up the Bible—read it impartially. You see in it the unity of truth, an agreement in facts, in doctrine and in spirit. It is one book as "our God is one God." Just as palpably, however, do you perceive difference in form. You have before you poetry and prose, history, biography, drama, proverb and prophecy. The Hebrew changes from the golden age of Moses to the iron time of Chaldee intermixture, not as thoroughly, yet as certainly as the Latin of Plautus varies from that of Calpurnius. The Greek of the New Testament is prevailingly Hellenistic, yet Luke differs as much from John as Plato does from Polybius. In some of the sacred writers the thought is condensed, in others expanded; simple in its robe in some, ornate in others. The Bible is in fact a body of rational literature, in which the life of God and the life of a people flow on together. A history out of which all history has risen, you trace from the haziness of its morning to the mellowness of its eve. You hear the wrath of God in the wild whispers of seers, like the wailing in the shrouds of a ship scudding under bare poles, or crashing like the artillery of great hosts; and then from the gloom rise sweet promises like moon-beams o'er the mountain, which still rocks with the passing storm. The Shepherd leads his flock along the grassy streams of sacred vales, or lies in the shadows of rocky Engeddi, and lulls his heart by opening deep sayings on the tones of his harp. See, he has grown to the greatness of a throne, still with the lessons of earlier years fresh within him. He sits with drooping head and tear-moistened eye; his child has brought him some flower from the meadow,—some flower often plucked and worn by him above his heart, which knew no care, when he followed his father's flock. It is drooping already—he bends over it—a tear falls as though to revive it, and he confesses: "As the flower of the field, so man flourisheth"—morning—night and birth—death! Is this less divine, because it springs out of the very depths of human asso-

ciation? Could an angel, nay, could God, without this human mediation, have so spoken to our hearts?

It is the great divine human heart of the Bible, which has made it so varied in eternal freshness. How every thing is permitted to shine out in its own light, and the men of all its eras permitted to make their utterances in the spirit of their own time! The morning stars shout over an infant world! The hosannas of a nation, waked from the cradle of slavery to be adopted as sons of JEHOVAH, mingle with the roaring of the wild surge, that has just engulfed their foes. The shadows of eternal things, phantoms more enduring than substances

“Wave their cloudy wings,”

amid the smoke of altars. The thunders of law are echoed by the thunders of law repeated. The first lines of government are traced. A great theocratic Republic is formed, in whose battles the armies of God on earth and in Heaven make common cause. The policy of Courts is revealed; the meanness of the great and the vices of the good are exposed, and the heart of Kings is laid bare. There you can soothe your mourning soul with strains of Elegy, which make you glad as you weep! There you can find voice for the unutterable groanings of a prostrate spirit. There will that deep mystic vein find nurture, which runs most freely in the profoundest natures, and which must seek spiritual life, even in material things. There, too, will that close sagacity find food, which is at the other extreme, and desires all to be palpable and practical. It is here the poor will find comfort, and here the heart, satiated and worn out with the too much of a prosperous life, will be revived; and where the longing soul, which finds the past and the present too contracted for its scope, cries, “What of the night?” Human voices laden with divine goods come back from the thick darkness. These are the contents of the books of the Old Covenant, which their mere names recall.

And what is the New Testament but an unfolding of this same divine humanity. The New Testament is the life of God in human nature. It is humanity pitied, transfigured, redeemed, risen, ascended, crowned with the gifts of the Spirit, justified, sanctified; and the whole wondrous scheme detailed, the whole wondrous story told by artless men, in their own artless way. God moves round him the whole circle of humanity, from the star-light on the manger to the darkness on the grave, from the rending of the sepulchre to the revealing, hiding cloud of glory over Olivet—moves it around him,

pierces every part of it with the brightness of uncreated light as the sun girds himself with the planets to which his beams give life. Through God in Christ, and Christ in man, we are led from the lineage of him, in whom the blood royal of the realms of Heaven and earth met—to the closing book of broken seals, and seals yet to be broken. But with whatever pulse your human heart may beat, God has placed in his book a heart as truly human as your own to beat with it. Sad or exulting, ardent in the desire of a long life, or almost ready to curse the day, when you were born—going forth bearing precious seed, and weeping or coming again rejoicing, bringing your sheaves with you—there, on the hill side or in the valley, the feet of these old pilgrims have worn a path for you. There is no air you can breath, in which their whispering tones do not linger; and from the lowest path of earth to the last footstep in the sky, the tears of their sorrow have marked the dust, or the melody of their songs has made mute in holy awe the music of the spheres.

The great Spirit who lives in the Universe gives it glory and unity; but it is the lower part of it, the material which gives it variety. God is the same, where the seraph dwelling in the sun leans upon his arm, and where, to the dim-eyed tenant of Uranus, he reveals light in the darkness. God is one, but what suns and spheres, moons and belts, what orbs of varying size and beauty, what creatures of inconceivable varieties make up his universe! Yet a star is a star, whose difference from its fellow is a difference in glory. So in the Bible, the Universe of Truth, the created element varies its beauties, yet all is worthy of God.

“Look how the floor of Heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold:
There's not the smallest orb, which thou beholdest,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed Cherubims.”

Yes, even Philemon and Jude quire to Cherubim and Seraphim, help to “make known to principalities and powers,” that manifold wisdom of God, which fills Heaven with his praise.

And the analogy, we have drawn from the Universe, is not forced. God made it and the Bible on a common principle. He did not say, in making the former, ‘one color on the whole is best,’ and create a blue Universe: nor did he say, ‘one sort of world on the whole is best,’ and make the orbs *facsimiles* of each other. He did not say one sort of thing is best, one sort of man is best, and people creation with mono-

tony, blue eyes and Roman noses. No, he made a creation rich in variety, and ranging through all the forms of beauty. Creation is indeed a unity, but it is a unity, in which the restless torrent foams over the fixed rock, violets and mountains spring from the same plain, over which the softest breezes float, and deepest thunders break, over which wrath hovers, and love

“Shakes thousand odours from his dewy wings.”

If Leviticus were to us a sterile waste, the world has deserts; if the Song of Solomon be thick inwoven with warm fancies, do not the tropics of a globe which has an Iceland, burn with flowers? In God's world there are Oceans girdling all lands, and there are little lakes, the gathered waters of single springs, where, among mountain solitudes, the children of a cottage love to play. In God's Book, there is a circle which embraces history and destiny to the end of time; there is another for the simple maiden, “the wife of the dead,” gleaning in the fields of her kinsman. In the Bible are judgments, as the world has cataracts and tornadoes, and promises like silver streams. The gigantic forms of prophets, heroes and martyrs, rise like cedars, sloping their long shadows on Lebanon; and gentle shapes of holy mothers and holy children spring up like flowers in grassy meads. Here Jehovah lifts his high hand above our insect race that creeps below, and there God incarnate folds an infant in his arms, and declares the spirit of a child to be a sublimer thing than the thrones of Kings.

The Bible is to systems of Theology what a landscape is to a brick wall. Theologies are wearying, and never can be truly popular. They are universes of drab and dead levels; in which every thing is stretched or shortened by the Theologian's law, that nothing shall be taller than himself. They are the chips of an oak, made into solemn play houses for large children with learned titles. The life is gone—not an acorn will they bear—and after having duly served their part as play things, the mutation of the theological years lays them away in their wood-boxes, jocosely called Libraries, to be used for occasional kindling. Whatever may be their use and dignity, it is but that of chips. But the Bible is an everlasting old forest—full of fruits and leaves for healing—with even renewing undergrowth, shaded streams for the stricken deer—moving life,

“And charm of earliest birds.”

Blessed is the man, wiser than Solomon, who in that forest knoweth every tree from the cedar on its Lebanon, to the hysop, that springs amid its primeval rocks. No man, though he had two lives of Methuselah, could exhaust its balsam and fruits. "I have now," says Luther, "for some time read the Bible twice through every year. It is a great tree, and all its words are twigs and branches, and every twig and spray I have struck to find out what was on it, and what it was good for; yet, knock as often as I will, down comes a fresh handful of fruit."

And long before Augustine had recorded his experience in a letter to Volusian: "So great is the depth of the Christian letters, that daily could I still grow in them, though with unbroken leisure, with intensest study, with all faculties undimmed I had devoted myself to them, from earliest boyhood to decrepit old age; not that in things needful to salvation is such difficulty found; but when we have derived thence that faith, which leads to a holy life, there remains so much spoken with varied shades of mystery, such height of wisdom latent in its words and things, that to the oldest, the acutest, the most ardent of its scholars, remains true that saying of Sirach: "When a man hath done, then he beginneth."

Yes, it is a part of its perfection, that the Bible should be the most human of all books—not a mere disclosure of God to his creatures—but the most honest, unaffected revelation of man to man; for we can never understand God, until we understand ourselves. "Its characters are living statues;" they are fixed as marble, but they breathe like men. The only thorough confessions, the only absolute pictures of man are to be found in it. The confessions of Augustine and Rousseau, though they seem to lay bare their very hearts, are not to be compared with these. The highest pitch, to which truth ever carried the confessions of an uninspired man, was to the acknowledgment of what would make him an object of hatred and execration. Men can bear to be hated, but not to be despised. But here is a book, whose writers are as honest about themselves as they are in dealing with you. They will show you the littleness of man, even at their own expense, and are willing to give themselves to contempt for the truth's sake.

The Bible is a most undistracted book—a revelation preternaturally limpid. Its men are prismatic drops, refracting the eternal light most beautifully when clearest, and most purely themselves. And this brings us to the sun beam of this rainbow, the divine element.

The Bible, we enunciate as the second part of our proof, is a perfect book, because it shows itself to be of God.

The Bible is the centre of more evidence than was ever brought to bear on any other subject. There is such a wealth of testimony about it, that the modes of establishing its divinity are as various as the minds, that lay hold of it. No faith can rest upon all the evidence, for no life-time is sufficient to examine it all. The Evangelical demonstration forms in itself a distinct world of Literature. The sophistries of pagan philosophy were ground to powder by Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius and Augustine. The revived paganism of the sixteenth century was overthrown by a Bacon, a Grotius and a Des Cartes. The names of Lesley and Leibnitz, Huet and Clarke, Leland, Bentley and Fabricius, of Lardner, Euler and Paley, of Butler, Watson and Jenyns, of Lyttleton, Campbell, Sherlock and West, of Chalmers and Wiseman, of Reinhard, Koppe, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Olshausen, and Neander, are associated eternally with the proofs of the divine origin of God's word. These have left no point untouched. The external and internal, the well grounded expectation and the corresponding facts have been clearly pointed out. Error may look plausible on one or two sides, but the more you multiply the points of view, the more obvious become her deformities: but truth, and preëminently Bible truth, gains by each new scrutiny, its evidence cumulates, until it overwhelms.

And it is a cheering thing to the searcher for truth at the very outstart, that the Bible not only permits, but challenges examination. It asks for no credit, no charity, no quarter, but defies every assault. How divinely sagacious, too, is that structure of the Bible, which at once renders its evidence resistless, and yet permits a very feeble resistance to thrust it aside, and thus preserves that important feature of its character as a test of the heart of men. It is no hazardous assertion to say, that all over its pages, in its very essence, the Bible shows, that it lives in a distracted world, a world perverted from its great intent. And we mean not merely that it speaks of such a world and makes provision for it, but that its own essential character is determined by the condition of our race. It has come into the world for judgment as well as mercy; it has come, not to be recognized by unvarying human intuition, but to be established by evidence; it has come, not disincumbered with difficulties, but with purpose presenting them. It is not as plain as it might be; its evidence is not as resistless as it might be; its difficulties are not as few as

they might be. It is not a simple teaching as it would be, had it been given to holy beings; it is a touch-stone—it tests as well as teaches. It is like the “pillar of the cloud which came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to them, but it gave light by night to these.” It is “a savour of death unto death” as well as “of life unto life.” It has nothing to commend itself to the natural heart, furnishing for a God like itself. It is “foolishness,” and it meant to be foolishness: it is a stumbling-block, and meant to be a stumbling-block. It is set for “the fall” as well as for “the rising again of many,” for “a sign that shall be spoken against, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.” It could use the words of the Redeemer in regard to himself: “For Judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind.” It is the Book most loved, most cherished, most abhorred in the world; but whatever be the judgment, pronounced by men upon it, is a judgment on themselves.

Whilst paganism has no infidels, and Mohammedanism no infidels, the Bible has fought with infidelity all along its course. Great and cultivated, though proud, distorted and wicked, minds have been found among its foes: but where opposition has been strongest, the Bible has exhibited most of its divine power. Legalize unbelief in Mohammedan or Pagan lands, and as soon as there is mind enough to think at all, the religion of the state melts away. But the Bible, giving the freedom it asks, has most power, when, without hindrance, doubting men are permitted to assail it. Is it not of God, that the only impregnable religion should be the only one assaulted in its own land—that its spirit shelters its own foes from the pains and penalties of law—that it protects those, who abuse the safety it gives, them, by devoting their lives to its destruction?

Is it not a proof of its sublime trust in itself and its Author, that it permits such a test, and adjures those, who love it most to employ none of their strength to sustain it, but to let its weakness support them and itself? The Crescent waves above devotees, the Fetish terrifies slaves, Juggernaut has victims—only the Bible has believers. At its threshold it demands an earnest heart: he, that will hold it, must grapple with difficulties: he, that would rise above its clouds, must be winged with holy purpose. Hard doubts are the penalties of hard thought: strong faith is its reward. In this age of scientific,

mythic, metaphysic scepticism, he that will be prepared by a thorough understanding of the whole to rise above the whole, has a hard journey through chaos,

“ Half on foot,
Half flying.”

He must, though with very different intent, like

“ The fiend,
O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense or rare,
With head, hands, wings or feet, pursue his way,
And swim, or sink, or wade, or creep, or fly.”

When the “cloud compelling” heart grows serious, the Bible soon brings the controversy to an end. The unbelief vanishes with the heart of unbelief, for it is not so much the difficulties that make the sceptic as the sceptic who makes the difficulties. More hopeful under proper guidance is an earnest spirit, true to its convictions, though it may have been led far from the safe path, than one who, in a sluggish credit, takes the truth as truth, because he has been told it is, and then gives up his worthless life to show that truth, smothered in a dead heart, is as powerless as a lie. Shelley, with Atheism itself, may not have been as bad a man as some Prelate, sound in faith and holy by prescription, who grew fat on wealth, for which he rendered no service, and whose soul rotted in sloth among the perishing flock he never fed.

From its design as a test, arises, in part, the form in which truth is given in the sacred Oracles. Their spiritual food is not thrown into masses, but lies like the manna—“a small round thing; as small as the hoar frost on the ground,”—for God means, even when he gives bread from Heaven, that man should have a salutary toil in collecting it. The curse lowers even over the book, that records it: “In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.”

The Bible has about it a divine majesty. Its first chapter presents the noblest illustration of the sublime, which Longinus could find. When you rest on the “testimony of God’s mouth,” you feel that there is something more solid, than the round world beneath your feet. The Universe!—it took but six days to make it, and

“ Formed for the confutation of the fool,
Whose lying heart disputes against a God,
That office served, it must be swept away.”

But the Bible!—It took all eternity to furnish one line of it: “Chosen in him before the foundation of the world;” and it will take another eternity to consummate another line: “Receiving the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls.”—

“Heaven and earth shall pass away,” said the Son of God, “but my words shall not pass away.” I know that there are some minds, to which the fact is a painful one, that the credibility of the Bible rests upon arguments, whose force varies according to the intellectual and moral condition of those, to whom they are addressed. Convinced, that it is the word of God, they wonder that things have not been so constituted, that all men should be forced to acknowledge its divinity. Every one, too, is struck in reading the Scriptures with the fact, that all its contents do not equally minister to his wants. Every one has his favorite book, and perhaps every book in the Bible is the special favorite of some one. We have already, we think, given sufficient reason to meet the first of these difficulties, and proved that it is a part of the divine order of Holy Writ. The second fact also seems to us to show that the Scriptures are God’s book for the race. The Bible obviously was not intended for one mind, one class or one age, and therefore does not seem to any one class, mind or age, exactly what it would expect. Like the order of physical nature in the world, it does not harmonize in all respects with an *a priori* conception, which seems to be entirely logical. Neither nature nor the Bible is in keeping with the principles of a false optimism. On the *a priori* principles, on which the sceptic finds fault with the Bible, I can show, that the world we tread has no existence, or that God did not make it.

Whilst every thing in the Scriptures is for man, it does not follow that every part is equally valuable to every man. The Bible is framed with reference to the average want of a whole race. Every thing in it is put there for some body, though it may not be specially meant for you. And yet the parts, which seem to the individual, least adapted to his wants, may have even for him a priceless value; they may inspire him with a sense of new necessities, may enlarge his mind and heart, and lead him out of himself into a wider sphere. The parts he does not want now are waiting for him. The Bible gives intellect a many sidedness: it breaks up the mannerism of literature and society: it renders character comprehensive. The nerves, and brain, and mind of a Shakspeare must brace themselves in the atmosphere of its culture, before a Shakspeare can be formed. It has moulded and immortalized many a mind, whose powers were spent in warfare with it. It has enriched its enemies more than anything on earth ever enriched its friends.

We have said, that the Bible is like the Constitution of nature, in that it disappoints anticipation in some respects. I need not tell you, that there is an immortal Book in our language, consecrated to the development of this theme—a Book, which infidelity has never dared to touch—a Book to see and thank, whose Author I look forward to as one of the privileges of Heaven. To the poet there are too many prose things in the world. Fields of grain, while they wave in the wind, and of maize, while its tassels shake fertility over its silky ears among the broad leaves, are all well; but when stubble and stalk alone are left standing among the cloddy furrows, they look to him, like blots on the plan. The mere Utilitarian, on the other hand, thinks that the fine scenery, lying in sun-shine and shade, is of little use—thinks the oaks ought to have been created rafters, and the streams interrupted by natural dams. The Philanthropist wonders at the permission of volcanoes and earthquakes, of storms and famines, of vice, linking its miseries to virtue, of advantages, obtained without merit, and of suffering, preceded by no crime. All are surprised at the mingling of deformity and beauty, of the evil and the good, of happiness and misery, under the present constitution of things.

Yet, although all will find something that would have been different, could their wishes alone have been consulted, they will all admit that there is much, that there is enough of what they need. There is light for the poet, and strength for the practical man, and love for the philanthropist, and predominance of good for him who watches the hand of Providence.

And what we have shown to be true of nature, we repeat is true of the Bible. Byron, who read it and stole from it every day, held the New Testament in comparatively little esteem, because it is not as poetical as the book of Job. Some people see no reason for the book of Leviticus, because it is of no use to them to know how to sacrifice an ox, or forgetting that those outlines were the cartoons of the finished picture of redemption; and that the sketch is the key to the elaborated work. Some complain of the space given to the wars of Israel, forgetting that they made a home for the truth and sheltered it—that their annals perpetuated the spirit of defence, and saved the truth to the world. Some are shocked at the imprecations in the Psalms, because we should “hate the sin and love the sinner,” forgetting that, when sin and the sinner are finally committed to each other, God and man root them out together—that man does not hang murder, but mur-

derers—and that God turns not wickedness, but the wicked into hell. Some miss the beauty of the Song of Solomon, by not seeing, that it brings forth to view the holiest domestic relation, glorified by the spirit of a nation, living in a sacred delirium of hope for a Messiah, to be born of woman; and that the luxuriance of its images is not derived from a straining rhetoric, but is the natural budding of an Eastern soil, beneath the anticipation of that King, of whom it was said: “He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as showers, that water the earth.” The Song of Solomon, probably more than any book in the recognized Canon of the Old Testament, has been looked upon as presenting great internal difficulties. Yet there are about two hundred distinct Commentaries on it, and it has engaged the choicest hours of many of the most learned and good men, that have ever lived. On it Origen wrote ten volumes, which Jerome regards as his master-piece. Epiphanius, Theodoret, Cassiodorus and other fathers, and in later times, Luther, Hammond, Bossuet, Herder, with many other distinguished modern writers, have consecrated distinct works to it. Bernard, of Clairvaux, “whose lips” says Sixtus Senensis, “were a fountain of milk and honey, and whose heart was a well-spring of glowing charities,” poured into its explanation the fervor and toils of his last days, and died almost in the act of dictating his comments on it. It is evident, then, that there is a class of religious wants, which this book is præeminently calculated to meet. So, too, those significant acts which the prophets connected with their messages, and which artificial and superficial minds may turn to ridicule, are the symbols, employed by a condescending God, whose very homeliness adapted them to the general mind. There is no book so full, as the Bible, of that simple grandeur, to feel which, requires no training. It is full of that purest sublimity, in which the moral element transfigures the material, and the thought, instead of resting on the image, ennobles it. The Scriptures abound in what Chrysostom calls a “domestic grace.” It is like God, to clothe the highest thoughts in the humblest forms. The ministers of his inspiration utter, with a child-like unconsciousness, those great original truths, which have riven hearts, and institutions, and nations like bolts of thunder.

They are so simple, so unpretending, that, whilst they trace mighty principles, whose enunciation would have made the fame of thousands of Platos and Aristotles, they never make us think of themselves. They are lost in God. This makes the Bible, like the manna, according to the Jewish tradition.

It gives to every palate what it longs for—the same manna adapted, by him from whom it descends, to every taste: and this universal adaptation brings us to consider, as our closing proof, the fact, that the Bible shows itself to be perfect by the part it has borne in the *history* of our race.

“History,” says St. Augustine,” is not of man. It moves through times, of which God is the framer, and God the guide.” History, like nature and the Bible, is divine; and the Bible must harmonize with history, as we have shown, that it does with nature.

When we come to such a comparison, we are struck, in the first place, with the fact, that the whole history of man, in all his social conditions, confirms, where the Bible is not found, the absolute necessity of a revelation, and where the Bible is found, proves that it is the very book needed for the race. All history is a protest for the Book of Life, against that vague thing often lauded, but never defined, the Religion of Nature. The Psalm, which has given us our initial point, tells us that nature declares God’s glory, shows his handy-work, sends out her testimony far as the line of centripetal force that binds her to the throne of God, and wide as the beams of the sun. Very well! But the “law, testimony, statutes, fear, judgment of the Lord, are perfect, sure, right, pure, clean, true and righteous altogether, converting the soul, making wise the simple, rejoicing the heart, enlightening the eyes, and enduring forever.” Now, this is not less than justice to nature; it is not more than justice to the world.

Nature, indeed, is glorious. Land and sea, and starry sphere—God moves amid them. They tell of God. But it is we who must give them inspiration—not they us. It is the Bible, that must teach us the God, who is in nature, before we can find him there. Other eyes have seen gods of slaughter and pollution, amid these scenes vocal to us with the praises of Jehovah. A father’s voice must witness of his hand. Then the Creator begins,

“Blending with our thought,
Yea, with our life, and life’s own secret joy,
Till the dilating soul, enwrapt, transfused
Into the mighty vision passing; there,
As in her natural form, swells vast to Heaven.”

Four thousand years, earth and stars taught the race, and what did men know of God, at the end of that time? Not as much as a Christian mother teaches her child out of the Bible in half an hour! When did nature ever force a man to cry out: “What shall I do to be saved?” And could she,

who was too feeble to prompt the question, give the answer? Those silent eyes, looking down in their beauty for ages, have never done, what was wrought by him their Creator, whose single glance made the heart of a faithless apostle burst in tears.

“When “the simple” got beyond the idea, that the sun and moon are plates of gold and silver, their impulse was to adore them, to lay even human sacrifices upon their altar. While the skies were all flooded with the glory of the immortal King; while the piping bird and roaring sea uttered his name; while it was sighed in the waving sedge, and was sinking, and rolling, and rising through the diapason, from the whispering tree tops down to the low deep bellowing of the thunder, and up to the crackling burst of the lightning; yes, while all was voicing ‘JEHOVAH,’ man worshipped the sky, and sea, and bird, and worm, and fellow-worm; “and every thing was God but God himself.”

What avails it, is the language of history, that nature offers man the alphabet of praise, when he has none to instruct him how to combine it? The Hindoo woman looks upon cloudless skies and eternal verdure. There the sun walks in brightness and the moon in beauty; but the God, she sees in nature, demands the blood of the infant, she bears in her arms. The Indian pitches his tent of bark among the wild waving woods; he hears their roaring and chafing, as amid the watches of the night, they clash their branches together, like giants at strife, waking strange musings in his soul. The rushing rivers burst through the cleft mountains before his eyes; the water-fall thunders in his ears; the lightning streams from the cloud, and down crashes the tall hemlock by his side. His soul is nursed on the bosom of sublimity; Tradition helps out nature, and tells him of a Great Spirit; but he sees nothing in His character to check his thirst for blood, or his tyranny to woman. His idea of immortality is one, in which his dog and the shade of his faithful bow have an equal interest with himself; and his conscience does not reprove him as he roasts his enemy at a slow fire, tears his flesh from his bones, and exults in the shrieks of his dying agony.

Is it objected that these illustrations are taken from low stages of social cultivation? We ask, where will you find higher, except where Christianity has made them? Do you point to Mohammedan lands? What is Mohammedanism? not a religion of nature, but a monstrous plagiarism of Christianity, and great, like Prometheus, only in the possession of the fire it has stolen. The triumph of Mohammedanism

over Paganism, is a great argument for the divine origin of Christianity. The mowing out of the Oriental sects, accomplished by it, showed it to be less a deviation from Christianity than the superstitions it overthrew, and the cultivated Moslem mind is, at this hour, less alien from the Christian habit, than any portion of the Gentile world.

Are we pointed to Deists in Christian lands? This is a miserable begging of the question, an attempt to play off the power of Christianity against herself, to argue from that divine vitality, which sheds blessings against their will on her foes, that she has no life. But suppose we conceded, that such cases were fair ones. What has natural religion done? It left Byron, after a life of wretchedness, to die prematurely of licentiousness and gin. When the remains of Shelly (whose natural religion excluded a God) were washed on shore—in the spirit of what religion was it?—his associates burning them on a funeral pyre, after pouring libations of wine on his ashes, returned drunk, driving furiously through the forest, and yelling like demons. Let me quote a few words descriptive of Deists. “I have found them all proud, positive and dogmatizing, even in their pretended scepticism, knowing every thing, proving nothing, and ridiculing one another. There is not one among them who, coming to distinguish truth from falsehood, would not prefer his own error to the truth, that is discovered by another. The great thing for him is to think differently from other people. Among believers he is an Atheist; among Atheists a believer. Their scepticism is far more affirmative and dogmatical than the decided tone of their adversaries. Under pretence of being themselves the only people enlightened, they imperiously subject us to their magisterial decisions, and would fain palm upon us, for the true causes of things, the unintelligible systems, they have erected in their own heads; whilst they overturn, destroy and trample under foot all, that mankind reveres, snatch from the afflicted the only comfort left them in their misery, from the rich and great the only curb, that can restrain their passions; tear from the heart all remorse of vice, all hopes of virtue, and still boast themselves the benefactors of mankind.” Do you think you have been hearing the words of some heated Christian apologist? Not at all! these are the words of Rousseau.

There is, indeed,—alas! rather must we say, there was a Religion of Nature,—but our sole knowledge of it, our sole key to it in our fallen condition, is in Revelation.—Once the nature of man was in harmony with the nature of things, and found in them food for spirit as well as for body.

Then all that met his senses was a Eucharistic sign of invisible grace. Then life could be found in a tree, Heaven in a garden, God in the daisy and in the dim, faint-falling baptismal dew. Then man's Bible was beneath his feet and over his head. The rainbow was not then, as after the flood, the sign of vengeance restrained, but the sacrament of ever-present peace. The Shekinah was within him; with no abatements of infirmity and pollution, he was himself the very "image and glory of God." His Genesis lay in the fresh young world before him; and in the remembrance of his origin, his Exodus was the triumphal march of creation and himself, its Lord from non-being and darkness, into being and light, his Leviticus was the incense breath of prayer, which rose unbidden from his breast; his Psalm and Canticle were like the free gush of the song of birds; his Evangelical was the daily descent of the Son of God in visible form; his Epistle was written on his heart, and the Universe, great and small, gave him prophecy of continuing love, the Apocalypse of abiding grace. Purity and goodness drew their food from material nature, the doctrine of correspondence was no mystic dream, and there was an impulsive power to rectitude in what was most fixed in nature. The "silent law," which kept the orbs above him in their sphere, might, in a way different from that in which it now operates, cause the luxurious tear-drop of exquisite joy to globe itself on his suffused cheek, for the piercing eye of intuition might see tokens of divine love in that, in which *we* now only recognize proofs of divine power. The transmission of life, the beating of his own heart, whispered of God, were incentives to goodness; for moral necessity bound itself up with the physical, and was no less regular. The fall in disturbing one, in the nature of the case, deranged both. In a word, moral goodness breathed by the law of its own nature, unconscious of an antithesis or an opposite. It had no *knowledge* of good—it was a fatal tree which gave it—it lay like a babe on the lap of its Creator, blooming with a thousand beauties, crowned with one worth all the thousand, an unconsciousness of its own unspeakable charm. It came to a consciousness of itself—with the loss of itself. The fruit of the tree gave man conscience. 'Oh! that man had never known goodness,' we are almost ready to exclaim—that he had kept it as his very nature—had felt it only as man feels that himself *must* be himself—and that the scowling counterpart sin had never darkened our world. But we must not say this, for there is a Book in our hands richer in its

teachings than nature even in her primal estate—a Book whose “Paradise Regained” is nobler than her “Paradise Lost.” With its ever-maturing worth of divine-human mediation before us, the heart would for the murmur, almost substitute the words: “*O beatam culpam, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem.*”

In the light of history, we are struck again with the *preservation* of the Bible, as a proof that it is of God, and perfectly adapted to its work. The Bible, as a distinct self-unfolding Revelation from God, is as old as the Race. It is the only thing which has ever been permitted to grow old in our world. The generations of men have been borne away as with a flood. The longest lineage of all Kings, but one, is of yesterday. The products of the human mind, the noblest systems, have come forth thick as leaves in spring, and have fallen fast as leaves in autumn:

“They come like shadows, so depart.”

Not only have mists vanished, and streams dried up, and rivers forsaken their channels, but the most fixed forms of nature have been changed. “The mountain falling, fadeth to naught; the rock is removed out of his place; the waters wear the stones.” New shores are chafed by the ocean; the cataract recoils on itself, wearing down the precipice, over which it thunders. Man and nature have been shifting, whilst the Bible has stood—like the pyramids among drifting sands, shall we say? No; this is too poor a figure for that word, which arose before the builders in Mizraim were born, and shall stand when their work has crumbled to dust.

This Word was two thousand years old before Inachus, founder of the kingdom of Argos, was born. More than twenty-five hundred years of its life had passed ere legend tells us, that the first ship appeared on the shores of Greece. When the Bible contained authentic history for twenty-six hundred years, the myths of classic story tell of an era when goddesses descended to teach men. Three thousand years after its birth, Troy was taken. It was old, when all profane history was young, and now it is young, vital, mingling with every interest of man, when all other history is old, or swiftly becoming old. All other things have been shaken, for they are to be removed, as “things that are made, that those things, which cannot be shaken, may remain.”

Who can resist the evidence of such facts as these, if he believes in a Providence or a God? Here is a seed, which all time has trampled on, and which yet germinates. It is an

olive, to borrow a beautiful metaphor from Chrysostom, which has put forth verdure, and is bending with fruit in the midst of a glowing furnace. It is a breath, living amid storms, a still small voice, which all the roar of human passions has not been able to drown. It has made real that dream of mathematical poesy—that sound leaves an imperishable imprint on nature, that every sigh, shriek and curse, is eternal. God's breath and word are in the Bible. Revelation—a word—made nature, and Revelation shall survive it. "Forever, O Lord, thy word is settled in Heaven."

I know of nothing in the world, so sublime as the Bible in its historical relations. The boast of Isis is a sober verity in *its* utterance: "I am all that has been, or that shall be." All the abiding realities of human history are bound up with it, giving pledge that the Book, which has blessed the past, will create and new-create the future.

It is a great thing, that the Bible has come to do much. If you sometimes grow disheartened at what seems to you the smallness of the actual results of so great a Book, contrasted with what you suppose they ought to be, compare it with every thing that pretends to rival or dispute its claims, and you will see the force of the evidence of its divinity, presented in its history. If, for example, it be pretended that its religion has been a failure, what has infidelity been? Full of boasts that have come to nothing, proud of names, that have not been able to lift it from contempt, but have been dragged down by it, it has been indebted for the very memory of its being, to the works that have ground it to powder, the records of its discomfiture. It has given many a long flourish of trumpets, but has not been able to execute a single threat. It has caught in its desperation at every floating straw, but none has been able to keep its head above the waters. It has eaten, in a second generation, its words of sound and fury uttered in a former one. It never has been able to establish a single positive idea in doctrine or morals, or stir a single hope in any human heart. Boasting of reason, it has been able to satisfy no man's mind, till it has corrupted his heart. It has taught no man how to live righteously, or how to die decently. There is not on the face of the earth a single temple, reared by it to God, nor a single hospital for suffering humanity. It has been engaged in a constant struggle after power; it has attained it but in one case, and was then forced, as it experienced its own bitter fruits, to curse the day it was born. Take from infidelity the truths it has stolen from Christianity, and the proprieties forced on it by the religion it has

been trying so long and vainly to sneer and lie out of existence, and what have we left but a ghastly God-forsaken illusion, from which the wildest dreams of pagan superstition were a reasonable refuge. The most Cannibal heathenism is not as complete and desolating a lie as anti-Christian Infidelity. Look at France; look at the scum of Germany; read what these infidels tell of each other; what Voltaire says of Frederick the Great, and Frederick of Voltaire; and what Rousseau says of himself and his fellow-infidels! Take their concessions in regard to Deism on the one side, and touching Christianity on the other, and if truth be of God, if either the Christian or infidel has God on his side, the adversaries of the Bible are convicted out of their own mouths. Infidelity is a failure: "Their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges."

Out of nothing, nothing comes. The effect bears some proportion to the cause. The opposite idea is sustainable only by confounding cause and occasion. How is it that a Book, which has nothing to propitiate the strongest passions of men, nothing to concede, nothing outward for its defence, has proved a barrier, against which the fiercest waves of human wrath have broken in vain?

But the Bible has done more than simply sustain itself. It has depended on no people, but has made all people depend on it. The rejection of a part of it has caused the dispersion of the Jews: the retention of a part of it has kept them separate among the nations. The total want of it makes pagans, who have no history, the over-laying it makes Mohammedans, who have much history, motion without progress, as they have a mock revelation. The possession of the whole of it makes Christendom, which alone has history. The annals of eighteen hundred years show that Revelation is the thread of destiny. There is a plan as unique and obvious as the proofs of design in nature. Historical Theology will soon be as determinate a branch of religious knowledge as natural Theology now is. The nations, that have received the whole Bible, have been and are leaders in the world; and the leaders among the leaders are those that hold it in entirety and purity.

The Bible has been the nurse of all civilization: it has brought forth and fostered the social and intellectual cultivation of the modern world. Flowing through ages of darkness, it has purged off the pollutions, which mingled with its streams, and has burst forth again shining and clear. "The Divine Scripture," says St. Ambrose, "receives many streams: there

meet rivers of sweet and clear waters, and there the snowy fountains which spring to eternal life."

It has proved its adaptedness to every condition and class of human society. In Asia, where reflection and passion mingle, like lava gliding through snow, it arose. And yet to show how little it originated in, or is bound up with a natural life in any narrow sense, it is not Asia, in which its widest and most abiding conquest have been made. It is in lands, remotest from the place of its birth, that its glory is brightest. If it had been a product of the Jewish mind, it would have attracted Jews, or of the Asiatic mind, the Asiatics; but rising among Jews and Asiatics, it has a spirit wholly different from their's. It is the boon of Asia, which has lifted Europe beyond her reach, which, while she, once most cultured, has remained unchanged, has elevated the barbarians, to whom she gave it, to such a point, that she, in comparison, has ceased to be civilized. It is the boon of the Jew, by which he has placed his destiny in the control of Christian hands. He breathes by the sufferance of the people of the Messiah he rejected. Bible lands hold the world at their will. The Bible has caused Japhet to dwell in the tents of Shem, and has made Canaan his servant. In Europe it brought into captivity the polished life of classic times, and conquered the barbarians, who conquered Rome. It has breathed its vital warmth, and diffused its light among the icy huts of Greenland, and has purified the voluptuous hearts of Tropic Isles. It has been lowly enough and exalted enough for man, through the whole range of his outward and inward condition. It has stooped to the degraded Hottentot, and before man in the loftiest flight of intellectual power; its eagle wing has winnowed the air, and guided him nearer to the sun.

Has it not been the cultivator of all, that is most purely intellectual in man? Read Chateaubriand, Neander and Balmes, in their survey of its influences! Has not the profoundest logic been developed in its defence, and in the scientific exhibition of its truths? Read Chillingworth, and Butler, and Edwards; read Chemnitz, and Gerhard, and Calvin.

It has not only been the cultivator of taste and art, but has formed a new era in them. It has substituted purified sentiment for classic sensuality, has made the material subordinate to the spiritual, and has irradiated it with a regenerated life. Classic art is the art of the body, and the passions, that pertain to it. Christian art embodies the tenderness, mystery and majesty of heart and soul, of man, divine and immortal. Classic art is the shadow of nature. Christian art is the image of grace.

The Bible is inwoven with all modern literature, by ties as complicated as those, which unite the living dust of our dead race with every soil. Its illustration has made much, its influence has made more of a measureless world of thoughts and books.

Whilst the Son of Man has been sitting during the Regeneration, on the throne of his glory, the Apostles, heirs of the Prophets, have sat upon their thrones, and in every form, in which destiny, progress, hope are involved, the judgment of the nations has been committed to them. Take one or two illustrations. The Bible was translated into the Spanish language in 1478. At the beginning of the Reformation, Spain stood in the first rank of nations. She desired the Reformation—fully as much so as England—and would have kept it. The nonsense, now so current about the Anglo-Saxon race, had not then been broached. The Bible was “set for the fall” of Spain. Forced by the arm of civil power, she stumbled over it, and was broken to pieces. Had Charles V., who, on the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith, lived and died a Lutheran; had he been true to his conviction, given the Bible full scope in his life, thrown his influence decidedly in favor of the Reformation, instead of pursuing a wavering course, it would have triumphed; and no man can show, that at this hour Spain would not be first among nations, and that authors would not be proving with much dexterity, that the Spanish blood had some mysterious advantage over that of all other races. Charles was followed by Philip II., a bigot, who sent forth his “invincible Armada” against the Bible. On the bulwark, that Bible had raised, his force was broken to pieces. The Bible would have saved the Netherlands to Philip II. Its enlarged policy would have spared the Moors, who, under Philip III., were swept from the land, causing to the nation a loss, from which it has never recovered. England, at the beginning of the Reformation, did not stand among the first powers of Europe. What has raised her to the highest rank? Why is Ireland, which made a different election, at this hour, an object of dread and pity?

And unhappy France! What did the Bible become to her? The darkest hour in her history was that in which she summoned the spirits, that wait on deadly thoughts to fill her “full of direst cruelty, when no compunctious visitings of nature shook her fell purpose.”

“Take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,
Wherever, in your sightless substances,
You wait on nature’s mischief. ‘Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunest smoke of hell!’

That my keen knife see not the wound it makes ;
Nor Heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry, Hold, Hold !”

When the destroying Angel, sent, not by God, but by the emissaries of hell, passed through France in a night, not to slay the first-born, but to involve every family in an indiscriminate massacre; not to slay Egypt, but to blot out Israel; the bells, whose solemn toll bounded through the hearts of Protestants, like the death-pang before the death-stroke, the bells, whose clang was followed by the shrieks of victims and the curse of the murderers, the bells were heard in Heaven, and the sword of divine wrath was already drawn from its scabbard. The blood of martyrs cried from the ground for vengeance, and step by step it came—vengeance on King and people. It came in horrors, on which we may not here dwell. What is the history of France for a hundred years? It may be told in a sentence. Godless glory her aim—withering shame her fruition! Fire and sword carried by her as the scourge of nations, and returned into her own bosom; famine and conscription, in Egypt plague, in Russia snow, on every plain death: at Waterloo, the annihilation of all her boast; these came forth from God. After the mortal struggles of years, all the blood of France has only caked the dust in the pathway of the imbecile, with no strength but the strength of a name, whose foot is now on her neck, and who would have torn the last leaf from the wreath of her glory, if a single leaf had remained.

But the blood of martyrs pleads for mercy as well as for vengeance; and a blood, which speaketh better things than that of martyrs, unites its omnipotent voice with their's. The Bible alone can redeem France. It has lived, though France refused it. Has France lived without it? No! The Bible realizes the proud boast of her Napoleon: “France is not necessary to me; I am necessary to France.”

But we may not pursue these historical illustrations further. All the annals of the word of God, in its relation to nations, show, that every new assault of infidelity has prepared the way for a new era of Bible power. The sword and fire go before the Regenerations. Pelagius established the doctrines of grace; Arius fixed the foundations of the proper doctrine of Christianity; Popery brought out the doctrine of justification by faith; and the age of infidelity has been followed by the age of missions. Voltaire and Paine have helped to give the gospel to all lands, and the assaults of Rationalism, on our own loved Church, will issue in new triumphs of her holy faith.

The Bible has led all its soldiers to victory, and has bound every enemy at its chariot wheels.

This Bible is the "only rule and law, according to which all doctrines and all teachers are to be judged." If we differ from all others in our view of its meaning, we are bound to show good cause for the difference. The right of private judgment differs widely from the wrong of self-conceit. The licentious use of this right has done more in our age than all other causes, to feed the opposite errors of Romanism and Infidelity. The great men of the past have no right to claim authority, but they are entitled to a respectful attention. We should learn in the language of the great Neander, "not to hunt after new things, which are not also old; nor to cling to old things, which will not become new." "Call no man your master," but freely, cordially, gratefully recognize every colaborer. Think not you can fathom all the depths of that divine truth, which requires the mind of our whole race through all time for its development. Trust the past for much, but not for too much. Do not think that nothing has been done, still less that every thing has been done. Much as the Bible has been examined, it is to be studied yet more earnestly, in a way which shall harmonize reverence for its majesty, and fearlessness in the spirit of its own freedom. The great work of the future is not, however, to make discoveries, but to ripen the fruits, which the toils of the past have given us. To show the living harmony of divine Revelation, to bring the truth, long recognized, to bear on the intellect and heart of the world; this is the work of the future. That interpretation will ever be best, which is simplest. "When I was a young man," says Luther, "I had a sight of learning, especially when I had just entered on Theology. Nothing but Allegories, Analogies, Tropology and pure Art, would do for me. Now I have given up the whole of them, and the best art I have, is to present the Scriptures in their simple meaning; for the literal sense—that does it, there lies doctrine, power and art." He says elsewhere that spiritualizings and allegories "do very well for preachers, who have studied little," and who put on their fancy the proper work of their reason.

I know one, not yet by any means old, but older than he used to be, who, before he had been two years in the ministry, had remodeled the whole system of Theology; had reduced *ad absurdum* the Athanasian theory of the eternal generation; had broached a scheme, which was to relieve all the difficulties of the prevalent doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation;

had laid the basis of a revised version of the Bible; had contributed to his father's edification and pile of useless papers, several infallible demonstrations on points, which had exercised the Church for eighteen hundred years; and, in short, had got the heart of things in general from the left side to the right. He has lived long enough, however, to lose all this stupendous knowledge; his infallible nostrums have spoiled by keeping; he has reached a happy condition of deplorable ignorance; is willing to learn from any body, old or new, and hears a voice from that source whence no warning originates in vain: "Lean not to thine own understanding." If nothing can shake us in our conviction that we have made a discovery, and if we have plenty of self-conceit, we are sure to make a great many, let us keep it to ourselves awhile; the world can revolve on its axis without it. As our discovery is, in all probability, an apocryphal one, let us take encouragement from the language, in which a wise Jew, in an apocryphal book, encourages a man to keep a secret: "If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not burst thee."

And now one closing word. Take up the Bible with heart and soul, to study, comprehend, and be transformed by it. You have been reading it too long. No man has any business to read such a book. Read any other book, but don't read the Scriptures. "*Search* the Scriptures," says the Master. "Eat the Book," said the Angel. Make it your daily food. It is like the manna, of which no man could collect in one day more than he needed for the day. "What helps it," says Luther, "that we have and hear the Scriptures so richly, and yet make no use of it?—like a maiden who sits with flowers springing all round her, yet breaks off none to weave herself a garland." The picture of viands is as nutritious as food itself, to the eyes. A nosegay is as good as a ham, to smell. So if you read the Bible as you did that last novel, in which buzzard human depravity, went masquerading in the plumes of a bird of Paradise, or the brothel was disinfected by sprinkling a little patch only, that novel which you were poring over in the day-time, when you ought to have been studying, and over whose villainous print, telling of villainous things you were rimming your eyes with inflammation, when you should have been asleep, if you read the Bible, I don't mean with as much interest, but with as little reflection as the novel—though it may still do you some good, though some holy thought may steal into your heart when you are

unaware, some silver strain mingle itself with the jangling chords of your worldly mind, yet the benefits will be few; they will be naught to what you might have made them. You have passed all through Golconda, and have carried off nothing, except perchance some little diamond, which may have stuck to the sole of your shoe.

Give the nightingale stillness for her song. Make the hush of night in your soul, when God speaks. When his voice, mightier than the roar of waters, yet sweeter than the notes of Seraphim, comes forth, be not of those who say: "It thunders," but of those who hear its witness for His Son. Draw bounds around Horeb, when you commune with God, that no earthly thought break through; and when necessity compels you to descend again to the world, bear back the tables on your heart, lest from your hands, passions, not less powerful, but less sanctified than the wrath of Moses, dash them to the ground.

ARTICLE VII.

GERMAN HYMN.

Translated by H. Mills, D. D., Auburn, N. Y.

GOD'S WONDERS IN THE DEEP.

Wunder—Anfang, herrlich's Ende.

1. STRANGE at first, in glory closes
What the God of Grace proposes,
Guiding by his mighty hand:
We, aghast, its progress viewing,
Skill divine completes the doing,
While we cry, "Where will it end?"
2. Well may wonders be expected,
Where God's wisdom has directed
For his glory and our need.
Though at first all ills seem blended,
Comes at last the good intended,
Onward by these evils led.

3. When his path is on the ocean,
Mid the waves of wild commotion,
 There no eye his feet can trace:
So, our sea of troubles guiding,
God his way from us is hiding;
 We no longer own his grace.
4. In that gulf where, ever raging,
Billows' billows are engaging,
 In the gloomy sea of Death,—
Saints themselves, with Death contending,
In their struggle none befriending,
 Seem abandoned to his wrath.
5. This to know—who can attain it?
Man to man can ne'er explain it,
 Boasted Reason here is blind:
Shadows thick around us sever,
Till no light can we discover,
 Nor God's way of wisdom find.
6. God, in clouds and darkness dwelling,
Bids us, ev'ry doubt repelling,
 Walk by faith, and not by sight.
Fruitless all our restless sorrow,
Trust him now, and for the morrow,
 Else *all hope* is sunk in night.
7. All thy way—to God confide it,
None so well knows how to guide it,
 End—beginning—all be his.
All that He begins,—when ended,—
Shall, with praises, be commended,—
 Strange, but glorious in our eyes.
8. Tho' with fears He may confound thee,
Raging torrents roaring round thee,
 While on high his thunders roll:
Oft o'er frightful cliffs may lead thee,
Fire and storm each step impede thee,
 Terrors shake thy wondering soul.

9. Never let thy fears oppress thee,
 Look to God e'en yet to bless thee,
 Trust his wisdom and be still :
 He so guides that he will show it,
 And ere long, thyself shall know it,
"God alone doth all things well."
10. Nor from others then conceal it,
 But with thankful joy reveal it,
 All abroad the tidings send !
 Lighten thus the heart of sadness,
 With the cheering shout of gladness—
"Strange beginning, glorious end!"

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by Robert Chambers. In four Volumes. Vol. II. New York : Harper & Brothers—1852.

THE second volume of this work is just out. It brings us to the poet's marriage, his settlement on the Ellisland farm, and the discouragements which he immediately encountered in his agricultural enterprise. Burns' character deserves to be studied, and this, the present work, enables us more effectually to do than any other. The ample communications from his extensive correspondence, enable us minutely to scan the inner life of one so frank and open in his epistolary intercourse as our poet. Burns was not only an intellectual giant: there is something Titanic in his whole nature—in his impulses, feelings and passions—in the entire exhibition of the man. We find much that all good men must wish had been otherwise: much in his religious opinions, however sincere, to be condemned: much in his character and life to be censured and deeply lamented; but natures, constituted like his, call for much forbearance. The circumstances in which he was placed must temper severity, and candid men will judge him more in sorrow than in anger. To those who appreciate his genius, we need not say how much there is to admire. Those who would know what Burns was, and who would rightly estimate and enjoy the productions of his muse, cannot do without this admirable work.

Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By Alexander von Humboldt. Translated from the German, by E. C. Otte and B. H. Paul, Ph. D., F. C. S. Vol. IV. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852.

CONTRARY to the expectation of all, we have a fourth volume of this great work. This volume treats fully of the Nebulæ, Magellanic clouds, the Coal-sacks, the solar region, the sun, the sun's spots, solar light, the planets in general, each planet in particular, comets, the ring of the zodiacal light, falling stars, fire-balls, and meteoric stones or ærolites.—What a series of attractive themes to allure the votaries of science to the pages of an instructor like Humboldt! Apart from its relations to Revelation, none can read and understand a work like this without absorbing interest and the profoundest admiration. It is a vast store-house of knowledge.

The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr: with Essays on his Character and Influence. By the Chevalier Bunsen, and Professors Brandis and Lorbell. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 and 331 Pearl St., Franklin Square—1852.

Nor only to scholars and men of letters, but to readers of all classes, this work will come as a delightful visitor. "It is founded upon one entitled: 'Lebensnachrichten über Barthold Georg Niebuhr,' which is chiefly composed of extracts from Niebuhr's letters; though a short narrative, intended to explain these, and fill up the chasms they leave in his history, is prefixed to each of the periods into which it is divided. The principal editor of 'Lebensnachrichten' was Madame Hensler, Niebuhr's sister-in-law, to whom most of the letters are addressed." "The biographical notices in the present work are shorter than Mad. Hensler's narrative, on which they are based, but they also comprise a considerable amount of additional information, derived partly from other publications, partly from conversations with intimate friends of Niebuhr. Several letters, too, have been added, throwing additional light on his public life." The work thus supplies defects found in that, on which it is based. It places before us a most engaging picture of this extraordinary man, extraordinary in his wonderful natural endowments, and the vastness of his acquired knowledge, most estimable for the artless simplicity, the rigid purity, the sterling integrity, the genuine goodness and benevolence of his lofty character; most amiable and exemplary in his domestic and social relations; exhibiting the highest ability and rectitude in the conduct of public affairs; occupying a commanding position, and exercising a deep, powerful and far-reaching influence in the world of letters: a laborious student from his early childhood, a brilliant scholar through life, an upright, honest man to the end. His correspondence is deeply interesting and delightful, and the whole is truly a charming work.

The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France. By Alphonse de Lamartine, Author of "The History of the Girondists." Vol. II. Harper & Brothers—1852.

THE second volume of this most able work, written in Lamartine's brilliant style, and with the obvious determination to treat all parties with impartial justice, has just left the press. We refer to our remarks on the first volume in our last number. The period embraced by the present is full of stirring interest, and none who read can fail to admire the writer's power over his subject, his skill in the unfolding and delineation of events, his acuteness in detecting causes and tracing their operation, and his tact and strength in describing actions and portraying the actors. The work cannot fail to command the interest of the reading public.

Course of the History of Modern Philosophy. By M. Victor Cousin. Translated by O. W. Wight—in two volumes: New York. D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway—1852.

THIS is unquestionably "a work of extraordinary merit and beauty;" and we hail, with the utmost gratification, this first translation into English, of the entire work. We know of no modern writer more competent than the illustrious French eclectic, to exhibit, with deep and unerring insight, with accurate fulness, with admirably digested plan and method, and with fascinating splendor of diction, the history of philosophy from its earliest origin. The work is a magnificent monument of the author's genius. In place of any further comments of our own, we present, fully justified in so doing by the importance of the work, several extended extracts from the translator's preface. "The delivery of these lectures," says Sir William Hamilton, speaking of the first volume, "excited an unexampled sensation in Paris. Condemned to silence during the reign of Jesuit ascendancy, M. Cousin, after eight years of honorable retirement, had ascended again the chair of philosophy; and the splendor with which he commenced his academical career, more than justified the expectation which his recent reputation as a writer, and the memory of his earlier lectures, had inspired. Two thousand auditors listened, in admiration, to the eloquent exposition of doctrines unintelligible to the many, and the oral discussion of philosophy awakened in Paris and in France an interest unexampled since the days of Abelard." "The first volume contains a luminous summary of Cousin's views in regard to humanity and history. The course which comprises the two last volumes [the original three are here comprised in two vols.] of this series, 'will,' to use the language of Mr. Morell, 'in all probability, be ever the most popular of his writings. The connected account, which it gives of the history of philosophy from the earliest times; the distinct classification which it makes of systems; the brief, yet intelligible, glimpses it affords into the interior of almost every school, whether ancient or modern, together with the detailed analysis of Locke, in which is said almost all that ever need be said about the "Essay on the Human Understanding;" in a word, the singular union of the more

sober criticism of the psychological school, with occasional flights into the higher regions of metaphysical analysis, all concur to secure for the course of 1829 an interest and a value peculiarly its own.' In order to understand the system of the 'greatest philosopher of France,' it is, at least, necessary to study the whole of these three volumes."

Jacob Abbott's Young Christian Series. In three Volumes; very greatly improved and enlarged: with numerous Engravings.—New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers—1851.

IN our last number we noticed the second volume, entitled "The Corner-stone," of this series: we have since received the other two volumes: "The Young Christian," and "The Way to do Good." The style in which they are written, the ingenuity exhibited in the various but simple illustrations of truth, the apposite narratives employed for the purpose of illustrating the practical improvement of Christian precept, and the performance of Christian duty, in the varied scenes, pursuits and relations of life, the gentle and winning tone in which instruction is conveyed, the affectionate earnestness with which the claims of duty are urged, render these volumes attractive not only to young, but to adult readers, and eminently fit them for the accomplishment of much good among all classes of the community. The volumes are very handsomely got up: paper, letter-press and binding, are beautiful.

Arctic Searching Expedition: A Journal of a Boat-Voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin: with an Appendix on the Physical Geography of North America. By Sir John Richardson, C.B., F.R.S., Inspector of Naval Hospitals and Fleets, etc. etc. etc. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers—1852.

THIS volume has by no means only the temporary interest of an entertaining narrative. There is enough of this sort of interest to attract those who read for amusement; for these there are hardships, adventures and perils. But the book has a permanent scientific value in its geographical researches, surveys and minute topographical details; in its accurate description of those high northern waters and coasts; in its exhibition of geological and meteorological facts; and still more, perhaps, in its full account of the appearance, character, pursuits, manners, habits and customs of the Eskimos and other natives of the Arctic regions—in its copious information respecting the natural history, the fauna and flora of those regions; and last, but not least, in the important results of sundry searching inquiries into the nature, forms and grammatical structure of the rude languages of the northernmost inhabitants of our continent. Under these several heads, this volume presents a large amount and variety of most valuable facts and interesting discussion. The philologist will find much to interest him in the singular forms of the Eskimo and other northern languages, which are here exhibited with considerable fulness. It is well known, that the expedition led to no satisfactory results in respect of its primary object, the discovery of Sir John Franklin and his crew; yet the general information here given relative to what is known of Sir John's ill-fated enterprise, is, especially in view of the author's scientific acquirements

and official character and advantages, of great and permanent value : altogether, the work is one of much interest and importance.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Book of Revelation. By Albert Barnes. New York : Harper & Brothers, Publishers. Nos. 329 and 331, Pearl street, Franklin Square—1852.

THIS is the eleventh and concluding volume of Mr. Barnes' explanatory and practical commentary on the New Testament, a work eminently adapted to the wants of the Christian community in general, and enjoying, as is evidenced by its immense circulation, a great and deserved popularity. The character of the work is so well known, that it needs no particular description, and its merits are so well appreciated, that it requires no commendation from us. The present volume presents the same general characteristics as its predecessors. In his commentary on the Book of Revelation, the author was guided by no previously formed theory as to its meaning ; hence he has studied and explained it with that unbiassed candor, which belongs to the honest and reverent critic, who aims simply to ascertain what the divine word teaches, and not to torture it into conformity with subjective notions and systems : as respects the results at which he arrives, he expresses his surprise to find, how nearly they coincide with those taken by the great body of Protestant interpreters. Though we have not had time to examine the volume as carefully as we could wish, we are persuaded that its expositions will be found, in general, as satisfactory as the difficulties of the Book of Revelation permit us to expect, and that the practical remarks are as instructive and edifying as those which we, with many others, have ever admired in the preceding volumes.

Romanism at Home.—Letters to the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States. By Kirwan. New York : Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square—1852.

IN this volume, which we have read through with the deepest interest, Kirwan assails anew, with all his skill and strength, that colossal system of abomination, Romanism. The design of his present effort is, to exhibit in detail the fatal objections to Popery, to be "drawn from its external arrangements, its government, its despotism, its spirit, its legends, its relics, and its influence on the moral, social, and political interests of the world." With the facts here presented, the Protestant world has long been more or less familiar ; but they are here depicted with great skill and power, and commented upon with searching acuteness and tremendous effect. The book will be a terrible eye-sore to papists ; the more so, that it is utterly unanswerable, except by Jesuitical sophistry and falsification. Kirwan visited Italy and other papal countries, for the express purpose of telling, in this work, what he had himself seen and heard at head-quarters. We have no doubt that there are Protestants to whom this book will be offensive ; but we so utterly abhor popery, that we greatly rejoice at its appearance. The only fault that we have to find, is with the tone of banter and raillery, and of bitter sarcasm, into which the author is ever and anon betrayed, by temptations doubtless very strong, but still, better resisted by a sober divine, seriously discussing a

very serious subject. Such as it is, it cannot fail to make a deep and powerful impression wherever it is read; and it is to be hoped, that it will serve to draw the attention of the American public more than it has yet been, to the fatal cancer which is spreading its roots over the length and breadth of our great, and free, and happy country.

The Howaji in Syria. By George William Curtis, Author of "Nile Notes." Harper & Brothers, Publishers—1852.

WE like this book better than the one with which the author made his débüt; although written, of course, in his peculiar manner, the style is less rhapsodical than in the "Nile Notes:" the latter is very much like a fantasia, with Egypt for its theme: the present work has more of sober, straight-forward narrative; and although it may require a peculiar frame of mind to enable us fully to sympathize with a writer like Mr. Curtis, we can promise our readers much entertainment from the account of his travels and adventures in Syria, and his lively descriptions of men and their customs, and of the objects and scenes which invest that eastern land with a singular fascination.

Austria in 1848-'49: Being a History of the late Political Movements in Vienna, Milan, Venice and Prague; with Details of the Campaigns of Lombardy and Novara; a full account of the Revolution in Hungary; and Historical Sketches of the Austrian Government and the Provinces of the Empire. By William H. Stiles, late Chargé d' Affaires of the United States at the Court of Vienna. With Portraits of the Emperor, Metternich, Radetzky, Jellacic and Kossuth. In two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 and 331 Pearl St., Franklin Square—1852.

THIS work, in two stout and very handsome octavo volumes, is a most welcome and valuable contribution to contemporary history. The information communicated through the newspapers respecting the Revolutionary movements on the European continent, as it is mostly derived from partizan sources, or the organs of despotism, is apt to be garbled and defective, or distorted and exaggerated, and hence to be received with caution. The account here given of the extraordinary occurrences of 1848 and '49 in Austria and its Dependencies, proceeds from a gentleman who has not only enjoyed peculiar advantages for possessing himself of the real facts, and the true state of affairs, but has a just claim to be regarded as an unbiassed and candid authority respecting the nature and merits of the whole case presented. As Chargé d' Affaires for the United States at the Austrian Court, he was, to a very great extent, an eye-and-ear-witness of that vast political drama which rolled along its great acts and thrilling scenes on the theatre of that mighty empire. Hence we receive his evidence as that of a most competent witness, who, knowing the truth, can have no motive for concealing or distorting it: and, accordingly, his volumes are rich in the most ample and interesting details. We have read carefully his account of the affairs of Hungary, of the connexion of that country with the House of Hapsburg and the Austrian Empire, and of the recent unsuccessful attempt of the Magyars to recover the independence, which has been so basely filched from them. We have found

the author's account more clear, definite and satisfactory, than any that we have before seen, and we have seen not a few: it exhibits, in a strong light, the treachery and insolent tyranny of Austria, and the undeniable justness of the cause of her victim. The whole work is one of great value and deep interest. If fault we must find, it is, that the style, though on the whole very fair, flowing, manly and dignified, is sometimes inaccurate. But a greater censure, we fear, must be pronounced: although the information communicated is exceedingly acceptable, we cannot but regard this publication, immediately after their occurrence, of events so deeply affecting the interests of a foreign Court, by a returned minister of another government, who is indebted for his knowledge to his official relations to that Court, as a most extraordinary proceeding; as one which must go far to make foreign Courts very shy and distrustful of our Ministers and Chargés. We are sorry to owe so valuable a work to a measure so unjustifiable.

The Works of Stephen Olin, D. D., LL. D., late President of the Wesleyan University. Vol. I.; Sermon and Sketches. Vol. II.; Lectures and Addresses. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers—1852.

THE name of Dr. Olin has long been familiar to the Christian community in America. His reputation will not lose by the publication of his works. On divers important points, our theology, of course, differs widely from his; but the picture set before us in these works of the man, the scholar and the Christian, impresses us with deep respect and warm admiration. The first volume consists of sermons, which are clear, earnest, well digested discussions of sacred truth, enforcing, with much zeal and power, its momentous practical bearings on man's highest duties and interests. The second volume contains a series of seven lectures on "The Theory and Practice of Scholastic Life;" "Baccalaureate Discourses;" and "Essays and Addresses." All these breath a profound and genial appreciation of thorough education and sound scholarship, a deep sense of the high importance of classical culture, his defence of which does honor to his understanding and taste; and are pervaded throughout by the pure sentiments, the liberal views, the sound principles, and the genuine philanthropy of the accomplished Christian gentleman. Such is the impression which we have received from the little that we have been enabled to read; and while all may derive important benefits from this publication, the second volume will prove peculiarly interesting and instructive to young men, who are fitting themselves for the active duties of the liberal professions.

The Principles of Courtesy; with Hints and Observations on Manners and Habits. By George Winfred Hervey. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852.

THERE have been many books published on the theme treated in this volume; but, with the exception of one from the pen of Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton, which had reference only to "Clerical Manners and Habits," we have seen none that ventured to treat the subject entirely from the Christian stand point, and to conform its advice strictly to Christian morals. The book is thus of

a decidedly serious and religious character: it considers man in various phases of individual character, and in the multiplied relations of social life, and furnishes a large body of valuable rules and counsels for the regulation of conduct, and the proper observance of those courtesies, which ought to throw their gentle charm around all our intercourse with our fellow-men. We recommend the book as unexceptionable and sound in its principles, careful and just in their application, and giving much valuable instruction and advice relative to usages and manners.

A Manual of Grecian Antiquities: with numerous Illustrations. By Charles Anthon, LL. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, and Rector of the Grammar School, etc. etc. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852.

OF this work, the distinguished author says in the preface: "The present volume is on the same plan with the *Manual of Roman Antiquities* recently published, and is intended to supply a similar want. The materials have been obtained from the latest and best sources"—which sources are then enumerated. Like all Dr. Anthon's works in classical literature, it needs only to be known to be valued. It is distinguished, like his other works, for profound and accurate scholarship, and will command the admiration of all who are competent to appreciate its merits.

An Exposition of some of the Laws of the Latin Grammar. By Gessner Harrison, M. D., Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852.

THE work "is not designed to take the place of the systematic practical grammars, either large or small; but aims rather to come in to the aid of both, and to set forth a rational arrangement and explanation of some of the more prominent phenomena in the inflections and syntax of the Latin language." It is intended to be "a contribution to the scientific exhibition of the facts and principles belonging to these two departments of the grammar." A hasty examination of its contents has impressed us with a most favorable opinion of this work: it enters largely and profoundly into the investigation and discussion of fundamental principles, exhibits clearly the development of manifold forms from the same root and of the declensions; unfolds fully the nature and office of different parts of speech, and presents, in a variety of ways, their relations to each other, by the elucidation of the principles of what we term syntax. We commend the work to the notice of instructors, who will find it a valuable aid in the prosecution of their own studies, and in the training of their pupils.

WE received, some time ago, a copy of a sermon by Rev. Charles A. Smith, preached at Easton on the last Anniversary of Washington's Birth-day: having come just too late to be noticed in our last, it was mislaid in the confusion of moving; but, having read it, we can recommend it to our readers as a production written in our author's well-known neat style, and abounding in profitable thought, and valuable practical reflections.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE continues to arrive punctually, and to afford its usual quantity of valuable matter, of entertaining articles, of general intelligence, of literary notices, and of amusing gossip and anecdote.

FICTION:—Although it is not strictly compatible with the main design of our Quarterly to notice works of fiction, we deem ourselves justified in occasional departures from our rule, the fact that, though the free indulgence in such reading is not commendable or profitable, our young people will gratify their fondness for fictitious narrative, and that, therefore, it is well to specify works of this kind, that may be safely put into their hands. We can, without hesitation, recommend, as not only entirely unexceptionable, but as most admirable in their moral and even religious character, the following works, which have been sent us: “The Head of the Family,” and “Olive,” by the author of the Ogilvies, published by the Messrs. Harper—“The Use of Sunshine,” by S. M.—“The Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell, afterwards Mistress Milton,” published by the Appletons—“Madeleine,” by Miss Kauanagh, also published by the Appletons. The former of these works is founded on the well-known facts connected with Milton’s first marriage: the last named is a book among a thousand, presenting a lovely example of unwearying, self-denying Christian benevolence: one and all they inculcate, by precept and beautiful example, sincere piety, and devotedness to duty in every human relation.

A Greek Reader, containing Selections from various Authors; adapted to Sophocles’ and Kühner’s Grammars, with Notes, and a Lexicon, for the use of Schools and Academies. By John S. Owen, D. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature in the Free Academy in New York City. Leavitt & Allen, 27 Dey St., 1852, pp. 334.

THIS is another valuable contribution of the Editor to the cause of classical learning. It comprises selections from the Fables of Æsop, the Jests of Hierocles, the Apothegms of Plutarch, the Dialogues of Lucian, the Anabasis and Cyropædia of Xenophon, the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, and the Odes of Anacreon. The selections contain the easiest portions of the respective authors, and are well adapted to the wants and capabilities of the youthful mind. They are such too as to awaken and command the interest of the student in the subject of recitation. The typographical execution of the work is beautiful, clear and open to the eye. The text appears in the Porsonian type, and the elegant proportion and bold outline of the letters make it far more attractive than any other specimen of Greek type, which has yet appeared. The notes and references are copious, yet not so much so as to destroy habits of self-reliance, or produce the practice, so fatal to sound and independent scholarship, of depending upon others for the solution of every difficulty. The age and circumstances of the pupil, for whom the Reader has been prepared, is always kept in view by the Editor. We are very much pleased with the work, and are convinced that it will be found a most useful auxiliary in the qualification of students for the collegiate stage of education. There is here the same excellence, which distinguishes the other volumes of Dr. Owen’s Series, and we think the Professor is entitled to the sincere thanks of all true scholars, for the important service he has rendered sound learning, by his valuable additions to our stock of classical school books. We sincerely hope, that the Editor’s labors will be appreciated by the public, and

that amid the cares of his professional duties, he will be encouraged to continue the honorable and useful career he has so successfully commenced.

Prayer in all its Forms, Secret, Ejaculatory, Social, in Public and in the Family; and the Training of Children. By Benjamin Kurtz, D. D. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz. pp. 148—1852.

THIS is an interesting manual. Important topics are discussed, and much valuable truth is presented. Parents especially will be interested in the work, and cannot fail to read it with profit, deriving from its pages useful lessons, which will aid them in training for the skies the immortal minds committed to their care. Dr. Kurtz has rendered the Church service by the publication of this excellent work, and we are glad to direct attention to it. The book is very neatly printed, and its value is enhanced by a very good lithographic portrait of the writer as a frontis-piece. This volume, we understand, is the first of a series of works on practical subjects, intended for a Lutheran Sunday Library. We approve of the project, and hope it may meet with encouragement.

Elementary Latin Grammar and Exercises. By Dr. Leonard Schmitz, Rector of the High School, Edinburgh. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. pp 246—1852.

THIS is the eleventh volume of the admirable series of Latin works, edited by Doctors Schmitz & Zumpt, published by that enterprising house, in Philadelphia, whose publications we have already taken occasion to commend in the Review. The editor claims for the volume, now before us, a place among the elementary Grammars, and entertains the hope, that it will be found to present the laws of the Latin language in a more correct form, than is done in many Rudiments still in use in our schools, and in which incorrect statements, grammatical fictions and unphilosophical expressions occur more frequently than could be desired in books, of which the substance is impressed upon the memory of the young, by means of which error is perpetuated, and the progress of accurate knowledge is obstructed.

A Memoir of Rev. Walter Gunn, late Missionary in India, from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the United States. By G. A. Lintner, D. D. Albany: E. H. Pease & Co. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz. pp. 156—1852.

THIS volume presents an interesting sketch of the character and services of a beloved missionary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, who was permitted to labor only a few years in the work, to which he had devoted his life, and in which he was so efficiently and successfully engaged. Although his career was brief, yet he rendered valuable aid to the mission, and gave an impulse to the cause in the Church, which will long be gratefully remembered. The volume also furnishes important information in reference to the Foreign Mission of

the Lutheran Church in India, which cannot fail to interest those who love the cause, and who desire that the Lutheran Church of America should prosecute more vigorously the work of missions. We take pleasure in commending the volume to our readers, with the earnest wish that its perusal may lead our members to feel more deeply, and to labor more earnestly in a cause which ought to be dear to every Christian.

The Works of Horace: with English Notes; a Life of Horace, and an Explanation of the Metres. By Edward Moore, M. A.; to which is appended an Introduction to the Metres. pp. 449.

WE are pleased with every effort, that is made to elucidate this valuable author, and the volume before us, we think, has strong claims upon the public attention. The notes have been prepared with much discrimination, real difficulties are clearly and concisely explained, whilst the student is not encumbered with help. Perhaps no writer of antiquity has received so much critical attention as Horace, and in whose works there are, nevertheless, so many passages in reference to the correct interpretation of which, there is a great diversity of opinion. In these cases, the editor directs attention to other interpretations, giving at the same time that which, in his judgment, appears to be the true sense, and permitting the reader to adopt the one, which to him seems to rest upon the most solid foundation. The introduction to the Metres of Horace, by Dr. Beck, of Harvard University, is a valuable addition to the volume.

A History of Classical Literature. By R. W. Browne, M. A., Professor of Classical Literature. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. pp. 536—1852.

THE American publishers have rendered important service to the cause of classical learning, by the publication of this valuable Compendium. It supplies a want which has been much felt. The work is designed as an introduction to the study of Classical Literature, and Greece first engages the author's attention, not only because it constitutes the oldest literature in Europe, but because it is the source whence Rome derived all her mental culture. The author's object in presenting the work to the public, he tells us, was to collect such facts and observations as might be interesting to the general reader, which were scattered over a wide surface, within a narrow compass. In consequence of the limits, to which he wished to confine himself, the author frequently states only conclusions to which he has come, without entering on the grounds and reasons on which they are based. He generally gives references to illustrative passages, instead of quoting the passages themselves; whilst at the same time he has inserted translations, in order that the sense and spirit of the author may be conveyed to those unacquainted with the original language. We have examined the volume with much satisfaction, and take pleasure in commending it to public favor.

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| Page | 8, line | 4, from below | for unite | read unites |
| ' | 9, ' 21, | — | ' perspective | read prospective |
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| ' | 90, ' 3, | from above, | for in | read of |
| ' | 93, ' 15, | — | ' thus | read this |
| ' | 97, ' 19, | — | ' form | ' from |
| ' | 100, ' 12, | from below, | ' distruction | read distinction |
| ' | 102, ' 8, | from above, | ' concussion | ' conception |
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THE
EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. XIV.

OCTOBER, 1852.

ARTICLE I.

BENEFICIARY EDUCATION.

WE offer no apology for the introduction of this subject into the pages of the Review. The subject in itself is important, whilst the present aspect of the church imparts to it additional consideration. Beneficiary education belonged to the church in her earliest efforts to extend her influence. The schools of the prophets, mentioned in the Old Testament, seem to have been of this character, whilst the apostles, during their preparatory training, were dependent for the means of subsistence upon the great head of the church. It is notorious that Monkery thus perpetuated itself, and that, to this day, the Romish church secures, in this way, her most devoted servants and her most successful defenders. True, the papal priesthood, when they consecrate themselves, in this form to the church, at the same time, devote their wealth, if they have any, to the same cause, and thus give what they receive. Thus, the wants of the church, in all ages and in all her branches, have given origin to this mode of relief, whilst, with the same agency, she has carried forward her aggressions against the enemies of her Master.

The Lutheran church, as the eldest born of the Reformation, felt the importance of this mode of increasing her ministry, early in her history. Her orphan-houses were the nurseries, not only of the destitute, who should pursue an honest and honorable course of life, in the ordinary branches of industry ;

but where piety and talent developed themselves, also in the work of the ministry. Hence, some of the founders of the church in this country were educated in this way at Halle. Whilst many were educated by private individual liberality in the literary and theological institutions of Europe, there was ample provision made, by endowment in these institutions themselves, in the way of bursaries and scholarships, to secure the same end. The system of education in the Methodist church, until within a few years, was based upon the same beneficiary element. A young man of promising talents and some readiness in speaking, all of which is made known in the religious meetings, is placed upon a course of reading under the direction of the presiding elder. He is then directed to preach in a particular circuit, sustained as the itinerancy is sustained, whilst he is at the same time prosecuting his studies, subject to the examination of conference. The rapidity, with which men were prepared for the sacred office in this way, may be ascertained by a reference to the thousands of preachers who are now laboring in this branch of the Christian church.

Beneficiary education received no attention from our church as such, in this country, until the establishment of our institutions at Gettysburg. In this good work, as in most others, we find the synod of Maryland taking the initiative. As far back as 1831, and earlier in her history, we find this synod active in her collections for missions and education, and her zeal in this cause has been continually on the increase. No formal action was had by the church until the meeting of the general synod, in the year 1835. During the sessions of the synod, a convention, which had been previously called, was held, and resulted in the formation of the first general society, which then received and still retains the title of the *Parent Education Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. The constitution, which was then reported and adopted, was signed by delegates to the General Synod, from the synods of South and North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia, West Pennsylvania and Hartwick. The operations of the society, according to the constitution, were to be conducted by a board of directors, composed of one member from each of the synods of west Pennsylvania, New York, South Carolina, Hartwick, North Carolina and Ohio: three of whom, at any meeting regularly convened, should constitute a quorum. The framers of this constitution proposed, by the distribution of the directors over the whole church, to secure the coöperation of all, and emphatically make the society general. The object was good,

but the mode of securing it was a remarkable failure. Besides the appointment of directors, who took no part in the establishment of the society, and who felt no interest in its success, a glance at the principal section shows that the directors, scattered over the whole extent of the United States, could seldom, if ever, all be brought together; and that, therefore, the management of the society would be thrown into the hands of the three directors residing nearest each other. Unfortunately, however, the selection of directors was made so inconsiderately that even this afforded no advantage, for the nearest directors lived fifty and three hundred miles apart. If the writer's information be correct, the directors never held a meeting. Here then there was arrayed before the church a vast apparatus of presidents, vice presidents, secretaries, treasurer and directors, an army sufficiently large, if properly directed, to take the church by storm, introduced too by the usual blowing of trumpets and clashing of cymbals, which accomplished as much as a celebrated army in France; "They marched up the hill and then marched down again;" one is strongly tempted to pause and exercise the privilege conceded to critics, but we will waive the right for the present, lest we may seem too serious. It would be injustice to deny that this organization effected good. It was one step in advance, though a false one, and, by exposing the error, pointed out the proper course to be pursued. It proved too, that an organization could be effected, whilst the wants of the church loudly demanded efficient action.

As the organization of 1835 was found to be impracticable, a reorganization was effected in 1837, at the meeting of the general synod, in Hagerstown. The defects of the constitution were pointed out, and the following constitution was adopted:

"The object of this society is to educate indigent pious young men for the gospel ministry, in the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

ARTICLE I. This society shall be composed of all those present, who subscribe to the constitution; but all members hereafter added to the society, who shall be entitled to vote, shall be elected at the regular meetings of the society. Any person who shall subscribe and pay from his own funds into the treasury at one time, thirty dollars, and if a clergyman, ten dollars, shall be a life-member, and shall have a right to sit, deliberate and vote, in all the meetings of the society. Congregations or others may constitute their ministers or others, life-members by the payment of thirty dollars. This society shall

be auxiliary to the Central American Education Society at New York.

ART. II. There shall be chosen, at each meeting of the society, held at the time and place of each stated meeting of the General Synod, a president, a vice president, a recording and a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as may be found necessary, who shall continue in office till others shall be chosen in their stead.

ART. III. This society shall, from time to time, by ballot, elect such a number of honorary vice presidents as they may judge expedient.

ART. IV. The president, vice president, recording and corresponding secretaries, treasurer, and seven other members of the society, who are to be appointed by ballot, shall constitute a committee, to be styled the executive committee, at any meeting of which, regularly convened, four shall form a quorum. It shall be the duty of this committee to increase the funds of the society, by soliciting themselves, and by appointing and instructing agents to solicit the aid requisite to achieve the object in view. This committee shall have the power of appropriating all monies for the support of beneficiaries; of examining and selecting candidates for patronage, and generally of transacting all business necessary for the furtherance of the objects of this society, not otherwise herein provided for. The committee shall also keep a fair record of their proceedings, and make report of their transactions to the society, at its regular meetings.

ART. V. Qualified candidates may be aided, in each stage of preparatory education for the ministry. No applicant shall be assisted, who shall not produce, from serious and respectable characters, unequivocal testimonials of hopeful piety, promising talents, and real indigence: nor shall any person be continued on this foundation, whose instructor or instructors shall not annually exhibit to the executive committee, satisfactory evidence, that in point of genius, diligence, literary progress, morals and piety, he is of a proper character to receive aid from these sacred funds; in addition to which, each beneficiary, after his admission into any college, shall annually exhibit to the committee a written declaration, that it continues to be his serious purpose to devote his life to the gospel ministry in the Evangelical Lutheran church.

ART. VI. Any person who has been assisted by this society, and whose name shall be stricken from the list of beneficiaries, because of misconduct, or other deficiency, in regard to the qualifications required by the constitution and the rules of the

society ; or who shall have concluded not to devote himself to the gospel ministry, shall refund the sum expended for his education, with lawful interest, on demand of the executive committee.

ART. VII. The president, and in his absence, the vice president, in concurrence with any one of the committee, shall have power to call special meetings of the society.

ART. VIII. The treasurer shall be bound with one surety, in a reasonable sum, to be determined by the committee, to the faithful discharge of his duty. He shall, when directed by the committee, vest the surplus property and funds of the society in the safest and most productive forms ; make payments and advances of money, from time to time, agreeably to the orders of the committee ; and annually render to the committee a written account of all receipts and expenditures within the year, of the amount of the funds, and of the manner in which they are vested, or have been expended ; this account to be previously examined and approved in writing, by an auditor chosen for that purpose by the society. He shall also give to the committee, whenever they request it, a particular account of the state of the treasury.

ART. IX. The society shall meet at such time and place as the General Synod holds its regular session, to elect officers, to hear the report of the executive committee and of the treasurer, and to transact other necessary business.

ART. X. At all meetings of the society, seven members shall be requisite to constitute a quorum ; and every meeting of the society shall be opened with prayer.

ART. XI. The president of each society auxiliary to this, which shall pay annually twenty dollars into the treasury of this society, shall be ex-officio, an honorary vice president of this society.

ART. XII. Whenever a society shall be formed by members of any Evangelical Lutheran synod, conference or congregation, or by the inhabitants of any neighborhood, which shall adopt the essential principles of this constitution, especially the provisions of the fifth article, as the basis of its own, such society, upon the due notice of its existence, and desire of union, may be received by a vote of the executive committee, as a constituent branch of the parent society.

Every such branch society shall possess the right of appointing its own officers, and also the right of appropriating its own funds for the assistance of beneficiaries, who shall have, in all respects, the requisite qualifications.

ART. XIII. The executive committee shall have power to supply any vacancies that may occur among themselves or among the officers of the society, till the next meeting of the society.

ART. XIV. The committee shall adopt such by-laws and regulations as may be requisite to carry out the objects contemplated by the society, not inconsistent with its constitution.

ART. XV. No alteration of this constitution shall be made except on recommendation of the committee, and by a vote of three-fourths of the members present, at a regular meeting; unless the proposed alteration shall have been submitted to the society in writing at a previous meeting, except at the next regular meeting of the society, when a majority of the members present shall have the power to make any alteration."

It will be seen from the fourth article of this constitution, that the administration of the affairs of the society is placed in the hands of an executive committee, composed of twelve, viz: the officers and seven other members of the society, to be chosen by ballot, at each regular meeting of the society, to continue in office until others are elected. The fifth article of this constitution secures, on the part of the student, a suitable subject for the benefactions of the church, viz: real indigence, promising talents, and unequivocal testimonials of hopeful piety. It contemplates also, thorough collegiate and theological training. This is a legitimate inference from the latter clause of the same section, which takes for granted a collegiate course, and implies a theological. The same section requires evidence annually of progress in diligence, the acquisition of knowledge, morals and piety. So far as the different portions of the church are interested in the subjects, the provisions of this constitution are as catholic as they well can be. It makes provision for the extension of its influence, by means of auxiliaries all over the church. Each branch possesses the right of appropriating its own funds and managing its own concerns, as it may think best. If there should be a surplus in the treasury of the parent society, they would be cheerfully bestowed upon the branch societies which are in need, and if there were a surplus in the treasury of any branch society, and a deficiency in the funds of the parent, it is reasonable to expect a reciprocity of kindness. The sixth article secures the church against unfaithfulness on the part of those sustained by her funds, and makes provision for the recovery of the moneys loaned to those, who relinquished the purpose of studying for the ministry, and are engaged in some other occupation. Efficiency in the administration of the affairs of

the society is secured, by concentrating power in the hands of the executive committee, and, at the same time, causing responsibility to be felt. Nothing is gained and much is lost by spreading out power, and with it responsibility over a large surface. There is responsibility, and therefore there is efficiency, nowhere concentrated so as to burn. That arrangement therefore is wise, which delegates power to faithful servants, and places around them safeguards, both to secure their own faithfulness, and to protect the rights of all concerned. At the convention of the General Synod, held in Baltimore, in 1843, the twelfth article was amended so as to include the following, viz: "Each branch society shall have the power to prescribe the course of study and the rules of supervision, to be observed and required by the executive committee from the beneficiaries, who are sustained by their funds; and also, to select the institution where they are to be educated. If any branch society shall have surplus funds, they shall be thrown into the treasury of the parent society; and if any shall have a deficit of funds, application may be made to the executive committee of the parent society, who shall appropriate for its use all the surplus funds needed, if any should be on hand." It is manifest at a glance, that a constitution more favorable to the development of the resources of all parts of the church, and their judicious expenditure, cannot well be devised. Every portion of the church is authorized to collect and expend its own funds, and, if it be in want after it has put forth all its energies, it may obtain assistance by application to those who have more than they need. It would be very presumptuous indeed, to use no stronger term, for a branch society which had put forth no sufficient efforts of its own, to ask aid from the parent association; and it would be very unjust, for those connected with the parent society, to send their funds to the branches, to the neglect of their own beneficiaries. Why should the synods, which are now connected with the parent society, and which send their directors to Gettysburg twice a year to manage the affairs of the institutions there, send their funds to educate young men either at Springfield, Ohio, or Springfield, Illinois, when they are unable to sustain the young men who look to them for support, at their own institutions? Suppose that they were tempted, as some have been, by strong representations, to pursue such a course, does the church gain by it? Will they be better educated? Will they imbibe a better spirit? Will their theological views be more orthodox? Or, will the vastness of the prairies, the magnificence of the rivers, and the magnitude of the *Great*

West itself, so fill their minds with lofty thoughts, that they will become greater and more efficient men, than if they pursued their studies in the East. We confess that we are so obtuse in intellect, that we cannot appreciate the advantages of such a course. Or shall we sacrifice the parent society, and the institutions where her beneficiaries have been educated, to erect new ones in the West, conducted by wiser and better men, who snuff at the self-denial and sacrifices of the fathers, and say: "If we only possessed the funds expended at Gettysburg, we would show you what we would do." To such we can only say with one of old: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you." What the action of the synods of Virginia and Pittsburg means, we cannot fully understand. They generously propose to unite with the parent society, provided its organization be changed. There is an implied censure here, not against the management of the society, but against its organization. It is unfortunate that they did not freely and fully state wherein the organization is deficient. It is presumed that they will be prepared at the proper time to point out the defects. If the object aimed at, by these synods, be union, then we cannot see why that union was not consummated ten years ago. They would have had the management of their funds, and the control of the education of their beneficiaries as completely as they now have; and they would have been united with other synods by an additional bond of union. If they propose a consolidated society, such as to destroy the auxiliary feature altogether, and merge all the societies into one, and locate the controlling power either at Gettysburg or elsewhere, having but one treasury and one executive committee, then we are bold to say, that such an organization ought not to exist, and cannot be formed. The only kind of union possible, which is not a despotism, is oneness of purpose and oneness of effort. The different synods or groups of synods, as they may have united in the support of their own institutions, must perform the work which is to be done. As well might we look for a single treasury and a single controlling power for all our literary and theological schools, as to anticipate the same thing, for education or missions in a church, spread abroad as ours is, over the whole United States. The scheme, however, is grand in its conception, it captivates the mind as do the prairies of the west, whose boundaries the eye cannot follow, as they are lost in the distance; and as her magnificent rivers which water a continent, and then are gathered into a vast basin, on which the navies of the world may float and perform their evolutions.

It is this grand conception which too frequently leads us astray. The imagination is stimulated, the heart swells with the laboring thought, and fancy removes obstacles, and brings the desired realities near, as with a magician's wand. But when sober reason takes hold of the subject, and gravely inquires how the details of such a plan are to be carried out, advancing step by step in its development, then difficulties, before unseen, present themselves, and the scheme, like many a day-dream, vanishes into thin air. If we admit, for the sake of discussion, the existence of a consolidated society, the details after all, both in the collection and disbursement of funds, and in the selection and control of those educated by them, must be placed in the hands of the members of synod, and of the respective institutions patronized by them. The best mode of arranging these matters is that which they naturally assume. An institution, literary and theological, is called for by the wants of the church, and, after mature deliberation, it is located at Gettysburg, as the point most favorable for the success of the enterprise. It goes into operation, and for a time meets the expectations formed concerning it. The wants of the church again demand the formation of an education society, and the same agencies are called into requisition for the support of the society, as were active in the establishment of the literary and theological school. This society is called the parent society, because it is the first in existence, and exercises, for the time being, a parental influence. As the church increases and enlarges her borders, and new synods are formed, it is found that one literary institution is not sufficient to meet the educational wants of the church. The distance is too great, and there is sufficient power in the church elsewhere to erect and endow another institution. Thus the institution at Columbus, Ohio, originated. At the same time, the wants of the church in Ohio demand the formation of an education society. The synods interested in that institution proceed at once to organize and to go into operation. The synods which have their centre at Springfield, Ohio, discover that they can not educate at Columbus, and that it is *too far for their students to go to Gettysburg* or elsewhere, and they also proceed to establish an institution. An education society naturally grows out of it. The same process is in progress in Illinois and elsewhere. Now will any one pretend to say that a consolidated society will be more efficient than these societies, which are on the ground, and feel all the necessities of the church around them? What more than a general bond of

union do we need, by which we are led with oneness of purpose, to coöperate with each other, and, when able, to relieve each others necessities? But if these synods desire an organization by which one portion of the church shall be required to contribute its funds to support beneficiaries abroad, when it cannot adequately sustain its own, then they are asking what is unjust and preposterous, and we would respectfully request them to reconsider their action.

After having thus briefly expressed our views on the subject of a change of organization, we will proceed to consider the management of the parent society, its defects and the remedy.

Anterior to the formation of the parent institution, but few young men were sustained by the church. The American education society was generously sustaining several, when the parent society came into existence. The first effect of our organization was, to relieve the American society of the burden of our students. A church, as large and wealthy as ours, ought to feel ashamed to cast upon other churches the burden of educating her ministers; and the ministry, who then controlled the affairs of the church and her institutions, ought to feel the blood rush to their faces at the announcement of the fact. The principle which was made fundamental to the society was, to reject no young men of suitable qualifications, who made application for aid. It was thought that the church would come up to the help of the society, influenced by the love of Christ, so that the painful necessity of rejecting a single one, desirous of entering the ministry, might not occur. During a number of years, indeed as long as it was proper, the committee conducted the affairs of the society in accordance with this principle. During the first two years ending October 1837, the whole number received on the funds was forty-one, whilst the receipts into the treasury from all sources, were \$4,449. In 1839 the whole number on the funds was fifty-three, of which twenty-nine were new applicants, being an increase of twenty-five per cent during the last two years. The whole amount of the receipts during the same time was \$6,722. It may be a subject of interest to some, and desirable to all, as a matter of reference, to know that of this sum, the synod of West Pennsylvania contributed \$2,720, synod of Maryland and Virginia \$1,887, synod of Pennsylvania \$1,102, synod of Virginia \$184, synod of Hartwick \$70, synod of New York \$58, and all the remainder of the church \$218. These sums will furnish a pretty correct criterion of the degree of interest felt on this subject by the different portions of the church, during the time here indicated. In 1841 the whole

number on the funds was forty-seven, and during the two years preceding, thirty-two new applicants for aid had been received. The receipts into the treasury during the same time were \$6,810, and the relative proportions contributed by the different synods strikingly similar to that just stated, with the exception that more was received from New York and nothing from the synod of Pennsylvania, because there was no agent to visit them. In 1843 the whole number on the funds was fifty-seven, and of these, twenty-six had been received during the preceding two years as new applicants for aid. The receipts into the treasury during this time, amounted to only \$5,911, a falling off of nearly one thousand dollars. This deficiency is referable, among other causes, to the centenary effort which promised so much, and which was one of the most signal failures in the history of any church. Such an apparatus of constitutions and appeals and resolutions, such a correspondence and a moving to and fro of Reverend couriers, the most learned and dignified, we had not before witnessed. All seemed to portend the greatest event which thus far had occurred in the history of the church. But lo! when the crisis arrived, it proved itself to be but the mountain in labor. Alas! that so much valuable breath and sterling energy should have been expended in vain. Perhaps the deficiency is in part referable also to the missionary efforts which now deeply interested our congregations. The attention of the people was diverted from the education cause to other objects, for the time, possessing greater attractions. In 1845 the whole number sustained was forty-four, of which twenty were new applicants. The receipts during the same time were \$6,198, leaving, however, a debt of \$2,504. This debt was the necessary result of the diminished income of previous years, and the efforts of the committee to reject no properly qualified young man who applied for aid. The next step which we take in recording the proceedings of the parent society, covers three years, and reaches to 1848. During this period the society was summoned to sustain itself against rude assaults from without and from within. It was emphatically the dark night of her history. The synods which had been most active in the cause from the beginning, continued their activity. The average amount of contributions were made into the treasury. The whole sum paid in was \$8,394; and this was given by the synods of Maryland, and West and East Pennsylvania. The number on the funds, for reasons to which we may advert ere we close, was only seventeen, and during the preceding three years, but seven new applicants for aid were received on

the funds. The result was, that the beneficiaries in the preparatory course passed into college, and those in college into the seminary, and but few applicants being received, the regular succession of students in our institutions preparing for the ministry, was broken up, and the chasm thus formed could not be filled up until we would begin again with the preparatory department, and pass through another regular cycle. The effects of this attack upon the society are felt to this day, and may be read in the empty walls of the theological seminary at Gettysburg. This night of gloom having passed away, in 1850 the number on the funds amounted to forty-two, of which twenty-five had been received during the preceding two years. During the same time, the receipts into the treasury amounted to \$2,956.

Having thus cursorily indicated the progress of the society in its efforts to train up a ministry for the church, having pointed out the number on the funds, and the state of the funds, from time to time, and the sources, whence those funds were derived; we now proceed to point out the course of study indicated, and the development of the principle with which the committee started.

As has already been indicated, the society contemplated a thorough collegiate and theological course of training. This was demanded, both by the nature of the case, and the relation which our church sustained to other churches. Hence the fifth article of the constitution, whilst it did not expressly require this, clearly implied it, viz: "in addition to which, each beneficiary, *after his admission into college*, shall annually exhibit to the committee a written declaration that it continues to be his serious purpose to devote his life to the gospel ministry, in the Evangelical Lutheran church." This excellent feature of the constitution, the committee was enabled to execute only in part. The causes of this were several. The wants of the church were pressing, and the cry for ministerial aid was urgent. Many of the brethren in the field of labor, looking only at the present, and not to the prospective wants of the church, advocated a partial course. Others could see no reason why the rising generation of ministers should be better educated than themselves. The young men, full of zeal for the salvation of souls, were anxious to engage in their appropriate work, and could not see what bearing Greek and Latin, and especially mathematics had on this work, whilst the committee themselves were divided on the subject. The great problem to be solved seemed to be, whether an ignorant man, twenty-four years old, ought to be as well educated as

an ignorant man at twenty-one. The fear was then expressed, as it is now, that the student would become old before he had accomplished any good ; such a fear should never pervade the mind of a good man. Opportunities for doing, as well as receiving good, are abundant wherever we are, and he is the zealous and faithful man who avails himself of them, and leaves the impress of a useful life, even in the preparatory school with which he is connected. The adjustment of the course of study to the different ages and capacities of those sustained by the church, was one fruitful source of difficulty to the society. Up to the year 1837 the committee continued the general rule of requiring a full course, but making exceptions, as the nature of the case seemed to require. During this year they concluded, in order to obviate exceptions, to limit the full course to all under twenty-two years of age, and graduating the time of study by a sliding scale, up to twenty-four, and again submitting extraordinary cases to the discretion of the committee. The difficulties of this subject were increased by the action of some of the synods. To show how synodical action influenced the course of study, it is necessary only to quote from the report of the executive committee of 1843, in which it is stated that twelve withdrew from the funds without the consent of the committee, and were cordially received by the synods. The influence of such a procedure upon the welfare of the society and the church, cannot be doubtful. The synods really have the power of determining the qualifications of the ministers, and they are giving shape to their studies, because they have the licensing power. If it is generally known that one or more synods are careless in their examinations, extending them only to a few subjects, and requiring no thorough scholarship, the uneducated and ignorant aspirants for the sacred office will naturally flock thither ; but if thorough and extensive scholarship be required by all the synods, the standard of ministerial attainments will rise at once. The effect of this action of the synods upon the cause of education, was such as greatly to embarrass the operations of the committee. Thoroughness, in the strict sense of the term, could be secured only in the case of those who had formed an exalted, and therefore a correct view of the office of the sacred ministry, and therefore desired to fill it with honor to themselves and the church, and their great Master. Up to the year 1843, one hundred and twenty-four had been received on the funds ; about forty were in the ministry, and of these, only six were graduates of the college. Of this number, twenty-two who left our institutions with the consent

of the committee, during their entire course of study averaged only four years and ten months and one-half of study. Now, when we consider that many, at that time, were received on the funds, who had but the rudiments of an ordinary English education, and that their whole preparatory and theological course was less than five years, we will be able to estimate the amount of instruction which they received, and the embarrassment under which the committee labored. This whole question was finally settled in 1845, when the society adopted the general rule of requiring a full collegiate and theological course, in accordance with the admitting clause of the theological seminary, as interpreted by the board of that year, and making cases of extraordinary talents and attainments in other branches of study than collegiate, as exceptions connected with the difficulty of adjusting the course of study, and synchronising with it, was the character of some of the beneficiaries sustained, and, the want of confidence in the society, as a consequence. Young men, the fruits of revivals, hastily received into the church, full of zeal in the cause of religion, and loud in their professions, were at once recommended to the committee, and failing to meet the high expectations of friends hastily and injudiciously formed, caused a revulsion of feeling and a distrust of the cause. Good men doubted, and they who were seeking a pretext to withhold their contributions from this enterprise, easily found one. Even some of our most active and devoted ministers were led to pause and to doubt. The consequence was, a change of the mode of action. The synods would undertake the work. They assumed, and very properly, the responsibility of determining how many they would educate, and how far they would educate, and who should be the subjects of their benefactions. The whole question of character, and course, and support for most of the beneficiaries, now rested where it ought to rest, with the pastors. They know the young men personally, they know the resources of the people, and they are acquainted with their spiritual necessities. Experience, however, soon taught that this mode of action was defective. The power was too widely diffused, and could not be concentrated as occasion required. Only once a year, during the sittings of synods, could action be had. There was, therefore, a return to the central action of the committee, with the coöperation of the synods, which, it is believed, is the only safe and efficient mode of action. The responsibility is not removed from the synods, or from the brethren who recommend to the committee, but it is shared alike by all. Young men are tried by

their pastors, as to character and talents, and, if approved, are recommended, and then are tried by the committee in a new sphere of life, and under the pressure of a new set of difficulties. After all the precaution which can be employed, even if a man enters the ministry with an unsullied character, who shall undertake to say that he will never fall. Why should the education cause suffer because the committee is sometimes mistaken or deceived, and because the brethren, who recommend, are sometimes called upon to mourn over the fall of a promising young man? Who is infallible, who is omniscient but God? Shall we doubt the efficacy of divine truth because some professing christians, and even ministers of the gospel, are not what they should be, and others have fallen into gross sin? No more should we question the importance of the cause of church education, though some of her benefactions have been bestowed upon the undeserving. The only effect of such unfortunate accidents, should be to stimulate to increased watchfulness. There should be a longer trial, and more stringent tests employed by pastors, before subjects are proposed for the benefactions of the church. After all the precaution which can be employed, has been applied, we may anticipate in this, as in every other enterprise, difficulties and disappointments. We ought to be thankful that we have met with so few. It is known that not a few of those who were dropped by the committee, succeeded afterwards in entering the ministry, and are now usefully employed according to the measure of their ability. The society, up to this time, has been instrumental in introducing into the ministry about one hundred and twenty, most of whom are now actively engaged in their Master's work. This is about one-eighth, or a fraction more, of our present ministry. Among these are to be found some of the most active and successful ministers in the church. If such results have been produced by the incipient action of the society, under the pressure of embarrassments of various kinds, what may we anticipate when the church, with cordial coöperation, will lay hold of this subject with hearty good will, and carry it forward with the energy which she is capable of exerting. The most liberal calculation, which we are permitted to make, will not allow more than one hundred beneficiaries to our church, including the action of societies, congregations and individuals. There should be five hundred, and we trust the time is not far distant when this will be realized. We are not among the number of those who are disposed to despond, even when circumstances are unfavorable. We have an abiding assurance of the sovereignty of God.

With this assurance, we feel that he does all things well. Confidently, therefore, will we commit into his hands the affairs of his church, believing that he "who spared not his own son, but gave him for us all, will with him also freely give us all things." The very trials, through which we have passed, and the difficulties by which we are now surrounded, furnish ground of hope. So far as education in any form is considered, our church, twenty years ago, may be said to have been a blank. During this time, she has erected and partially endowed seven colleges and high schools. During the same time, she has endowed four theological seminaries, in whole or in part. In these theological and literary institutions of various grades, she is educating about eight hundred, in different stages of progress, of which number about two hundred and twenty are preparing for the ministry. This is encouraging. Looking at the past, we derive comfort, and from the future we will gather the flowers of hope, though the fruit should be bitter disappointment. There is one fact which stands forth in bold relief in the estimate which has been made of the number in the church preparing for the ministry. It is that about one-half of the whole are sustained as beneficiaries. This is a significant fact. It points most clearly to the course which the church should pursue. It teaches, where her strength lies, and urges her, by the love which she cherishes for her Savior and the salvation of souls, to fill the treasury of the education society, and to permit no well qualified young man to be frustrated in his desires to educate himself for the work of the ministry. There is another fact equally significant, and to him who regards intelligently the welfare of the church, startling, viz: that up to this time there have not been twenty annually who have passed through the entire collegiate course. We must have thoroughness of training, especially in our ministers, if we would build the church upon a solid foundation. We must have men who will be prepared, not only to defend the doctrines of the church, but also to break down the defences of error and assail the great enemy of souls in the various strongholds of falsehood, in which he has entrenched himself. We must have men to write, as well as to preach, who will furnish to the church a literature, as they are breaking to them the bread of life. For this we must have thorough scholarship.

Passing from this partial digression, we proceed to consider the remedy for the evils by which we are encompassed. We consider, first, *an efficient agency as a remedy for the want of funds.* We have never been able to feel the force of the

objection, which some pastors make, to collect funds for the education cause. The writer is himself a pastor, and for many years has made stated collections for education and missions, and occasional collections for other purposes, and has never failed. He believes, moreover, that he can collect more among his own people than any collecting agent who may visit them. As there is no especial talent required for this work, but only a little additional labor, he thinks that the conclusion is correct that, for a number of years together, the pastors can collect more, and more cheaply than any number of agents, however well qualified. They have the confidence of the people. They are acquainted with the circumstances of the people, and know who are able to contribute liberally. They are always on the ground, and know when the collections can be made most advantageously, and it is their duty to present to their people the claims, which the church has upon them, to sustain her institutions and benevolent operations. Very many of our pastors pursue this course, and their experience confirms the statements here made. For those portions of the church, in which this efficient and scriptural mode is not pursued, another system of agency, and that which is technically called *agency*, must be adopted. This we regard as an evil, but it is a necessary evil. In so far only is it an evil, as it accomplishes by one instrumentality what ought to be effected by another. The history of the parent education society shows clearly what can be effected by both systems. But few agents have been employed by her. She has been sustained by the efficiency of the pastors, and we trust that will never fail. When agents have been employed and sent into fields before uncultivated, they never failed of success. Within the bounds of one synod, at least two thousand dollars were obtained by two distinct visits of agents, from which nothing has been obtained without agents. But the difficulty yet remains. Who will become agent? Few are willing to engage in such a self-denying and laborious work. The teachers of youth cannot be expected to engage in it, in connection with their appropriate business of instruction. This would be as charitable as the modern mode of conferring the honor of a professorship upon him, who is able and willing to collect funds for its endowment. Such is the difficulty of obtaining agents, that the parent society, during the seventeen years of her existence, has succeeded in procuring but four, and that only for a few months, whilst Pennsylvania college, during the same time, has been able to obtain only one, who

continued his services not quite one year. We are utterly at a loss, therefore, to know how we can extricate ourselves out of our educational difficulties. If this work is to go forward, if the church is ever to grow up to the proportions of manhood, then there must be those who are willing to exercise self-denial and make sacrifices in order to secure it. If such cannot be found, and the pastors continue to be unwilling to do the work, then it will never be performed by us, but other denominations more spiritual, self-denying, and self-sacrificing, will enter, as some have already done, into our field, and perform the work for us. Such a catastrophe would exhibit the zeal and activity of other denominations, at the expense of our apathy and indifference. We pray that God in mercy may avert it, by inspiring our church with proper views and feelings on this subject.

We consider, secondly, *the proper action of synods* as a remedy for the want of thoroughness. We should have thoroughness, both collegiate and theological, in all who are received into the ranks of the sacred ministry. If this cannot be secured, then the great majority of those received should possess such an education. The general rule should be thoroughness, not ignorance. The synods, which are the conservators of good order as well as the guardians of knowledge, should not receive into their fellowship those, who, having been partially educated by the funds of the church, refuse, contrary to their voluntary obligation, to receive a thorough course of instruction. The end contemplated can easily be attained, if it be regarded as of sufficient importance. In every synod the examinations are too limited as to subjects, and too superficial. Young men should be required to furnish evidence of attainments in science and the arts, as well as in theology, and in order to do this, time must be given. Application for licensure should be made before the meeting of synod, or rather during the first year of probation, the licentiate should be required to furnish such tests in languages and science, as well as on themes in theology, as would secure thoroughness of education. On this subject, it cannot be denied that our synods are deficient. Indeed, on the whole subject of education, there has been a paralysis resting on the church, which is alarming. This is the more surprising, because in Europe our church has distinguished herself by her educational progress. It is as much the duty of the synods to attend to the education of the children of the church, as it is to preach the gospel to the adults. They surely have not yet to learn that the type of piety and the degree of respectability

and influence of the church depend upon the character and amount of education received. Hence, it has appeared strange that some of our synods have manifested an unwillingness to receive the reports of their own institutions, on the ground that such matters are not synodical business. But surely the education of the youth of the church constitutes one of the gravest subjects, that can be brought before any ecclesiastical body. So others have thought, so think we, and so teaches all history and experience. It is sufficient only to state the fact that the counter-reformation in the Romish church was effected about the middle of the sixteenth century by the Jesuits, through the instrumentality of education; and that the struggle now in this country is, who shall educate the youth of the land, for that will settle the question of the supremacy of popery and infidelity. As a consequence of this state of things, the academies in the various counties, until recently, have been under the control of other denominations, even in those districts where our church has a vast preponderance of numbers. But few of our clergymen have given any attention to the subject, so that it has necessarily fallen into the hands of others, who have reaped the benefits. The mission of our church in the field of education, has not yet been understood or felt. A population of some millions belongs to us, and we permit their youth, through the institutions of other denominations, to pass into their ranks and swell the tide of influence, which they are rolling over the earth. Now the synods have the power of arresting this evil, and of directing aright the energies of the church. Will they use it, or will they continue supinely to neglect their own highest duty and interest? We are persuaded that the church cannot remain indifferent to this subject. Already has there been an important movement made in several of our synods, in the primary and higher education of both sexes, whilst individual responsibility is doing much. The church at this moment is laboring under the pressure of at least five or six colleges and collegiate schools, which are seeking endowment from her, in addition to her ordinary contributions to benevolence. It gives us unfeigned pleasure to record our convictions that, for the time, she has acted nobly. Whilst there have not been princely contributions, as in some other churches, there has been a steady increase in the ordinary way. We will trust her for the future. This night of toil will yield to a day of glory. We are no prophets, neither does our vision extend far into the future, yet we think that the signs of the times indicate progress in knowledge, a laying down, deep and broad, of the foundations of an

edifice, which shall grow up a glorious temple unto the Lord; a preparation of the materials which shall be employed by wiser and abler hands, contributions to the perpetuity of the blessings of civil and religious freedom which we now enjoy. Among the most important subjects of synodical action is the examination and licensure of candidates for the ministry. This is nothing less than literally fulfilling the last command of the Savior: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." It is supplying the vacancies in the ranks of the ministry, occasioned by disease and death. In a word, it is furnishing a living ministry to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the perishing; a pastorship to feed and watch over the fold of the Redeemer, until the Great Shepherd himself shall appear. How little interest is felt on the subject of examinations, and the amount of knowledge acquired, and progress in mental discipline and personal piety, may be ascertained by any one who will attend our synodical sessions. We are bold to assert that the most important business of synods is the examination and licensure of candidates for the sacred office, and they, who cannot realize this, betray great obtuseness of intellect and want of sensibility. A few hours, during the intervals of the sessions of synod, are sufficient to satisfy a committee, already wearied by a three hours sitting in the church, and burdened by a press of other business. We deprecate all such examinations, as unjust to the young men examined, and unjust to the church among whose ministry they desire to serve the Lord. We deprecate such examinations, on account of the injurious effect produced upon the general intelligence of the church, and the character of our schools and colleges. The ministers of the gospel must occupy the highest point of intelligence in the church. I say they *must* do it. For, as soon as the people become more intelligent than their pastors, they will seek other teachers in other churches, who will stand above them in intelligence. Hence the adage "like priest, like people" is true, in reference to intelligence, as well as piety. In all free countries where church and state have not formed an unholy alliance, the ministry will naturally grow up out of the staple of the people, and furnish, in ordinary cases, a very correct criterion by which we may judge of the intelligence of those, to whom they minister. Now the elevating process must ever begin with the highest and most influential, just as the purifying and sanctifying process must begin with the most holy and pure. A revival of spiritual religion begins with professing christians, and a revival of knowledge must begin with the more intelligent. If

they lack intelligence or are ignorant, how great must be the ignorance of the masses.

Lastly, to cure the evil of receiving improper subjects upon the funds of the church, the only remedy is increased vigilance on the part of pastors and the executive committee. We ought not to conceal the fact, that the proportion of those, dropped from the funds for want of capacity, and for other causes, is too great. The test of character in many instances has cost too much. The most efficient remedy for this evil is the establishment of a church school, in which the languages are taught, in every pastoral district, where there is no grammar school. Here the capacity of the young man for the acquisition of knowledge may be tried, as well as his desire to prepare for the ministry, at little or no cost to the church. The man, who will be useful in the church, will exhibit energy and self-dependence early in life, sufficient to prove to all that he is worthy of the confidence of the church. To be called into the office of the ministry to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the perishing, to become an ambassador of the king of kings and lord of lords, to be a co-worker with Christ in the salvation of men, is the highest honor the church on earth or the world can confer upon man. The church, therefore, does not desire in her ministry those, who fancy that they are conferring a favor upon her by studying for the ministry. She has no need of such men. Her ministers must use the sentiment put by the Savior into the mouths of his apostles, "after ye have done all say we are unprofitable servants." Nor does she need the services of those who seek the sacred ministry either for respectability, or ease, or profit. These are drones in the hive, ecclesiastical loafers in the courts of the sanctuary, ministerial dandies, who sport switch and moustache, but who have no burden of the Lord for the people. If there be a more contemptible being on earth than another, it is a professed minister of the gospel, never satisfied with his charge, always seeking after a more intelligent and refined people, a larger town, a larger salary, greater ease and a higher degree of honor. Is the church blessed or cursed by such ministers? We want humble, devout, laborious, self-denying men, whose faith is so strong as to enable them with confidence to trust in the promises of God, and whose hope is so bright as to cheer them by its light, as the polar star, through the night of toil, to an endless day. Where we are required by duty to exercise choice, as in those who are sustained by the church, and where by it we can exert a blessed influence all around, then it is criminal not to secure the very best material which can

be obtained. Such men are to be found in every congregation. It is for the minister to search them out, for they are ever modest, to speak to them encouragingly; to become acquainted with their character, mental, moral and social, and when they are approved, to place before them the privilege, which the great head of the church furnishes, not only to become christians, but christian ministers, guides to the blind, comforters to the mourning and a blessing to all. Who can estimate the extent and magnitude of the blessing, which that minister confers upon the church and the world, who calls latent genius and piety into exercise, and places them in a position in which they blaze and burn, shedding spiritual light and heat throughout the church, and perpetuating them to future generations. He is indeed a benefactor to his race. He sets in motion an influence, which is always active and efficient for good, which is still enduring and increasing, until it is lost to view by diffusion throughout the mass of mankind.

ARTICLE II.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO EBENEZER, IN GEORGIA, &c., IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775, BY HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, D.D.

Translated from an unpublished German manuscript, by Rev. J. W. Richards, D. D.
Pastor of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa.

(Continued from page 590, Vol. III.)

In addition to this, that part of the fund for the third minister's plantation which is not secured with pastor Rabenhorst, also is lost. Messrs. Wertsch and Triebner want to make it more secure, and to yield eight per cent. interest. Who shall, who can reduce all this to good order, and place it on a safe foundation? No one but parson Triebner, who has written instructions to this effect from our worthy senior Urlsperger, dated December 14, 1769, and who read the same at that time to the congregation and trustees, and also communicated them to Mr. Rabenhorst. But what is to be done with the older minister Rabenhorst, who was solemnly called, ordained and sent hither by the first founder of Ebenezer, our worthy late senior Urlsperger, is truly praised in the printed Ebenezer narratives by the ministers Boltzius and Lömke, of blessed mem-

ory, and is beloved by sensible persons in the congregation on account of his sound doctrine, faithful and successful labors, and his christian conduct? Answer. Good advice is precious. "I, Triebner, heard already in Augsburg and London, from our Reverend Fathers, what he was, and early learned here that he did not esteem our Fathers in Europe, and wished to prejudice me against them; he defrauded the congregation out of the minister's plantation; he is an unconverted, dead man; he lived in strife with the late ministers, Boltzius and Lemke; he was called only for the Swabian colony, and not properly for Ebenezer; he obtained the superintendence of the mill establishment arbitrarily and against the consent of the Reverend Fathers; he is selfish, avaricious, cunning and false; he keeps about thirty negro slaves, and receives money from Savannah and Goshen for his services; is dissatisfied with his support from the minister's plantation, contrary to his promise, and takes as much more from the treasury of the congregation; he neglects church discipline; he accuses and slanders me insidiously to our Reverend Fathers, and instigates his adherents to report lies to them concerning me; he marries all kinds of vile persons; he wants to be in pastor Boltzius's place, he to be the Lord and master, and I to be his servant; he preaches false doctrine; he excited about thirty low men against me, who made fists at me, and caused me a long sickness, and he did not sustain me in the sickness; he had to be warned and restrained in his madness by the judgment of God, viz: his negress having poisoned him; he is so greedy for lucre, and has already so much money at interest in Savannah, as to amount to £649 sterling, &c. &c."

These elegant court manners and political maxims, Messrs. Triebner, Wertsch, &c., on account of their tender consciences, were compelled to use under the garb of sanctity, because their instructions from the Reverend Fathers, required them to reduce the confused state of things here into order, and to place them on a solid foundation. The well concocted scheme, however, failed and was converted into a schism. The most of those who were not perhaps indebted in the store-books of Mr. Wertsch, saw with their own eyes, and knew from many years experience, that Mr. Rabenhorst was not the man he was represented to be by Mr. Triebner and his friends, and those acquainted with the subject readily perceived that Mr. Triebner, as a good artist, had exerted himself greatly to paint him according to his own original, and instead of his own name, to place beneath it that of Christian Rabenhorst. Mr. Rabenhorst was compelled to defend him-

self to prevent the door from being closed against his ministry, otherwise it would have been an easy matter for him to cast off the yoke of his office here, and to serve in Savannah or elsewhere. He suffered and contended like a man, and clung to Him, whom he saw not, as though he saw Him. These *tours*, it is true, have caused pastor Rabenhorst many mental and spiritual sufferings, but they have not injured him, because "*meditationes, orationes and tentationes*" not only make "*veros theologos*," but also establish them more and more.

All the above offences committed by Mr. Triebner, were forgiven him by Rabenhorst, November 11th ult., in my presence, and Mr. Triebner forgave Mr. Rabenhorst his faults. I tried afterwards, at every opportunity, in kindness and humility, to bring Mr. Triebner to some conviction and sense of his offences against Mr. Rabenhorst, but could not succeed; he continued steadfastly to contend that he acted uprightly, in accordance with conscience, and the instructions of our Reverend Fathers, and withal, was much persecuted for it. I had therefore to commit it to the Lord and the holy strivings of his good Spirit, whose patience we all need to regard for our salvation.

Dec. 31st, Saturday. I am indisposed. "Ach Vater, denk an Christi Tod, Sieh' an sein' heil'ge Wunden roth, Die sind ja für die ganze Welt, und also auch für mich, den verdammungswürdigsten Sünder, Die Zahlung und das Lösegelt! Ach Vater, deck' all' meine Sünden mit dem Verdienste Jesu zu! Hilf, dass ich gläubig mich drin winde, so, und nicht anders find' ich Ruh'. Mein Gott, ich bitt' durch Christi Blut, Mach's doch mit meinem Ende gut!"

This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation that Jesus Christ came into the world to save even the chief of sinners; came to seek and to save *that* which is lost, *whatever* was lost! My Savior receiveth sinners! Most holy Jesus, fountain of purification, &c. When the time of my departure shall have come, then do thou not depart from me! Turn not aside thy gracious countenance from me, most miserable sinner, nor yet from my wife and children, &c.

ANNO 1775.

Jan. 1st, Sunday, New Year. What I have lived do thou cover up, what I have yet to live do thou control. A piercing northwest wind prevailed to-day, which in this climate is more intolerable and disagreeable than in the latitude of forty to fifty degrees.

Mr. Triebner having gone to Savannah, Mr. Rabenhorst preached in the morning and afternoon in Jerusalem church, and I in like manner in Zion church.

January 2, 1775, Monday. The unusual cold causes me a catarrhal fever. I composed an obligation to-day, to secure the fund for the salary of the third minister in and about Ebenezer, to the Reverend founders and directors in Europe, so that it may not fall into the hands and jurisdiction of strangers.¹ "Know all men by these presents that we, Christian Rabenhorst, clerk, and Anna Barbara, daughter of the late Mr. Brands, relict of the deceased Mr. David Craft, and now the lawful wife of the above said Christian Rabenhorst, both of Ebenezer, in his Britanic Majesty's Province, Georgia, inhabitants are jointly and severally holden, and firmly bounden unto the Reverend Mr. Frederick Ziegenhagen, his Majesty's chaplain at St. James in London, the Rev. Mr. August Urlsperger, President of the Rev. Ministry in Augsburg, and the Rev. Anastasius Freylinghausen, director in Halle for the time being, worthy members of the venerable society in London for promoting Christian knowledge, in the penal sum of one thousand two hundred and ninety-nine pounds, twelve shillings and ten pence, sterling money, to be paid or caused to be paid unto the said Rev. Messrs. Frederick Ziegenhagen, August Urlsperger and Anastasius Freylinghausen, or to their certain attorneys or assigns, for the true payment whereof we bind and obligate ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators firmly by these presents, sealed with our seals, dated this second day of January, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our sovereign, king George the third, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

Memorandum.—Be it known to all whom it may concern. Whereas the Reverend gentlemen, Messrs. Samuel Urlsperger, Godhelp August Francke, now deceased, and the survivors, Frederick Ziegenhagen, August Urlsperger and Anastasius Freylinghausen, did some years ago collect and gather charitable gifts and mites by subscriptions among protestant christians in Europe, amounting to the sum of six hundred and forty-nine pounds, sixteen shillings and five pence, sterling, and did devise and bequeath the said sum for a lasting fund, and the interest thereof towards a yearly support for a third regular protestant minister, professing the protestant Lutheran doctrine, according to the Augustan Confession and Liturgy, in and about Ebenezer, in Georgia; and whereas the above named Rev. founders and directors did intrust the Rev. Mr. Christian Rabenhorst with the said sum designed and appoint-

¹ Original and not a translation.

ed for the said fund, and did assign the interest thereof unto him, the said minister Rabenhorst, during his good behaviour and life, or until he should succeed his antecessors, and become first minister of the Ebenezer congregation, and be provided with a sufficient salary from the venerable society in London for promoting christian knowledge, and from the revenues of the charitable stock appertaining to the said protestant congregation in and about Ebenezer.

The condition of the above obligation is, therefore, such that if the above bounden Rev. Mr. Christian Rabenhorst and Mrs. Anna Barbara Rabenhorst, their heirs, executors, administrators, or either of them, do well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the above named Rev. gentlemen, trustees and directors of the said institution, viz: Messrs. Frederick Ziegenhagen, August Urlsperger and Anastasius Freylinghausen, their certain attornies or assigns, the just and full sum of six hundred and forty-nine pounds, sixteen shillings and five pence, sterling, of good and lawful money of Great Britain, either immediately after his being constituted and declared first minister of the Ebenezer congregation, and provided with a sufficient salary from the venerable society, and the Rev. trustees and directors aforesaid, or immediately after the decease of the said Mr. Rabenhorst, if it should please the Lord to call his soul out of this troublesome world unto everlasting rest and glory; then this obligation to be void and of none effect, or else to stand and remain in full force and virtue.

CHRISTIAN RABENHORST, [L. s.]

ANNA BARBARA RABENHORST. [L. s.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

CHRISTOPHER CRAMER,

HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG,

p. t. Attorney of the Rev. Messrs. Ziegenhagen and August Urlsperger.

GEORGIA, PARISH OF } ss.
Saint James.

Before me, John Adam Treutlen, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace for said parish, personally appeared the Rev. Mr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, and made oath, that he saw the within named Christian Rabenhorst and Anna Barbara Rabenhorst sign, seal, and as their act and deed deliver the within instrument of writing for the use therein

mentioned, and that he also saw Christopher Cramer, the other subscribing witness, sign his name thereto.

HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

Sworn this ninth day of January, 1775, before me,

JOHN A. TREUTLEN.

Jan. 6, 1775, Friday. The feast of Epiphany—rain and cold. Pastor Rabenhorst and wife took me and my wife with them to Zion church. There is a schoolroom separated by a partition from the church proper, into which Mrs. Rabenhorst went with my wife and daughter, as my wife has been unable for several years to go to church, and nevertheless had a strong desire to edify herself in the congregation with united prayer and singing, and with hearing the word of God. The sermon was scarcely ended before she became sick. Pastor Rabenhorst preached in the morning very animatedly, instructively and edifyingly from the lesson of the Festival, and catechised the old and young in the afternoon, and we reached home safely through the rain.

January 7, Saturday. Finished the six pages, and wrote this week to court chaplain Ziegenhagen and Senior Augustus Urlsperger, in which is also a copy of the obligation for the fund executed January 2d, 1775, by Rev. Rabenhorst to Rev. Ziegenhagen, Urlsperger and Freylinghausen as trustees. The wet and cold of yesterday manifested their catarrhal effects to-day. The delicate pastor Rabenhorst had to go eight miles to-day through the wet, to an aged and pious person who earnestly desired consolation and the Lord's Supper; he returned home towards evening, cold. We heard that this week two German Moravian ministers had arrived in Savannah. The so called Abercorn was originally settled by Germans of our confession; gradually, however, it fell into the hands of two English gentlemen, who are now the proprietors, and cultivate the land with their negro slaves. The adjoining land, called Goshen on account of its fertility, was settled originally by our brethren in the faith, and our beloved ministers pastor Boltzius and Lemke each patented there five hundred acres of land as inheritance, &c., which one thousand acres were suitable for the cultivation of grain and rice. The faithful but poor brethren could not cultivate nor continue to hold them, and were compelled to sell them to an Englishman in Savannah, who was likewise forced to resell them to a rich gentleman, Mr. Knox, in London. This gentleman keeps a large number of negroes and overseers upon them; buys successively also the

adjoining plantations of the Germans, at a good price. And as about fifteen families of our German brethren in the faith still remain in Goshen, having a small church and schoolhouse, who have been served with the means of grace by the late ministers, and up to this time by pastor Rabenhorst; hence this new scene or act, namely: Mr. Knox sends two German Moravian laborers, gives them one hundred and fifty acres of his land near our Lutheran church, and stipulates to allow ten or twelve negro slaves to cultivate the one hundred and fifty acres for the ministers. In return for this, the ministers are to instruct the negroes in the truths of christianity, &c. The overseer has already intimated in Ebenezer that they would ask the Lutherans in Goshen for their church. And I doubt not, according to their known method of insinuation, they will gain the most, if not all the remaining families in Goshen, and will also make an attempt on the adjoining Ebenezer. For their ways are adapted to awakened souls, &c. I have learned by experience that where strife and disunion have occurred in neighborhoods and congregations among the Germans in America, there black and white apostles have immediately appeared and tried to fish in the troubled waters, like eagles which have a keen sight and scent. Well, so be it. He who controls all things has all power given unto him in heaven and on earth. He is the keeper of Israel, and never sleeps nor slumbers. What he ordains or permits must finally conduce to the glorification of his great name, when all his enemies shall have been placed beneath his feet.

Jan. 8th, Sunday. To-day I sent a few lines to the Rev. Mr. Triebner, and requested him to publish, in Jerusalem church, that on next Thursday, God willing, the Rev. ministers, trustees and deacons should meet in the dwelling of the late pastor Boltzius. Pastor Rabenhorst took me with him to Zion's church, and preached there from the lesson of the day. The weather was rough and cold, and calculated to disturb one's devotions, even under the best sermon. His theme was "the cordial mercy of God." In the afternoon, at his request, I conducted the catechetical instruction. Reached home safely towards evening, and we were visited by Esquire Treutlen.

Jan. 9th, Monday. To-day Esquire Treutlen, as his Majesty's Justice of the Peace, acknowledged the obligation of the Rev. Rabenhorst to the Fathers, to which I had to testify on oath as witness, as it could not otherwise be recorded. Mr. Rabenhorst and wife went to Ebenezer to bury Mr. Kronberger, whose name appears in the narratives, and who died yesterday. He was of Reformed parentage, and died in faith.

Towards evening Rev. Dr. Zubly arrived here, who communicated to us in the evening his manuscript, latin dissertation pro gradu Doctoris, which will shortly be printed. We spent a pleasant evening with each other in this vale of tears. Oh how happy we shall be, when we shall have divested ourselves of the infirmities which beset us here!

Jan. 10th, Tuesday. Added a few lines to the six sheets, packed them and gave them to Mr. Rossberg to take to Savannah, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Frederick Ziegenhagen, to be sent whenever a vessel sails from Savannah to London. On the 8th of January I received a letter from my son Frederick, at New York, dated the evening of the third Sunday in Advent, 1774, in which, among other things, he informs me that the Evangelical brethren of our confession intend, God willing, to hold for the first time a minister's conference (eine prediger conferentz) in New York next April. Towards evening Rev. Dr. Zubly returned from Purisburg, where he had preached in English, and refreshed us during the evening with christian conversation.

Jan. 11th, Wednesday. Pastor Rabenhorst feeling even more indisposed than myself, permitted me to ride to Zion's church, and *a.* to catechise the school children, and afterwards *b.* to instruct catechetically, for edification, the old and young in the church, where about twenty children and a small number of adults were present. In the afternoon I prepared an obligation for use to-morrow, in order to ascertain whether Mr. J. C. Wertsch is as good a friend of our Rev. Fathers in Europe as he professes. It reads thus: "Know all men by these presents, that I, John Caspar Wertsch, of Ebenezer, in his Majesty's province of Georgia, merchant, am holden and firmly bound unto the Rev. Frederick Ziegenhagen, his Majesty's chaplain in the German chapel at St. James's, London, and the Rev. Augustus Urlsperger, president of the Rev. Protestant Ministry in Augsburg, both very worthy members of the venerable society in London for promoting christian knowledge, and pro tem. the surviving founders, trustees and directors of and for the protestant Lutheran congregation, professing and holding the Augustan Confession and Liturgy in and about Ebenezer, in Georgia, in the penal sum of six hundred pounds, sterling money, to be paid unto the said Rev. Messrs. Frederick Ziegenhagen and Augustus Urlsperger, or either of them, his or their certain attornies or assigns; for the true payment whereof, I do bind myself, my heirs, executors and administrators, firmly by these presents, sealed with my seal, dated this twelfth day of January, in the fifteenth year of the reign of

our sovereign king George the third, A. D. one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

The condition of this obligation is such, that if the above bounden gentleman, John Caspar Wertsch, his heirs, executors or administrators (at any time or day ensuing, after warning or due notice is given) shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Rev. Messrs. Frederick Ziegenhagen and Augustus Urlsperger, trustees and directors of and for the above said protestant congregation, or either of them surviving, his or their certain attornies or assigns, the full and just sum of three hundred pounds sterling, good and lawful money of Great Britain, with lawful interest; then this obligation to be void and of none effect, or else to stand and remain in full force and virtue.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

[The above is English in the original.—Translator.

To-day, Jan. 11th, I gave Dr. Zubly the bond of pastor Rabenhorst, to have it recorded in the office at Savannah, if it should be accepted.

Jan. 12th, Thursday. This is the day appointed for the meeting of the vestry in the late dwelling of the deceased Rev. Boltzius. I feared it. Pastor Rabenhorst took me, and his wife took my wife with her. We, viz: Mr. Rabenhorst and I went first to church and heard parson Triebner, who preached his week day sermon and catechised from Matt. 2: "of the wise men from the east.

The following were present at the vestry meeting, namely:

a. The ministers, Christian Rabenhorst, Christopher Frederick Triebner. b. The trustees, John Flörl, John Michael, Joseph Schubtrein, David Steiner. c. The deacons (vorsteher) Esquire Treutlen, Esquire Waldhauer, Ulrich Neidlinger, Samuel Kraas and Christian Steiner.

After much discussion the following resolutions were passed:

1. *Resolved*, That the people in Bethany shall ordinarily, if possible, have public worship every fourth Sunday, to be conducted by the minister living nearest to them. This resolution was signed as a law by the above mentioned members of the vestry, and regularly attested.

2. *Resolved*, That the ten pounds sterling given by the venerable society in London, for the support of a schoolmaster, be paid into the treasury of the congregation, for their schoolmasters, and that the poor who cannot contribute anything for the schooling of their children shall apply to the vestry.

3. *Resolved*, That Ulrich Neidlinger shall be the teacher in the town.

4. Mühlenberg read the copy of the bond given by pastor Rabenhorst to the Rev. directors in Europe.

5. It was agreed that next Sunday the members of the congregation be invited to meet on Monday morning at the Jerusalem church, to hear the church discipline read. Those approving it will then subscribe it. There was a terrible storm of wind to-day, which shook the houses; fire also broke out in the forest near Ebenezer, which raged furiously on account of the resin in the pine, fir and cypress trees, and among the brushwood. Towards evening we returned home to pastor Rabenhorst's.

Jan. 13, Friday. To-day Mr. Rabenhorst drove to Savannah to hold confession or preparatory services to-morrow with our brethren of the faith in that place; and on next Sunday to administer the Lord's Supper. My daughter accompanied him to speak with Captain Bunner, who expects to sail for Philadelphia next February. In the afternoon I instructed for pastor Rabenhorst an adult young man, Benjamin William Burneman, who came with his now deceased parents into this country from Göttingen, and desires to be instructed and confirmed in the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine. In the evening I meditated for next Sunday.

Jan. 14th, Saturday. I had troublesome dreams last night; meditated; afternoon instructed Burneman.

Jan. 15th, Sunday. Drove early, accompanied by Mrs. Rabenhorst, to Ebenezer; stopped at Mr. John C. Wertsch's. I preached in the morning in the Jerusalem church from the gospel John, 2, 1 seq: "of the first miracle of our Savior, and his glory manifested thereby." In the afternoon parson Triebner catechised very edifyingly from the epistle of the day. I published after the morning service, that all the male communing members of the Ebenezer congregation, who belong to Jerusalem, Zion and Bethany churches, should meet here in the Jerusalem church to-morrow morning, to hear the church discipline read and to subscribe it. The contemplated congregational meeting was terrible to me, and made me fearful and despondent. I cast myself in prayer on my all sufficient and all controlling Savior, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth. He also can deliver all who trust in him. Congregational meetings are terrible to me.

Jan. 16th, Monday. Early in the morning I laid before Mr. John Caspar Wertsch the obligation for the £300 sterling in his possession, due to our Rev. Fathers in London and Augsburg, that he might execute it, and he signed it before me and another witness. It removed a stone from my heart.

At 10 a. m., the meeting in Jerusalem church was opened. I commenced with a prayer, and afterwards read the church discipline slowly and distinctly, which occupied an hour and a half. This having been effected, I stated that whosoever wished now to be a member of this Ebenezer congregation, according to its constitution, and to partake of its benefits, should subscribe his name, as had been done already by both ministers, the trustees, deacons and some members. The Bethany people wanted to know first how this was to be understood? That if they were served every fourth Sunday by the minister living in the village, the laborer was worthy of his food and hire! Parson Triebner answered: He would serve them gratis; but, as was reasonable, they must provide necessary food, &c., for him, and fodder for his horse, whenever he preached for them. They promised to do so. They then commenced and subscribed their names successively, which also occupied about two hours. I was seated near at hand, on the damp floor, to be an eye-witness of each one's signature. The whole having been finished, pastor Triebner concluded with prayer. At our departure the Bethany people again assailed me, and said they wanted to have as much public worship as the members of Zion's church, who had it every two weeks; moreover, if one minister was sick, then the other should not preach alternately in the two oldest churches, but exclusively in Jerusalem church, because this one stood in the centre. I replied that I could not alter anything in the church discipline, as it was now subscribed, and it prescribed that the services of the two ministers should be thus conducted until further directions from our Rev. directors in Europe. If they had any complaints they should lodge them with the vestry. It is sheer envy with which some one or other has infected the queer Bethanians; they desire the Jerusalem church to be the parent, and Zion only a child, like Bethany, and then they would be satisfied. But I find that from the beginning Zion had public worship every second Sunday, and that the most of the remaining Saltzburgers dwell in that neighborhood, &c. Towards evening I felt symptoms of an inflammatory fever, and therefore walked with parson Triebner to the churchyard at Ebenezer, and visited the graves of the former beloved but now sleeping laborers, the late brethren Boltzius, Gronau and Lemke, searching whether there remained not a little space there also for my body. On my return to my lodgings at Mr. Wertsch's, the ebullition in my massa fluida, the heat and weakness in all my limbs increased. Mr. Wertsch gave me a dose of pulv. antispasm, which did good service, so that

I could write and copy till midnight concerning the intended legacy of Mr. Wertsch, which is yet in suspense; until things go according to his wishes.

Jan. 17th, Tuesday. In the morning I went to the justice of the peace, Esquire Waldhauer, and had the obligation received from Mr. Wertsch acknowledged, so that I might have it recorded in Savannah, in case the original should be lost. Parson Triebner conveyed me home in his chaise to Rev. Rabenhorst's, where I learned that my poor wife had been quite sick during my absence.

Pastor Rabenhorst held divine worship to-day in Goshen, and among his hearers were the two newly arrived, so called, Moravian missionaries, with whom he afterwards conversed. Towards evening we were visited by Esquire Treutlen on his way to Savannah.

The acknowledgement of the aforesaid obligation reads as follows:

GEORGIA, PARISH OF ST. MATTHEW :

Before me, Jacob C. Waldhauer, one of his Majesty's justices assigned to keep the peace for said parish, appeared the Rev. Mr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, and made oath that he saw the within named John Jaspar Wertsch sign, seal and, as his act and deed, deliver the within instrument of writing for the use therein mentioned, and that he also saw Charles McCay, the other subscribing witness, sign his name.

HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

Sworn this 17th day of January, 1775, before me,

JACOB C. WALDHAUER.

The present vestry of the Ebenezer congregation request me to appoint and hold another meeting of the vestry, and to urge the former vestry to deliver the protocol and all other matters into their hands, as it is said that in three weeks a vessel will sail from Savannah to Philadelphia, and I intend to join it with my family, God willing. I feel again febrile symptoms to-day, which may be caused by my sitting so long yesterday in the damp church.

From Jan. 19th till Saturday, Jan. 21st, I recorded seven sheets of the original of the church discipline introduced in Ebenezer, in a special book in which pastor Rabenhorst had already written three and a half sheets full.

On Saturday I commenced writing to the Rev. directors, Ziegenhagen and senior Urlsperger, namely : four small sheets

full, in which is contained a copy of Mr. John J. Wertsch's obligation to the Rev. Fathers, and dated the letter Jan. 21st.

Jan. 22d, third Sunday past Epiphany. Pastor Rabenhorst and his wife drove early to the village of Ebenezer, where pastor Triebner preached in the morning, and both ministers administered the Lord's Supper to one hundred and thirty communicants, and pastor Rabenhorst catechised in the afternoon from the epistle-lesson. I remained at home with my sick wife; we had our devotions and confessional services, and received the Lord's Supper together. Towards evening the father and mother of the family returned safely home through the cold rain.

Jan. 23d, Monday. Received intelligence from Savannah that Captain Bunner intends sailing with his vessel for Philadelphia, God willing, on the 10th of February. To-day I wrote two small sheets full to Rev. William Pasche, containing some particulars of how matters went here, dated them to-day, Jan. 23d, and enclosed them separately in the four sheets to our venerable fathers. At my request, Rev. Triebner sent me the protocol containing the proceedings in the vestry meetings, as I wished to record in it the most necessary parts of the transactions of the congregational and vestry meetings during my sojourn here.

Jan. 24th and 25th, Tuesday and Wednesday. I recorded in the protocol of the vestry the transactions of Nov. 22, and Dec. 28, 1774, also of Jan. 12 and 16, 1775.

Jan. 26th, Thursday. Mary Margaret, from Zwei-Brück, in Kirckel, who is now the widow Leimberger, daughter of Hieronymus Staut, has a brother in Pennsylvania, John Peter Staut; the sister wishes to send a letter to him from this place; it is to be left at the tavern in Bethlehem.

Jan. 27th and 28th, Friday and Saturday. I wrote, by way of trial, a declaration of trust, referring to an intended legacy of Mr. J. C. Wertsch, and sent it to-day, Jan. 28, to him and Mr. Triebner. It will probably not be acceptable to him, but I cannot view it in any other light. Was bled to-day again on account of oppression on the lungs and headache. Visit from Esquire Treutlen.

[*Note by Translator.*—The declaration of trust alluded to was in reference to £500, Georgia currency, at eight per cent., which Mr. Wertsch intended to bequeath, or give during his lifetime; whether it was done will probably appear in this journal or elsewhere. I will omit the long technicalities, and give only the "conditions," by which it will appear that the Lutheran church did then, as it has, always, taken a deep interest in the cause of education, both male and female; a reproach to our days. The original is English.]

“ Now these presents witness that it is hereby declared and acknowledged by the said John Wertsch, John Flörl and Christopher Cremer, that the said bond or obligation and condition thereunder written, and the sum of money and the interest growing due thereon, was made payable to them, together with him, the said John Wertsch, at the request of the said John Wertsch, the same being for a like sum of money, given, devised and bequeathed by the said generous donor, John Wertsch, for the uses and purposes following: 1st; that is to say *in primis*: The interest resulting from three hundred pounds of the said legacy shall be yearly paid unto one protestant Lutheran assistant minister, professing and holding the articles of the Augustan Confession and Liturgy, and subscribing the fundamental articles, constitution and rules of the congregation in and about Ebenezer, in Georgia, who is, or is to be sent, regularly examined and ordained by the Rev. Dr. Ziegenhagen, his Britanic Majesty's chaplain, Rev. Dr. John Augustus Urlsperger and Rev. Dr. Anastasius Freylinghausen, directors of the said congregation, and their chosen successors, sent with the approbation of the venerable society in London for promoting christian knowledge, or their committee, upon *condition*, such an assistant minister be able and willing to instruct our youth in the principles of our holy protestant religion, to educate and prepare young people for liberal arts and traffick, in the town of Ebenezer, under the discreet inspection of the ordinary Rev. ministers of the said congregation, and to aid the said minister or ministers in their holy functions on Sundays and Feast days. Such an assistant minister as aforesaid, shall receive the interest resulting from three hundred pounds of the said legacy every year, towards his support and maintenance during his good behaviour and life. Secondly: the interest arising from the remaining two hundred pounds of the said legacy, shall be yearly paid towards the support of a pious and virtuous school mistress of our persuasion, who is qualified to instruct and teach our young girls in spelling and reading, in needle work, knitting and other necessary branches and also to train them up in the fear and nurture of the Lord; and the said institution for girls shall likewise be in the town of Ebenezer, under the inspection of the ordinary and assistant ministers and their successors, and the generous donor during his lifetime, &c., &c.”

Jan. 29th, Sunday; fourth past Epiphany. I went with pastor Rabenhorst to Zion, and preached in the morning from the pericope Matt. 8, 23 seq: In the afternoon Rev. Rabenhorst

catechised very edifyingly from the epistle "on love, which is the fulfilment of the law."

Jan. 30th, Monday, was the day appointed in both churches for the meeting in pastor Boltzcius' late dwelling of the two ministers, trustees, old and new vestrymen, to arrange yet various matters. Mr Rabenhorst took me with him to Ebenezer, and we alighted at parson Triebner's. Mr. Triebner appeared very anxious, &c., especially because the deacons of two years ago were to deliver their archives to the now ruling vestry. He feared treachery, &c., and agitated anew with me and pastor Rabenhorst, the old difficulties, and declared that he had suffered much persecution, that he was innocent in all, and that I must answer it before the judgment seat of God, if I reported otherwise to the Reverend Fathers, &c. I answered, that I neither could nor would report anything but the facts on both sides. He objected again to the church discipline, notwithstanding he himself had subscribed it, and thought we must not convert it into an idol, and need not be bound so very closely to it, but had liberty to alter it; the deacons who supported his side were the lawful ones, and the others on Mr. Rabenhorst's side should be removed, notwithstanding they were elected legally by a majority of the votes of the church members, and their time will expire at Easter; boasted that his opponents had been confounded, Nov. 23d, and more bitter and disgusting nonsense of the same kind.

Pastor Rabenhorst was made sad, and became depressed thereby, and I almost lost my spirits too, and thought that all my exertions to sustain Mr. Triebner honorably, to unite both parties were in vain. It is lamentable when a preacher is to instruct others, and to be an example to the congregation, and has not even sense enough to govern and conduct himself properly. At 11 a. m. the meeting was opened in pastor Boltzcius's former dwelling. After prayer, 1) I requested Mr. Triebner to read to the meeting the first copy of the original of the church discipline, made by Mr. Rabenhorst and me, and I compared it with the original, signed by the congregation, to see whether it was correct. Mr. Triebner paused repeatedly and made observations. A deacon enquired whether Mr. Triebner was in the meeting to alter the church discipline or to form a new one? Whether he had not been requested by me to read the copy to the meeting, that it might be known whether it agreed perfectly with the original? To avoid recrimination, I answered that remarks would not be injurious, and we must have patience. The deacons declared that not a letter, much less a word, could or should be added to or subtract-

ed from the church discipline—it having been adopted, approved and subscribed by the whole congregation. The reading and comparing being ended, it was resolved that each minister should have a certified copy of the church discipline, and one should be prepared also, to be sent by me to the Rev. directors.

2. I read to the meeting the transactions and resolutions of Nov. 22 and Dec. 28, 1774, as also of Jan. 12 and 16, 1775, recorded by me in the protocol of the vestry, and enquired whether there was anything to say about it? Answer: no.

3. It was resolved unanimously, that if one of the ministers was sick, and only one could attend to the duties of the office, in that case he might hold the public worship on Sunday, in the village of Ebenezer, it being situated in the centre, and therefore more convenient for all the members.

4. Resolved unanimously and recorded, that henceforth no resolution shall be passed against the adopted discipline, except what might be necessary to explain it. 5. According to the church discipline, an election was held for deputy trustees, overseers and managers of the mill establishment, and the following were elected by a majority of votes: 1. John Caspar Wertsch, as treasurer; 2. John Flörl, Joseph Schubdrein and David Steiner as overseers. 6. The important question came up for decision, what was to be done in future with the grist and saw mills; whether they should be rented, as was the case during the superintendence of pastor Rabenhorst, or whether they should be conducted by the congregation itself? Mr. Triebner and his advisers, having in former times sought to throw suspicion upon Mr. Rabenhorst, as though he had arbitrarily obtained the management of the mills, and by renting the mills had injured the congregation, and also contending it would be more profitable for the congregation, if the trustees were to conduct the mills for and in the name of the congregation; therefore, it was necessary to decide the question. Mr. Triebner then advised that they should be conducted directly by the congregation. It was maturely considered, 1) that the congregation would have to hire a miller, who must be paid about £30 sterling wages, and be found his boarding; 2) an overseer or manager would be required, who would probably need, likewise, about £30 or £40 sterling salary; 3) the miller would also require a servant or help; 4) wagons and horses, and likewise strong laborers or else dear slaves would be wanted at the saw mills, who would not be able to feed on the wind; 5) the mills would need repairing and preservation. The saw mill often stood idle for months and days

in the year, for want of water, and the slaves and horses would have to be supported, whether they earned anything or not. If, therefore, the congregation must bear the expenses, with much care and labor, most probably the pound would be converted into a shilling, and the shilling into a penny. The whole meeting, therefore, saw that pastor Rabenhorst had acted wisely and prudently as chief overseer, in renting the mills to a worthy member of the congregation for £37 sterling, until Mr. Triebner asserted his authority as trustee, and denounced Mr. Rabenhorst as a usurper and unjust steward, and induced him to resign. All the members, even Mr. Triebner's adherents, now voted unanimously that they should be rented again, if they were to benefit and not injure the congregation. Mr. Triebner alone could or would not understand it, perhaps because he remembered the unreasonable and sinful accusations with which he wronged Mr. Rabenhorst, as though he had defrauded the congregation, inasmuch as he rented the mills while superintendent, and benefited the congregation £37 sterling annually. I reminded Mr. Triebner that in such things, pertaining to economy, he had better let the fathers judge, who were best acquainted with them, and in preference attend to the duties of that office to which he was called.

The members voted unanimously to rent them again, all except Mr. Triebner; neither does it seem consistent, after having said that Mr. Rabenhorst had defrauded the congregation, because he advised that the mills should be rented, then to vote that it would be best to rent them. If a theologian once asserts that original sin is the substance or essence of man, then he must adhere to it, though it cost body and life, property, honor, child and wife, it might otherwise injure the dignity of our holy office.

The man who had rented the mills was asked whether he would rent them again? But he complained that the saw mill had been standing idle for some time for want of water; that the timber for boards had to be brought much further than formerly, that nearer at hand having been used in past years, and that now it was said that the lumber business would be broken, upon account of the disputes between England and the American colonies. After some conversation, he agreed to rent the grist mills again, for five years from Jan. 1st, 1775, but that he would pay no rent for the saw mill if he could not use it. This was recorded so, and all the resolutions passed to-day were signed by the members of the vestry. Finally, the vestry of Mr. Triebner, who had served two years ago, gave to the present vestry the chest in which were contained

the accounts of the collections contributed by the congregation, together with receipts and expenditures, as also Mr. Wertsch's account of the building of Jerusalem church. I placed in the same chest *a.* the original church and congregational constitution, written with my own hand, and signed by the congregation; *b.* the protocol, or book of vestry transactions, &c.; *c.* the copy of pastor Rabenhorst's obligation to the Rev. directors; *d.* also the obligation of Mr. Wertsch to the same, and I gave one key of it to pastor Rabenhorst, as president of the vestry, for the time being, and the other key, together with a list of contents, to Esquire Waldhauer.

The old deacons complained again, and desired that they should also have weekly, a sermon on the catechism in Bethany. Pastor Triebner said that he would continue as hitherto to do so, as much as possible. It was entered upon the protocol. But they were not yet satisfied therewith, for one of the former deacons of pastor Triebner's party, remarked that they would write to our Rev. Fathers, and request that the Bethany people might in all things be held equal, i. e., to speak more plainly, that the people around Zion should not have more public worship than those around Bethany.

The worthy English Jerusalem's church in the village must be the parent, and Bethany and Zion the children! and if in future Mr. Triebner is to be instructed or permitted to meddle with the external government, beyond the sphere of his office, then it may be said, *oleum et operam perdidi*; for he does not understand it, and cannot even govern himself. It appears to me like a certain case that occurred hereabouts. The carpenters had a dispute about a building, and both parties appealed to the court and requested a decision. As is customary here, the court appointed two arbitrators or umpires, to investigate and decide the matter. One arbitrator was a respectable, distinguished tailor, the other a baker. Eminent as they may have been in their respective *metiers* or trades, yet they were unable to determine the suit; for the carpenters laughed at and derided the needle, and would not let themselves be kneaded in the dough trough, still less be shoved into the oven. I notified the congregation that, God willing, next Sunday I would make a few farewell remarks in the Jerusalem church, and next Monday would depart with my family to Savannah, as it was reported that a ship would sail for Philadelphia on the 10th of February. Pastor Rabenhorst conveyed me home to his house in the evening, through the cold air, in consequence of which I felt renewed oppression on my breast.

Jan. 31st, Tuesday. At the request of an affianced and proclaimed couple in the congregation, and with consent of both the ministers, I drove to Zion's church and performed the marriage ceremony, and there I found Mr. Treutlen, who, in the name of the vestry, compelled me to take £15 sterling, as a part of my traveling expenses, necessity having compelled me to journey there in company. It was indeed necessary for me, but hard to accept it. It is difficult for me to discern the will of God in my contemplated journey. On the one hand, my sick wife is anxious to be at home; in Spring the flames of war will probably burst forth, for the rod has been laying for some time already in Massachusetts bay, upon the neighborhood, and is being laid on still thicker; or the axe is already laid at the root of the tree, and therefore a person might be most necessary to his own family. On the other hand, the sea voyage in winter is wearisome and dangerous, accompanied with storms, &c., so that one may be easily wrecked and perish. I am old and infirm; can no longer endure hard knocks; have a sick and feeble wife with me, and a poor child who has accompanied and attended upon her parents with filial obedience and simplicity; to remain in Ebenezer yet awhile might be beneficial, as the wound, though stitched and bound up, is not yet healed, and requires further attention; and the vestry in Charleston have urged me much to remain a month with them and compose a necessary church discipline; and from Charleston I could reach Philadelphia in better weather, and with a more suitable opportunity. As human beings and christians, we are bound to act according to reason and revelation; to have reasons why so or otherwise; to commit prayerfully and humbly, the case to the all-disposing Lord; to consider the circumstances through which our kind Father reveals his will. A little puff of wind can easily destroy my tabernacle, be it on land or on water. He is the Lord, let him do as it pleaseth him. Whosoever asketh of him a fish, will not receive a serpent. Faithful is the Lord, and there is no deceit in him; he is gracious, merciful, long suffering and of great goodness. "Commit thy ways to God and trust in him, &c."

Moreover, I think it might not be as agreeable to our Rev. Fathers in Europe, to my children and friends in America, as to my enemies, if I were to endanger myself without urgent necessity and good reasons, and should perish, especially as I myself regard it yet as a serious matter to appear suddenly before the Lord, seeing that for many years past I have lived in diversion of mind, through continual strifes in congregation, and like an axletree, have had to digest various heterogeneous

substances, and could not collect my thoughts sufficiently, and prepare myself properly for the important change from time to eternity.

To-day pastor Rabenhorst rode to Goshen to hold public worship. The Moravian emissary held his first meeting on the plantation last Sunday, and preached in broken English. He exerted himself also very much to build up his interests in the Lutheran church there, or else to erect a church for himself near to it. A person acquainted with the state of things, told him that the Ebenezer congregation and its associates had hitherto been served by regularly called Evangelical Lutheran ministers and pastors, and as he had been called to instruct the negro slaves, we wished him God speed and success to it, and if they had any superfluous time and strength, there were yet enough other inhabitants and Indians in Georgia who were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, and needed much help for instruction and conversion. What will be the further consequences time will show.

Feb. 1st, Wednesday. This morning pastor Rabenhorst, accompanied by his wife, went to Zion to hold public worship. In the afternoon I took a walk with Mr. Rabenhorst to see the arrangement of his plantation and his negro slaves: *parturiunt montes, &c.* It would be desirable that all the negro slaves in America were provided for as well as the few on this place.—The All-wise and Almighty Creator has made all things in beautiful and graduated order in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdom, from the greatest to the least, from the highest to the lowest degree; thus too, I find the same variety in the political body of the human race, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, the *posteriora* or *viæ excrementitiæ* not excepted, which, as B. Lutherus remarks, belong to the body also, &c., &c.

Feb. 2d, Thursday. Recommenced writing to our Reverend Fathers from where I left off, namely: from Jan. 24th to Jan. 31st. Extracts from this journal. That which occurred Jan. 31st with the Moravian emessaries in Goshen, I omitted. In the afternoon we were visited by the Honorable Clement Martin, a member of the council in Savannah, and proprietary of Abercorn; he was accompanied by his wife and daughter. He spoke much about the present contest between England and North America, that is, according to his own way of thinking.

Feb. 3d, Friday. Finished writing to our Rev. Fathers, dated three and a half small sheets Feb. 3d, addressed to court

chaplain Ziegenhagen. Visited by Mr. West and wife, of Goshen. Received a letter from Esquire Miller, of Savannah. In the evening had edifying conversation with pastor Rabenhorst.

Feb. 4th, Saturday. I copied to-day what is written in the fourth part of this journal concerning the grant to the Jerusalem church, and added to it the following, to lay before the Governor if possible. [*Transl.*—English in the original.]

May it please his Majesty's excellent and honorable Representatives graciously to consider:

1. The inestimable constitution of the British Empire has established one church, and allows in his Majesty's dominions liberty of conscience and free exercise of the protestant religion. And the church of England is catholic, spirited and indulgent, and has never yet forced or pressed any protestant denomination into her jurisdiction. 2. This indulging toleration animated many thousand frugal and industrious Germans to leave their native country, to settle and improve the North and South American provinces. 3. In the year of our Lord 1732-33, a number of Saltzburghers and German protestants were invited by the honorable trustees of Georgia for moving to Georgia, and received assurance by hand and seal to enjoy liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their protestant Lutheran religion, *according to the articles of the Augustan Confession, use, rites and ceremonies.*

4. The honorable society in London for promoting christian knowledge, was pleased to call and send two German ministers of the *aforesaid Augustan Confession and Liturgy* along with the said colony, and stipulated or covenanted to grant a yearly support for maintaining the said Lutheran ministers and their successors, which the said venerable society has faithfully performed to this very day.

5. After the said congregation had cleared some land with unspeakable labors and hardships, they began to build a small town, called Ebenezer, and were supplied with collections of charitable gifts, large and small, from Germany and London, amounting to several large sums of money and goods, and enjoyed the free exercise of their protestant religion uninterrupted.

6. In the years of our Lord 1767-1768, the congregation built a house of worship for divine service, *according to their Augustan Confession, rites and ceremonies*, in Ebenezer town, by their own contributions, but falling short, they made application to their former benefactors in Germany and London, and received about £300 sterling towards the said building. 7. When all was done, an elder of our congregation, Mr. John

Wertsch, did humbly petition his Majesty's excellent representative for a grant. And to the astonishment and grief of the congregation, we find a mistake in the said grant, because our house of worship and lots in Ebenezer town are granted to the jurisdiction of the church of England, for her rites, ceremonies, use and benefit, &c., which created disharmony and unhappy disputes in our congregation, and may terrify thousands of our fellow German protestants, his Majesty's North American loyal subjects indeed, who are of the same profession, if they should hear of it. 8. Moreover, it may perhaps hurt the interests of his Majesty's American provinces, which are to be peopled and cultivated yet, if a report should spread that a free exercise of protestant religion was abridged. 9. At least it may break our congregation, in case the error could not be rectified. For the salary of the two ministers ariseth from a legacy or fund lodged into the hands of the venerable society in London for promoting christian knowledge, and the yearly interest thereof is strictly devised for two Lutheran ministers officiating in the congregation in and about Ebenezer, *according to the Augustan Confession and Liturgy*, and to no other intent and purpose whatsoever; the members of the Ebenezer congregation would require their contributions, given towards the building, back, and the founders and benefactors in London, &c., have it in their power to recover their sums of money they have laid out for the rise and progress of the Lutheran congregation in and about Ebenezer, in Georgia, by obligations lodged in their hands. Your excellency's most humble and most obedient servant is an admirer and friend of the established church, and acquainted with the illustrious and venerable societies in London for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, and for promoting christian knowledge, and is of most humble opinion that both societies aforesaid, yea his Majesty himself, may in condescension wish to see this little spark quenched, and the matter redressed, for many good reasons, by your excellency's innate wisdom and rectitude, which adoreth and imploreth.

HENRY MUHLENBERG.

By appointment and order of the representatives of the German protestant Lutheran congregation in and about Ebenezer, your most humble petitioner.

EBENEZER, Jan. 31, 1775.

Memorandum.—The lots and buildings in Ebenezer were intended and improved for the only use, benefit and behoof of the protestant Lutheran congregation in and about Ebenezer, according to the Augustan confession, the fundamental articles,

constitution and rules of the said congregation. To the trustees and their successors to be chosen by the representatives of the said congregation.

Feb. 5th, Sunday, fifth past Epiphany. In the morning pastor Rabenhorst conveyed me to Mr. Triebner's. I preached in Jerusalem church, as a farewell, from John 20, 19: "Peace be with you." Pastor Rabenhorst blessed a woman who was churched, and parson Triebner baptized a child. I bade farewell also to Mr. Wertsch, John Michel. Widow Buntzin enquires after her brother, Jacob Mohr; he is said to have been at Adam Erben's. In the afternoon pastor Rabenhorst catechised from the epistle of the day, in an exceedingly animated, profound and edifying manner. In the evening we returned home; Mr. Treutlen accompanied us, and we spent the evening in singing and in prayer.

Feb. 6th, Monday. We took an affectionate and affecting leave of Mrs. Rabenhorst, our foster mother. "The king's daughter is all glorious within." Like a precious gem is so humble a soul! Pastor Rabenhorst took me in his chaise, and had also provided one for my wife and daughter. I was almost ashamed that so many kind hearted men, &c., accompanied us twenty miles, out of love, even to Savannah; namely: 1, Joseph Schubdrein; 2, Ulrich Neidlinger; 3, Krauss; 4, David Steiner; 5, Christian Steiner; 6, Remshard; 7, Gugel; 8, Dr. Davies, till to Goshen; 9, the wife of Christian Steiner; 10, Mrs. Waldhauer, &c.

In Goshen we visited the honorable Clement Martin, member of the council, with whom we conferred concerning the grant to the Jerusalem church. He advised us that we should speak to the Governor to-day yet, and pastor Rabenhorst should introduce me, because he was esteemed and respected.

To-day it was already as warm as in Pennsylvania during the summer. At 3 p. m., with God's blessing, we arrived safely, though somewhat fatigued, in Savannah. We changed our clothes, and at 4 p. m. we went to the Governor's house, but he had rode out. At 5 o'clock the servant called us to the Governor. He welcomed us in a friendly manner, read my credentials, and said he was ready and willing to serve us in any manner. I took him at his word, and told him that we had a special request and concern, in regard to the Jerusalem's church in Ebenezer, and if that matter could be rectified, we and the congregation would be exceedingly gratified. He replied that he knew of the subject, and had requested the king's attorney to give his opinion upon it. To-morrow the council would convene, and if the king's attorney had examined and

finished the case, it would doubtless be brought before council for action. I enquired whether we must prepare a petition concerning it, and hand it in to-morrow? He answered, it was unnecessary, having been committed to the king's attorney. I asked whether his Excellency thought it would be proper for us to speak to the king's attorney about it this evening yet, as I was afraid he might not have the whole matter in its regular connection, and I had therefore prepared some minutes regarding it. He said it would be well to do so. The Governor appeared almost to wonder that I had been here already three months, and had not visited him, and intended to leave already. I answered that I had spent the time in the country at Ebenezer. He invited us to dine with him the day after to-morrow. Pastor Rabenhorst excused himself on account of returning home soon, &c. In the evening I went to the king's attorney, but did not find him at home, but his assistant or partner, Esquire Robinson, was at hand, who read my credentials and examined my written minutes and promised to deliver them to the king's attorney. I offered him a fee, but he refused it, and told me I would find the king's attorney at home to-morrow at 10, a. m.

Feb. 7th, Tuesday. At ten a. m. went again to the attorney's dwelling. His partner, Esquire Robinson, said that he had already gone to the council, and taken my minutes with him. Parson Rabenhorst, my wife and I dined at Dr. Zubly's, who showed us the third part of Dr. Walch's church history, which he had borrowed from Mr. Miller, the Zinzendorf emissary. In the evening a visit from the step-mother of Mr. Matthew Meyer's wife, who brought a letter to be given to Mr. Matthew Meyer. The wife of Herman Herson, (the sister of the late Melchior Lange) living at this place, also brought a letter for Mr. Henry Nagle, of Philadelphia, viz: that Mr. Henry Nagle should have the account attested before a justice in Philadelphia, and send it to Mr. Herman Herson, when it would be paid. Mrs. Miller entrusted to my wife *a.* five dollars; *b.* Mrs. Ounselt one-half dollar; *c.* Mrs. Dieter one-half dollar; and the six dollars are to be given to young Gottlieb Millen, in Philadelphia. Hannah Ounselt is his god-mother.

I copied the minutes concerning the Jerusalem's church, which I gave to the king's attorney, and gave the copy to pastor Rabenhorst, and also wrote a few lines to Mrs. Rabenhorst, as Mr. Rabenhorst intends returning home early in the morning. Mr. Rabenhorst ended the evening with fervent, believing prayer, in whose special petition he supplicated blessings upon me, my wife, and my daughter.

Feb. 8th, Wednesday. Pastor Rabenhorst took an affecting leave of us, and departed home. In the afternoon at 2 o'clock I went to Governor James Wright's and dined with him. He was just engaged in a conference with a mechanic lately arrived from London, who is acquainted with making improvements in mills and machines on rice plantations; an old quaker named Maddock was also with him, who had planted a colony of quakers in Augusta county. The Governor was very sociable and friendly, and gave me his word of honor that the matter of the Jerusalem's church in Ebenezer should be corrected and amended. To-day I wrote a letter to Messrs. Kemmel, Kalteisen and other friends in Charleston, informed them that I would commence my homeward journey from this place, and bade them adieu. In the evening I packed the two packets for our Rev. Fathers together, enclosed in it the letter for Charleston, and sent the whole to Rev. Dr. Zubly, who will add it to his bundle, and send it, as opportunity occurs, to Charleston.

Feb. 9th, Thursday. A visit from Capt. Bunner, who intimated that he would not sail before next Monday or Tuesday. I wrote a letter to the honorable Clement Martin, and informed him of the result of my visit to the Governor, undertaken by his advice, and bade him farewell. Dined at Dr. Zubly's, and spent the afternoon at his house in reading the third part of Dr. Walch's new history of religion. I received from parson Triebner the copy of the church discipline and a letter, per express from Ebenezer.

Feb. 10th, Friday. In the morning Dr. Zubly took and introduced me to the chief judge, Esquire Stock, who gave me a very friendly reception, read my recommendation from the Governor of Pennsylvania, and also the *speciem facti* concerning the Jerusalem's church in Ebenezer, and said it was a serious mistake about the grant to the jurisdiction of the established church. Dr. Zubly introduced me also to the president of the king's council, Mr. Habersham, who is sorely afflicted with the gout. I had seen this gentleman here thirty-two years ago, when he had the superintendence of Mr. Whitefield's orphan house, and had no gout. He read my passport and spoke a few words (as much as he could for pain and trembling) about the grant to the Jerusalem's church, and intimated that the petition of Mr. Wertsch for the grant to the high church might have been designedly preferred. Thence Dr. Zubly brought me to the Chancery office, where I wished to have the two obligations from pastor Rabenhorst and John Jasper Wertsch recorded. The secretary seemed to have a

dose of *spiritus confusionis*, but promised to have it all arranged till next Monday, after I had given him a fee or present. The Provincial Assembly being in session, Dr. Zubly went with me also there, to witness their proceedings. Thence we visited a sick woman, Mrs. Keller, who has been confined these ten months with a wasting and painful disease. She declared herself to be penitent and hungering and thirsting after Jesus Christ and his righteousness. She was converted under the ministry of pastor Rabenhorst, has a Reformed husband and two children (a son and a daughter) living. Her mother is an old widow near Philadelphia; her sister is married to Andrew Tag, in Kensington. She desired me to inform her mother of her situation, if I arrived safe at home. Thence I returned to my lodgings at Esquire Millen's. The schoolmaster at Zion in Ebenezer gave us farewell and journied home. I dined with my wife and daughter at Dr. Zubly's. In the afternoon and evening I read in Dr. Walch's new history of religion, third part.

Feb. 11th, Saturday. In the morning we were visited by Esquire Treutlen and his daughter. He wanted to attend the Assembly, but it was adjourned yesterday by the Governor till the month of May. A visit from Mrs. Herson, the wife of Herman Herson, who wished me to send her from Pennsylvania "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress," and gave me two dollars for that purpose. I saw a useful book for youth, called "The Holy Bible, both Old and New Testament, digested, illustrated and explained by way of question and answer. Designed for promoting christian knowledge. London, printed for J. Hinton in Newgate street; price six shillings." To-day we have violent rain and cold wind.

Feb. 12th, Sunday. In the morning, it being cold and windy, Dr. Zubly took me with him to his independent church, where German Reformed and Lutherans were gathered, to whom I preached from Isa. I. 10, 11. Dined at Mr. Gebel's, a married couple, whom Rev. Rabenhorst instructed and confirmed a few years since, and who strive to live worthy of their vocation. It is joyful to find such jewels in the sand here.—When Mr. Rabenhorst preaches in Savannah, he lodges with this family, like the two persons at Shunem, 2 Kings, 4, 9, 10. In the afternoon I preached in our Lutheran church from John 10, 12: "Christ the good shepherd," and afterwards catechised the youth. I was summoned to come immediately from the church to the president of the Royal council, namely, to Mr. Ebersham. He lay upon his couch afflicted with the gout. He said he could not immediately remind himself of

me, when I visited him last Friday, but he remembered afterwards seeing me here over thirty years ago, and also how intimate he had been with the late ministers, Boltzius, Gronau and Lemke, and had shown them kindness, &c. I stated that such had been the fact, as I had learned from the Ebenezer narratives, and thanked him for it. He sent for Rev. Piercy, who lodged with him, and who had been appointed by the Countess of Huntington to succeed Rev. Whitefield as president of the burnt orphan house, and had visited me last summer in Philadelphia. He (Ebersham) expressed many passing declarations of feeling the Savior in his senses, and admonished Mr. Piercy and me not to pause at party names in religion, but to lead men to Christ and him crucified: formerly he had hated the Moravians on account of offensive expressions in their hymns, &c., but since he had become acquainted with the newly arrived missionary, Mr. Müller, and had read Dr. Crantz's history, and found that among others, they had brought so many thousand negroes to Christ, who thereby had become exceedingly useful slaves for their masters; he would therefore now also send for a Moravian missionary for his slaves, who should make their hearts acquainted with the Savior, and convert them unto Christ.

Mr. Piercy answered, that the Savior could not be brought to the heart except through the understanding convinced, &c. Argument, however, is not of much avail with an honorable councilman, who is afflicted with the gout. He reverted to the perverted grant of the Jerusalem's church in Ebenezer, and said that it must by no means remain under the jurisdiction of the established church, but be led into its proper channel. But I cannot promise myself much from his good will, for it seems like a miniature of the great Pitt. The Americans always thought if this hero stood forth as their champion, all would be well; meanwhile, when the day of necessity comes, then it is said, he has the Podagra or Chiragra. Princes are men born of a woman, and return to their dust, &c. In the evening I had to go to our Lutheran church, as the successor of Mr. Whitefield, namely Mr. Piercy, intended to preach there in English, as he has done hitherto with permission of the vestry. A large assemblage was collected, too large for the church. He delivered a very animated and impressive discourse from Luke 6, 46: "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things I say?" He showed very conclusively "that justification and sanctification are inseparably connected in the divine council for our salvation; and what God had joined together no man dare put asunder; and insisted most earnestly upon a genuine

christian life according to the original of Jesus, who has given us an example, and has acquired for us sufficient powers and means? The clerk was a very pleasant precentor, and Dr. Watts's hymns and melodies made the singing delightful and impressive. The blessed Bernhard and Richter also have something of this exalted meekness from the condescending, intimate and exciting benevolence and graciousness of our Mediator the God-man, a small copy of which we find in Joseph: Gen. 50: 17, 21, and likewise in the apostles John and Paul, &c.

Feb. 13th, Monday. Headache and febrile symptoms from the cold wind and night air of yesterday. Esquire Treutlen took leave of us to-day, and journeyed home with his daughter, ten miles beyond Ebenezer. I wrote a few lines to the Secretary, and sent a friend with it to the Chancery office, in order to obtain again the recorded obligations, which he succeeded in obtaining, viz: 1. The obligation of pastor Rabenhorst and his estimable wife, Anna Barbara, to their reverences Ziegenhagen, Augustus Urlsperger and Anastasius Freylinghausen, for £649, 16sh, 5d, sterling, dated Jan. 2d, 1775, and is thus recorded here in Savannah in the office:

GEORGIA, SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

Recorded in book Y., folio 350 and 352, the 14th day of January, 1775.

THOMAS MOODIR, *Sec'y.*

2. Obligation of Mr. John Jasper Wertsch, to their reverences Frederick Ziegenhagen and Augustus Urlsperger, for £300 sterling, is dated Jan. 12, 1775, and is recorded as follows:

GEORGIA, SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

Recorded in book Y., folio 356 and 357, the 10th of February, 1775, &c.

THOMAS MOODIR, *Sec'y.*

Should hereafter the originals of these obligations be lost, the Rev. directors and their successors will always be able to obtain, by authority, originals from this office, for a few shillings, through some friend in Savannah, the Rev. Dr. Joachim Zubly, Stephen Millen, Esq., Mr. Eyrich, deacon of the Lutheran church in Savannah, or some one else.

Feb. 14th, Tuesday. To-day my wife, daughter and myself, dined at Rev. Dr. Zubly's. Towards evening the honorable chief Judge returned my visit. He spoke of learned matters formerly contested by Leibnitz and Clark—of Aristotle

and Wolf's philosophy—of the thirty-nine articles of the established church, &c.; he praised our Lutheran constitution, wished that more Germans might come and settle here; lauded the German industry and economy, and kindly offered if I had anything to be done here, and would write to him, he would attend to it. He was born in Wales, drinks only cold water, speaks cautiously and prudently. His address is, "To the honorable Anthony Stokes, Esq., Chief Judge in the province of Georgia, Savannah."

Feb. 15th, Wednesday. To-day I was attacked with violent vomiting, for which I could not assign any cause. I was compelled to go to bed. Towards evening I wrote to Mr. John Casper Wertsch, and enclosed the copy of the minutes which I gave Feb. 16th to the king's attorney, concerning Jerusalem church. Also wrote to parson Triebner. In the evening a visit and edifying conversation from Dr. Zubly. He gave me something to take along for Mr. Sauer, &c., in Pennsylvania.

Feb. 16th, Thursday. Wrote another farewell to parson Rabenhorst. I was visited by the Lutheran deacons of this place, who offered me a present, but I would not receive it.

At noon our traveling baggage was conveyed to the ship, it being reported that to-morrow, God willing, we would sail. In the afternoon I visited Mr. Eurich, a deacon of our Savannah congregation, who has friends in Philadelphia. I received an English letter from a good friend, in which he states that he had spoken to the first gentlemen in Savannah on my account, and that all of them well meaningly advised that I should not commence my homeward journey, but wait until in the month of May, and meanwhile remain in Savannah or Ebenezer, &c., as sea voyages in winter were especially fatiguing and dangerous for infirm and aged persons, and we should not put ourselves in danger without a call or necessity, &c. But it was too late, our baggage having been conveyed already to the vessel, and my wife could not be persuaded. Meanwhile it perplexed me and drove me to humble prayer, as one cannot tell beforehand what may really be the gracious will of God, and I prefer using ordinary instead of extraordinary ways and means.

Feb. 17th, Friday. I took an affecting leave of my dear host, Esquire Millen, and other christian, male and female friends, some of them from Ebenezer, and some from Savannah, who accompanied us with kind wishes to the ship. The captain having some more business to transact, the ship remained at anchor till towards evening, so that we could somewhat

arrange our state prison. In the evening we sailed a few miles with the current, on the Savannah river.

Feb. 18th, Saturday. We were becalmed the greater part of the time, and progressed only a few miles.

Feb. 19th, Sunday. We had time to collect our minds and to edify ourselves with the word of God and with prayer; we came into the neighborhood of Tybee, where on the one hand are oyster banks, and on the other the light-house is visible.

Feb. 20th, Monday. We obtained the first serviceable wind, which brought us on the sea, and then violent sea sickness began, so that I had to go to bed, which was the more grievous as the vessel was only small, and knocked me violently. Within three days we reached the Florida Gulf stream, which flows towards the northeast, and had a favorable wind. The sickness of myself and daughter increased, while my wife, at other times so sickly, was spared from it, which was a relief to me, as in such circumstances no one can help his neighbor. At one time I might have caused a sad injury; the ship rolling, I fell from the high side to the low one, towards my wife, who sat on a chest, and I would have broken both her legs if divine Providence had not prevented it; it caused no fracture, however, but only a contusion. During the sick days and long nights, nothing remained for me but the prayers and sighs of Jonas in the whale's belly, with some complaining thoughts that I had rather waited till spring to return home, instead of choosing the winter. Having run far enough to the northeast with the Gulf stream, the Lord blessed us with a favorable wind, which carried us out of the Gulf stream, and directed us toward the northwest, and induced us to hope that we would gradually reach Cape Henlopen, in Pennsylvania.

March 2d, Thursday. Towards evening we were only about sixty English miles from said cape, and hoped quietly to steal into the bay. But suddenly a violent northwest wind fell upon us from Pennsylvania, and drove us back sideways, toward the northeast. The wind became more stormy and furious, the sails had to be furled to save the masts, the rudder was secured, and the ship left to the mercy of the foaming billows, and the vessel reeled to and fro so wildly and disorderly, up and down, sideways, backwards and forwards, that it was impossible to walk, stand, sit or lie, and one knew not how to live or die. We had secured the window shutter, but nevertheless, several times were wet by the waves from above. In such a situation that sensual faith, which is built upon the sand, perishes. Conscience places the sinner, conceived and born in sin, with all the sins of his youth, of his station and of his

office, sins of omission in well doing, and of commission in evil doing, naked and miserable, guilty and condemned at the gates of eternity! Where now remains the feeling of sensual faith, and the imaginary sensual assurance of grace? I must confess that I secretly sighed: "O Lord! suffer the tree to remain yet this year also, and dig anew around it and fertilize it: O thou who wast not sent, and who didst not come to destroy the souls of men, but to save them; cast my sins and not me and the ship's company into the depths of the ocean! I know not what and how I shall pray, O let thy spirit itself make intercession for me with groanings which cannot be uttered! Thou hast commanded: call upon me in the time of need and I will deliver thee, &c. Thou didst reprove thy disciples for their little faith when in the tempest tossed ship: Lord, I would believe, oh help mine unbelief! Let me but fall into thy hands, for thy mercy is great! Thou dost not willingly afflict the children of men, if it be not for their best interests.

"Setzt mir der Schwermuth Schmerzen zu,
So find' ich bei Dir meine Ruh'."

When the raging billows are ready to overwhelm my bark, Thou art my anchor! When the mighty waves are ready to cover my heart in the dark night, stretch out thine hand and preserve me, Thou watchman of the night!

"Now I have found the ground wherein
Sure my soul's anchor may remain;
The love of God forgiving sin,
Through Jesus crucified and slain.
His mercy shall unshaken stay,
When heav'n and earth have pass'd away."

Towards morning the storm subsided, and we commenced sailing again, but all the time we were driven further away from Pennsylvania. Having taken the latitude, we found ourselves one hundred and sixty English miles distant from Cape Henlopen, and soon afterwards the Lord granted us a favorable wind, so that we could steer our course for the said cape, and we arrived in thirty hours in the bay at Cape Henlopen; we were concerned whether we should find a pilot; but one came to meet us ere we entered the bay, which is dangerous on account of sand banks, &c. In the night of the fourth and fifth of March, we were already at Reedy Island, about sixty English miles from Philadelphia. But we had nevertheless to endure another little trial, for the man who cast the lead or plummet, had unwittingly entangled the line, and all the while cried out five and one-fourth fathoms; and the pilot depending on it, before we were aware of it the ship at twelve o'clock at

night grounded on a mud bank, to the sorrow and embarrassment of the company. But we had the hope, as the tide ebbs and flows here, that the high water would release the ship again. We waited with anxiety till noon, March the fifth, when the water was highest, and the men labored with all their might to move the ship, but it remained fast and immovable. By the Providence of God four pilots came to our assistance from Reedy Island, who had seen our situation afar off. They too, tried every means, but in vain. Finally, they resolved that about five thousand pounds in weight of barrels of rice must be removed on the pilot boats. As soon as this was accomplished, I supplicated below in my cabin, and the men exerted themselves to the utmost above on the deck, and finally the vessel moved, and we sailed onward with a favorable wind, and arrived, Monday March 6th, at twelve o'clock at noon, safely at the wharf in Philadelphia. Blessed be the name of the Lord! We were welcomed on the streets by many old friends, and accompanied by them to the parsonage. But we did not find everything as we could have wished, for pastor Kuntze had been very sick about six weeks, and several times was at the point of death, with a convulsive asthma; yesterday he preached for the first time again, in St. Michael's church, but is not yet entirely restored. My daughter, Mrs. Kuntze, meanwhile was delivered of a young daughter, which, after eight days, the good Shepherd took to himself. Henry Mühlberg, jun., is well, but thin and worn down, as the official duties are too severe, even for two laborers, much more for one. I found also that the cunning enemy of man had forged and sharpened his weapons, and laid his nets and snares, in order to cause distraction and ruin. Yesterday a lampoon was read at a gathering in one of our German taverns, and applauded with especial gusto, by such poor human beings, who, according to Psalm 1st, "walk in the counsel of the ungodly, and stand in the way of sinners, and sit in the seat of the scornful." The lampoon was intended to warn the Germans against ministers of our kind, as it was our intention to get everything into our possession, and to make slaves of them, &c.

ARTICLE III.

Oeuvres de Bourdaloue. 3 Vols. 8vo. Didot Frères. Paris, 1840.

By H. W. Thorpe, A. M., Winchester, Va.

WE have recently seen an estimate of the number of sermons annually preached in the United States; if all printed the volumes would be counted by millions. When we reflect on this vast machinery, without wishing, in the slightest degree, to depreciate or undervalue its importance, we cannot divest ourselves of the feeling that the amount of good effected by it is very small, whether measured by the magnitude of the means employed, or by the high purpose to which it is directed. The preaching of a few men was found adequate to the conversion of the heathen world, and that in the midst of manifold and violent opposition, and an extent and depth of depravity of which these times, bad as they are, afford no conception. Our pulpits are filled, week after week, by zealous and earnest men, and our churches with respectable and respectful congregations; the sermons, for the most part, are listened to with the most exemplary perseverance; the whole surface is smooth as the summer lake; yet the clergyman accounts his ministry successful if he can occasionally add some dozen names, mostly female, to his sacramental roll, while to one who looks but just below the surface, who follows the devout auditors of the Sunday to their week-day employments, and watches what influence the sacred precepts of Christianity have on their walk and conversation, who observes their hard dealings, their censorious remarks, their apparent unconsciousness of anything beyond or above this world, how painful the prospect! and the reflection becomes in the highest degree appalling when he looks thoughtfully abroad upon the men he meets in his daily intercourse and negotiations, and asks himself what is to be expected of the most of them, when the fleeting visions of this life pass from their view, and they awake to the realities of the other world.

Christianity has, indeed, done much for humanity; it has elevated the general tone of morals, and added greatly to the happiness and tranquillity of society; it has smoothed the pillows to millions of the dying, and opened to tens of millions the gates of eternal life. It is not the fault of Christianity, it

is not the wish of its divine founder, that any perish ; for the precious blood of Christ is sufficient for the redemption of the whole race ; nevertheless, the sad fact stares us in the face that, so far as human minds can form a judgment, of the whole multitude of mortal men now existing on this earth, there are few that shall be saved.

This awful thought should awaken every Christian to his serious responsibility if he, by word or deed, increase the peril to a single soul ; nay, if he do not his very utmost to rescue all within reach of his influence. And if this responsibility should weigh heavily on every layman, more especially should the clergy, who have been called by God to watch for souls, be diligent in doing whatsoever their hands may find to do. That much more might be done than is even attempted, that many agencies might be brought into play that have never yet been called forth, we have no manner of doubt ; but it is not our purpose, at this time, to dwell on the general question. We have a few words to say on one particular point, which will be more than enough to occupy the space we have allotted to ourselves for the present article ; at some future day, should no abler pen, in the meantime, take up the question, we may have farther suggestions to offer.

The one point which we wish every minister seriously and anxiously to consider is, whether he has done, whether he is doing, the very utmost in his power to qualify himself for his solemn duties. Does he go forth day by day to gather up manna for his spiritual household, or is he satisfied to set before them a feast of the Barmecides ? Does he give them to drink from pure fountains of living water, or is he contented to shower upon them from his pulpit a flood of empty declamation, a constantly recurring circle of words, words, words ? Does he painfully toil to nourish and invigorate his own mind from the vast stores of intellectual treasures the church has laid up for her childrens' use, or is he found, from sheer ignorance and indolence, ringing eternal changes on some favorite theme ; so that whatever be the text, whatever key note be struck, his harp soon returns to its accustomed strain.

It were the merest presumption to offer in excuse that God needs not human learning ; that the Holy Spirit can render the weakest words as efficacious as the strongest for the conversion of sinners and the salvation of souls ; and that, therefore, all study is superfluous ; as if God has not always worked by means, through all his dealings with mankind. Should the eye of any such faithless minister fall upon this page, we would call upon him most seriously to ponder on the course

he is pursuing, and to consider what account he will give of his stewardship when he may be no longer steward. We can only pray that he may then find mercy with that gracious Savior who pleaded in pity for the blindness of his very murderers, Father forgive them, they know not what they do.

But to the faithful ambassador of Christ, who, while he exerts all the powers God has given him in the service of his Master, is yet conscious of his deficiency, and desirous of obtaining every additional strength for his great work, no matter how humble the source whence such strength may spring, to any such man we would offer, with all humility and hesitancy, a few observations on the character and works of the great and good man whom we have named at the beginning of this article, and recommend to christian ministers a careful study of his sermons, having ourselves derived great delight and no small profit from them. If we fail to make the reader agree with us in the estimate to be formed of them, he may attribute the failure to the weakness of the advocate. It is by no means our desire to set ourself up as a teacher in the church, a doctor of doctors, but deeply impressed with the solemn consideration of the present condition of the church, with which we commenced, we feel that any suggestion the humblest member of the christian church can offer is deserving of respectful attention. Hearers as well as preachers have their responsibilities, but it will hardly be questioned that it is especially incumbent upon ministers to avail themselves of any additional light or strength the Providence of God may put within their reach; that they should, so far as in them lies, give their hearers no excuse for indifference or neglect, and when they are fully conscious that they have discharged their own duty, they may with greater boldness rebuke their hearers.

It has been seen repeatedly in the history of the world that, when an evil of what kind soever has attained its greatest magnitude, and the powers of darkness appear to have exerted all their strength to build it up, some powerful intellect comes forward as an instrument of Providence, not only to cast down the structure of evil, but all at once to display to the world the opposite good in its highest perfection. The name of Luther will at once recur to every reader of these pages, as an illustrious example in point; of Luther, whose vast superiority to the men of his generation becomes clearer and more decided as the diligence of scholars makes us better acquainted with his character and works; till he who, not long since, was described as a mere bellower in bad Latin, towers before us in colossal excellence, the very hero of his age. So Sociates

among heathen moralists, St. Benedict among legislators of the church, Lord Bacon among Natural Philosophers, Shakespeare among Dramatic Poets, and a long list of other worthies, whom we might name, were all the beginners of great reforms, and each has become a model of excellence in his several sphere. Now, though we do not claim for Bourdaloue a rank and importance that would place him on a level with the moral heroes who have changed the destinies of the world, no one, who is at all cognizant of the condition in which he found the French pulpit, rivalling, as has been truly said, the schools in dryness, and the theatres in buffoonery, and of the elevation it rapidly attained, principally through his means, will hesitate to number him among the benefactors of mankind.

Louis Bourdaloue was born in the year 1632, during the domination of Richelieu, of a good family, at the episcopal city of Bourges, in the province of Berri. In his seventeenth year he entered the society of the Jesuits. His father, a man of distinguished probity, and a peculiarly graceful public speaker, had in his youth himself entertained the design of seeking admission to the same society, and we may therefore readily understand that he was little disposed to offer opposition to the pious intentions of his son. For eighteen years Bourdaloue continued in the schools of the society, occupying in succession, the chairs of Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Theology. At length some few sermons he preached having drawn the attention of his superiors to his peculiar talent for the pulpit, they determined to devote him thenceforth to that work. After three years of probation and experience in the provinces, he was brought to Paris in the year 1669, and preached in the Jesuits' church of St. Louis. His success was immediate and unprecedented. People of all ranks, the lowly and the great, the fair and the learned, crowded to hear him. And his was no transient popularity, dependent merely on novelty of style or peculiarity of manner, but based on real genius, supported by solid learning, his reputation grew with his advancing years; and his latest sermons were as eagerly listened to, as much admired, as the productions of his vigorous manhood. The Princess Henrietta, of Orleans, heard him preach, gave him the advantage of her countenance and protection, introduced him to court and sent for him to minister to her on her early and melancholy death-bed. Eleven times, during a period of twenty-four years, he was especially commanded to preach either the Advent or the Lent sermon before Louis XIV and his splendid court; and in the admira-

ble series of these discourses he has left us, we everywhere behold the ambassador of God, faithfully proclaiming to sinful men the solemn truths of righteousness, temperance and judgment to come, yet never violating the respect due to his sovereign, or the fastidiousness of such a court. That this was no very easy matter, we may learn from the great offence given by Bossuet because, in one of his funeral orations, he had the temerity to draw a comparison between Louis de Bourbon (Condé), a prince of the blood royal, and a *roturier*, though no less distinguished a man than the conqueror Turenne. Bossuet's own friends, even, were constrained to confess that the parallel was rather violent, *un peu violent*, while the Bishop himself denied that he had intended a parallel at all, saying that he had only exhibited the spectacle of two great generals raised up by God for the service of the king. The passage was altered before it passed through the press.

Perhaps no two men, in positions so similar at the court, differed more than Bourdaloue and Bossuet. Bourdaloue was always grave, almost austere in the court, but scarcely of it, while the remarkable suppleness of the Bishop of Meaux, both as a courtier and a theologian, was deservedly rebuked by Treville, whose name is so intimately associated with the sad fate of Henrietta of Orleans, the most tenderly beloved sister of Charles II. of England. Bossuet, it seems, had on some occasion said of Treville, "he is all of one piece, he has no joints;" which coming to the ears of Treville, he keenly retorted, "I may have no joints, but he has no bones."

For a man whose duties brought him so often within the circle of the court, we find singularly little recorded of Bourdaloue in the court gossip or court scandal. On one occasion, we hear of his being solicited to employ his interest to obtain for a certain young lady, an appointment among the ladies of honor to the newly married Princess of Conti; but generally, his life must be sought among the rounds of daily duty; he is scarcely seen beyond the pulpit, the chair of the confessional, and the bedside of the dying. It was not the result of unfaithfulness in his ministrations, that, notwithstanding this austere reserve, he retained for so long a period the favor of Louis; through the whole period, indeed, of his greatest glory, when all Europe was submissive at his feet, when the splendid victories of Condé and Turenne had placed him on the pinnacle of earthly greatness, and we may well suppose that, intoxicated with the adulations of his courtiers, and the flatteries of the bright band of poets who have thrown the additional lustre of their genius over the "Age of Louis XIV.,"

he would have a double measure of the pride incident to poor human nature, and be least tolerant of rebuke or advice. On one occasion, discoursing of ambition, the preacher says, "God alone, christians, is great absolutely and without reference to others. Every one that is great among men, is so with dependence upon others and with relation to them ; that is to say, for the benefit and service of others. Nothing in the world is more odious, more unjust, than to become proud as one is elevated ; since this very elevation ought to be a source of modesty, condescension, charity and humility. The creature rules to serve ; and whenever man separates these two things, attributing to himself what he does not possess, he destroys even what he has ; because the domination of man is, in the design of God, nothing but a service ; the moment the man divests it of the spirit of zeal and charity for others, he deprives it of its most essential quality, and consequently annihilates it. * * * The prince of philosophers had no knowledge of christianity, nevertheless he has said that kings, in the lofty station which makes us look up to them as gods on earth, are after all only men made for other men ; that they are not kings for themselves but for the people. * * * Hence I conclude that if there is a christian who, either by fortune or birth, has vassals and subjects under him, and considers them only for himself, for his own interest, his own glory, his own honor, without caring for their welfare, without endeavoring to impart to them the solid advantages they have a right to expect from him, that such a man deserves to be rejected of God, because he is reversing the order of God, who made the great only for the humble, the powerful only for the weak."

Again, in another sermon, preached not long after, before the same ribald court and king, on the sin of impurity, he employs the following unsparing language :

"Christians reflect on this expression of St. Bernard, which seems to me equally solid and ingenious. When a man gives himself up to ambition, it is a man who sins, but it is the sin of an angel. Why ? Because ambition is a sin altogether spiritual and consequently consonant to angels. When he yields to avarice and to the temptation of self-interest, it is a man who sins, and he sins as a man ; because avarice is an excess of cupidity, a sin peculiar to man. But when he abandons himself to the filthy desires of the flesh, he sins like a beast ; because he follows the movements of a passion predominant in beasts. He is reduced to the ignominy of Nebuchadnezzar ; he is degraded from his condition ; he is even beneath

the condition of the beasts, since between the beasts and him there is this difference, that he is criminal in yielding to his passions, which the beasts cannot be. Man that is in honor and understandeth not is like the beasts that perish (Ps. 49). We see these men, slaves of sensuality, shut their eyes to all considerations divine and human. They lose the knowledge of themselves, the knowledge of their own sin and the knowledge of God. Can there be a more deplorable, a more terrible blindness?"

After declaring that the darkness of impurity is thus worse than the darkness of hell itself, for the devils, though surrounded by outer darkness, have the light of knowledge within; having referred to the cities of the plain, and to certain passages of St. Paul, he goes on to say,—“Though the apostle did not hesitate to explain openly his meaning, could I venture, minister of the gospel as I am, to employ here the same expressions? Would to God that the demon of the flesh had not opened your eyes to comprehend what I find it impossible to utter; would that it were dangerous to speak on these topics lest we might inform christians of what they do not know! But, christians, where are innocence and simplicity to be found? Those who avoid the commission of the wickedness wish, at least, to know all about it. We might suppose that nature is not corrupt enough; that it is needful to add study to nature, and make a science of vice itself. Is a diabolical book published, unfolding these mysteries of iniquity? it is eagerly sought and devoured with all the earnestness of an insatiate curiosity. No matter that it infects the imagination, that it makes deadly impressions on the heart, that the poison it infuses depraves the reason itself; it is the fashionable book which every one must read, and that without any regard to the peril to be incurred. As if you were sure of eternal life; as if you had made a compact with God, and could expose yourselves, without presumption, to any temptation that may come in your way.”

In another part of the same discourse he descants severely on the profligacy of language among the men of his generation: declaring that they had less modesty than the most dissolute of the pagans, he proceeds to remark: “What is it then to see women, in christian lands, habitually employing such discourse, making an amusement and sport of it, delighting in the raillery and equivocal expressions of it, listening to it with evident pleasure, or at most only manifesting a false repugnance, which, so far from checking license, serves only to render it bolder. I am not speaking, christian women, of those

last excesses, from which worldly reputation restrains you, and with respect to which we may well say that God can little esteem your victories, since, if you gain victories, it is less for him than for yourselves. I speak of those other irregularities, less odious perhaps, but which still are as truly crimes; and which, irreproachable as you may flatter yourselves to be with respect to the world, afford to God but too much cause for your condemnation; I speak of those libertine conversations which are the source of so many evils, and give the soul so many mortal blows; I speak of those secret familiar interviews, whose familiarity and secrecy are such powerful exciters of the most fatal attachments; I speak of those friendships, miscalled honorable, whose tenderness is the subtlest poison to infect and corrupt the heart; I speak of that constant interchange of visits, of letters, of parties, which St. Jerome has so truly called the last signs of dying purity, *moriturae virginitatis indicia*; I speak of those artifices of human vanity employed to heighten the charms of a pernicious beauty; I speak of that immodest dress which neither custom nor fashion can ever excuse, because neither fashion nor custom can ever be set up against the law of God. These are all trifles, you will say to me, but the question is, if God will judge as you; nay if yourselves will not judge differently, when you shall be called to appear before his tribunal. You assert that these are things indifferent, I maintain that they are crimes. You pretend that to live in society it is necessary to live in this manner, I declare that to live thus is to violate all the laws of the religion you profess."

This it will be conceded is plain, bold speaking, and creditable alike to the sincerity and courage of the preacher, and to the goodness of heart of the king, who retained him so many years in his favor. And these are not solitary passages, but all through his excellent discourses we find him faithfully administering rebuke whenever, wherever, he believed rebuke was deserved. It was said of him in his life that he struck like a deaf man, without considering, on whom his blows might fall. On one occasion the old Marechal de Grammont was so carried away by a passage in one of his sermons that he cried out aloud, my God, he is right! to the great amusement of the courtiers, the astonishment of the congregation, and, for some time, the entire interruption of the preacher.

Nay we are not sure that he had not a tendency to run into extremes in plainness of speech, and almost into personality. We are told that when the unhappy M. de Treville, before mentioned, retired from the world, Bourdaloue, in one of his

sermons, referred to him so pointedly that, though he was not named, he was distinctly recognized by all who knew the circumstances. And again, when Moliere produced his celebrated *Tartuffe*, a comedy that has done more good than many a sermon, we find Bourdaloue loudly declaiming from his pulpit against it.

When we award to Bourdaloue the praise of being the reformer of the French pulpit, we do not wish it to be understood that pulpit eloquence in that country began with him. There was enough of learning and eloquence, and more than enough of power, among the preachers of the Ligue, Jean Boucher, Guillaume Rose, Mathieu de Launay, and their contemporaries in the latter half of the preceding century. For a time France lay entirely at their mercy, and most tyrannically did they wield their authority. Their reign was eminently a reign of terror; did any one's face wear a smile or an expression of sadness not in accordance with the progress of their cause, death at the hands of an infuriated mob, hallooed on by these ministers of a religion of peace, was remorselessly inflicted. Absence from their preaching, was itself a capital crime, and two sermons a day were preached in every church in Paris, three only excepted. Their harangues, addressed especially to the lowest of the populace, were filled with violent denunciations, garnished with extravagant buffoonery. The violence ceased with the success of Henri IV, but the buffoonery remained till Bourdaloue, Bossuet, Flechier, and sometime after Massillon, each a master in his kind, gave a new tone to sacred oratory. Of these four distinguished men, the palm of pulpit eloquence belongs unquestionably to the first. Flechier, great as he was, occasionally approached very near to the defects of his predecessors; and his constant perusal of Spanish and Italian sermons, which he ridiculed, but continued to read, had a very injurious effect, both on his matter and his manner. Bossuet, the Eagle of Meaux, surpassed in splendid bursts of the noblest eloquence; and in his funeral orations, especially his masterly composition on the death of the great Condé, he stands unrivalled. It has been well said that Bossuet is sublime from elevation of thought, and Bourdaloue from depth. Massillon had more of what the French call *onction*, and has, consequently, in these latter times found more readers and admirers than any other of the four; but those who heard both him and Bourdaloue, gave the preference decidedly to the latter, and they were right in their decision. Bourdaloue's mind was eminently logical. While there is little in his sermons of mere declamation, there is everywhere a

depth of solid reasoning, a correctness of judgment, an accuracy of style, an earnestness of manner, a fervor of piety, and an unfeigned concern for the salvation of his hearers, which will render his discourses models for the student of sacred eloquence as long as there shall be infidels to combat, or sinners to convert.

His sermons were collected and published after his decease by Bretonneau, a member of the same society, in fourteen volumes, to which several others were subsequently added. They have always been highly esteemed in his native country, especially by the clergy, and have been frequently reprinted.

The edition we have before us, a most complete and admirable one, is from the press of the Messrs. Didot of Paris, to whose care and enterprise we owe so many convenient and beautiful editions of the *chefs d'oeuvres* of literature. Besides the sermons and meditations, amounting to more than two hundred discourses on a great variety of subjects, the volumes contain a full analysis of every sermon, and we can imagine few more profitable exercises in a preparation for the work of the ministry than a thorough study of these analyses, and an occasional endeavor to fill up these outlines, or rather to clothe these skeletons with the muscular integuments of the living body, afterwards comparing them with the finished productions of the master's hand. The best argument we can offer to support our position, will be to subjoin one of these analyses in full, and we select one on the word of God, not because we consider it superior to others, but simply because it seems to us to be in harmony with the general tone of the thoughts that introduced our remarks.

Text.—He, that is of God, heareth God's word.

“Nothing is more efficacious, nothing more powerful than the word of God. But since by it God has wrought so many miracles, both in nature and in grace, how happens it that it is in these times so sterile in Christendom? How happens it that, instead of being to us the means of grace, it is often the very source of our condemnation? This we propose to examine.

Division.—If the word of God does not produce the same fruits now as formerly, it is not the fault of that holy word itself, nor of the ministers who dispense it, but of christians who hear it. Not of the word of God, for that is always the same; not of the ministers who dispense it, since its efficacy does not depend either on their talents or their sanctity; it must, consequently, be the fault of christians who hear it, and oppose to it three very general obstacles. 1. Dislike of the word of God.

2. Perversion of the word of God. 3 A voluntary resistance to the word of God. I therefore advance three propositions; and I say, 1. Dislike of the word of God is one of the most terrible chastisements a christian has to fear. 2. Perversion of the word of God is one of the greatest sins that a christian can commit. 3. Resistance to the word of God is one of the nearest approaches to hardness of heart and final impenitence.

1. Dislike of the word of God is one of the most terrible chastisements a christian has to fear. By his word God has sanctified the world, and by his word he will continue to sanctify it. What St. Paul said of faith, that it is come into the world only by hearing, and has been heard only because the word of Jesus Christ has been preached, we can say also of the repentance of sinners and of the perseverance of the just. Men are at first converted, and finally persevere in the christian life only because they are moved by eternal truths, and these truths are the word of God which is heard. Whence it follows that to fall into dislike of this divine word, is one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall us.

This would suffice to establish my first proposition, but I go farther. Were I to investigate the principles of this dislike, I could easily show you that it proceeds in some from a secret pride, in others from libertinism; in these from a disgraceful attachment to the pleasures of sense, in those from an insatiable desire for the goods of this world. But we will confine our observations to the unhappy consequences of it. What effects does this dislike of the sacred word produce? 1. It withdraws us from it. 2. It renders us incapable of profiting by it. Double chastisement from God.

1. This dislike withdraws us from the word of God, first chastisement. Figure of the Jews who washed the manna, and gathered it with disgust: one effect of the vengeance of the Lord, as Origen and St. Jerome remark. The word of God is the true manna, and when formerly we were walking orderly, we delighted in it, we sought it, but now that we have made God turn against us, we neglect it and refuse to listen to it.

2. This dislike renders us incapable of profiting by the word of God, another chastisement. To profit by an article of food it is necessary to like it and relish it. Especially that we may profit by the word of God, must God add the unction of his grace. But when God perceives the contempt we show to his word, he leaves us to our indifference, without causing us to feel him in our hearts. You will tell me that your dislike is not of the word of God itself, but of the word of God ill proclaimed. I answer if it were true as you pretend, that there

are no longer preachers capable of proclaiming the word of God aright, would not that very thing be a visible punishment from heaven? But we have not come to this; and I add that the chastisement is not, that there are no preachers, but that there are none to suit your depraved taste; that is for you, as if there were none at all, and your greatest wretchedness is that you are unconscious of it. You regard the absence of preachers such as you desire as a proof of the delicacy and correctness of your taste; but God well knows how to confound this imaginary delicacy, this mistaken correctness by themselves, in permitting them to serve as an obstacle to an infinite number of graces on which your salvation depends. Happy, O my God, those teachable hearts who love thy word, and listen to it, and put themselves in a condition to profit by it because they love it.

2. Perversion of the word of God is one of the greatest sins that a christian can commit. To what did St. Paul reduce the perversion of the communion? to not properly discerning the Lord's body, and eating the heavenly nutriment as common food. I apply this to my subject. We commit a thousand abuses in our employment of the word of God, but the greatest perversion is that we do not make the necessary discernment of this adorable word. That is to say, that we do not listen to it as the word of God, but as the word of men. This I call a perversion, 1, with respect to God; 2, with respect to ourselves.

1. Perversion with respect to God. When you do not properly discern the body of Jesus Christ you profane it; and by the same rule, you profane the word of God, when you do not know how to discern it from the word of men. Hear on this point St. Augustine. The word of God, says this father, is no less precious to us than the body of Jesus Christ: whence he draws the conclusion, that he is no less criminal in the sight of God, who perverts and profanes this word, than if he profaned the Savior's body. If we listened to the word of God as the word of God, we should listen to it with solemnity, with respect, with humility, with attention, with teachable mind and heart, whereas we listen to it with the very opposite dispositions.

2. Perversion with respect to ourselves. How? Because in misusing the word of God and profaning it, we render it useless to ourselves. For the word of God, received as the word of man, can produce only effects proportioned to the power of the word of man. But the word of man is vain as an instrument of salvation. Wherefore St. Paul congratulated

the Thessalonians that they had received the word of God not as the word of man, but as the word of God. Behold, said he to them, the source of the blessings, which God has bestowed upon your church. On the contrary, in that city of Lycaonia where St. Barnabas and St. Paul were listened to with so much applause, where the people wished to offer incense to them, their preaching bore no fruit. Why? Because the two apostles were heard and admired as men. Just so worldly men often admire the preacher without being converted. So also the Jews, when the prophet Ezekiel proclaimed to them the calamities which God was about to pour upon them. They ran in crowds to hear him, they applauded him, but disregarded his instructions. They hear thy words but they do them not. It is for the honor of God that the conversion of souls, which is the great work of his grace, should not be attributed to the word of man, nor even to his own conjointly with man's. To punish you he will leave you only what is specious and agreeable in his word, but all that is solid and profitable he will give to those favored souls, who love his word for his word's sake. And who are we, my brethren, that you should occupy yourselves about us? Not that you may not prefer one preacher to another. But thereon I have two remarks to make, which I would have you carefully weigh. 1. Among the ministers of Jesus Christ, do not so prefer one as to despise the rest, for they are all sent from God. 2. In the choice you make, consider only your spiritual advancement and perfection.

3. Resistance to the word of God is one of the nearest approaches to hardness of heart and final impenitence. There are some things, which cannot become useless without becoming prejudicial, and such is the word of God. The Holy Spirit calls it both food and a sword. Food, as says St. Bernard, for those who profit by it, and a sword, whose wounds are mortal, for those who do not. This word always produces its effect either of mercy or of judgment; it shall not return to me empty. Now what are its effects of judgment for those who resist it? 1. Hardening of the sinner's heart. 2. The sinner's condemnation.

1. Hardening of the sinner's heart. Example of Pharaoh. He resisted the word of God in resisting Moses, and God hardened his heart, or rather he hardened his own by his obstinate resistance.

2. The sinner's condemnation. For the more precious the talent entrusted to his hands, the more criminal he is to have made no use of it. God will call him to account for it in his last judgment, and two classes of people will arise against him.

Hearers who have honored the divine word, and preachers who have proclaimed it to him. Ah, Lord, shall I then be employed in that sad duty? After having preached to this christian congregation, must I become their accuser? No, O my God, but from this moment I will have recourse both for them and for myself, to the tribunal of thy mercy. I will supplicate thee to pour upon us the abundance of thy grace, that by the power of thy grace, thy word may be to us a word of sanctification."

A similar analysis accompanies every sermon in the volumes, and these analyses alone would be a valuable addition to a student's library. From what we said before of the character of Bourdaloue's works, that their great superiority especially depends on the general structure and systematic arrangement of the whole discourse, that he adds idea to idea, and proof to proof, till by a series of reasoning, all but mathematical, he has raised a structure firm as the solid rock, it will be at once understood, that no selection of passages can convey any idea of the author's merit. A passage detached from a sermon of Bourdaloue, can scarcely afford a fairer estimate of the whole, than did the pedant's brick in Hierocles of the house he wished to sell; yet we know few writers, from whom passages replete with wisdom and instruction, if not with eloquence, may be more abundantly selected. Many such passages we have marked in our reading, which our limits do not permit us to quote. Bourdaloue was a man, whose vision rested not on the surface of things; he looked through into their inmost heart, and could trace out the hidden springs that move to outward action. The following paragraph contains a lesson it would be well for many of us to take heed to, in these days of earnest contention, less for the faith itself than for accuracy in defining it. "Ah, christians, that was a fine saying of a good bishop, speaking of the first martyrs, they knew not how to dispute about the faith, but they knew how to suffer and die for it.— We, to our shame, know how to dispute about it, but neither to die nor to live for it. Never were there so many nice distinctions, so many controversies, so many disputations, so much latitude as there are now in explaining the mysteries of the faith and of religion, yet never was there so little of the faith and religion themselves. Those of whom bishop Pacian speaks were contented to know two things, how to believe and how to die: that was all their knowledge, while we know all things except these two. We will only believe what we please, and we will not put the least restraint upon ourselves to practice what we believe."

Turn over a few pages, and we meet with a passage which we would affectionately commend to the consideration of the admirers of that portion of the hymns of the church, which have been denominated erotic; compositions we can never join in singing, withheld by feelings very different from any that could be excited by a question of mere taste. If even the apostles could not receive the comforter till their affection for their Savior was chastened and purified, are we not in some danger of error, when we apply to the well-beloved Son of God, the second person in the adorable Trinity, language expressive of earthly love? The passage occurs in the sermon on the day of Pentecost. "You perhaps suppose that this baptism of fire took from the apostles certain remains of former attachment either to the world or to themselves, and that this was all. You are mistaken; I have something more important to say to you than this. The perfection of this fiery baptism went even to purify their hearts from a certain kind of attachment, which they had formerly entertained, and still entertained for Jesus Christ himself. Yes, this too human attachment for the Savior of the world, was in the apostles an obstacle to the descent of the Holy Spirit, and if Jesus Christ, to break this attachment had not withdrawn himself from them, the Holy Ghost would never have been given to them. If I go not away the comforter will not come unto you. (John xvi.) What incompatibility was there between these, and why could not the apostles receive the Holy Ghost, whilst they were thus attached to their divine master? Hear the answer of St. Augustine, and draw yourselves the conclusion from it. Because the apostles, says this great teacher, in their attachment to Jesus Christ did not look upon him as they ought, with eyes sufficiently pure. Because in the love they bore him they considered him too much according to his humanity, according to the flesh. True this humanity was holy, true this flesh was consecrated by its intimate union with the word; but because the grossness of their minds did not sufficiently discern this mystery; because, in attaching themselves to Jesus Christ, they did not raise themselves sufficiently above the man, although he was the man-God (*l'Homme-Dieu*); the spirit of God, whose holiness infinitely transcends all the ideas we have of him, could not honor them with his presence, while they were in this state of imperfection. It was needful, therefore, St. Augustine continues, that the apostles should lose Jesus Christ from their view, in order that they might be filled with the Holy Spirit; and it was needful that the Holy Spirit should take, if I may so speak, the interests of Jesus Christ against

Jesus Christ himself; should snatch from the hearts of the apostles the too natural sentiments they entertained for this God-man, (*Dieu-Homme*)."

And thus we might go on and fill our whole number with passages as applicable and instructive to ourselves, as to those who listened to the living words from the pulpits of Paris. Bourdaloue has been especially admired for the division of his sermons, and with one or two examples we must draw our remarks to a close. What more natural, clear and comprehensive than the following divisions of three sermons, preached in different years on the passion of our Lord. In one sermon he has the passion of Jesus Christ,

- I. Caused by sin.
- II. Renewed by sin.
- III. Made of no effect by sin.

Another year preaching from a different text, he divides thus,

- I. Jesus Christ judged by the world.
- II. The world judged by Jesus Christ.

And at still another time he has

- I. Sin caused the death of Jesus Christ.
- II. Jesus Christ causes the death of sin.

As he occupied the pulpit for nearly forty years, it is not surprising that we have several discourses for the same festival or fast; yet we learn incidentally that he did not always think it necessary to pander to the desire for novelty by preparing a new sermon at each recurrence of the occasion. In the year 1671, for instance, we are expressly told that at the request of some of his friends, he preached the same sermon on the Passion, that he delivered the year before. He had, however, carefully revised it, and it was considered a perfect composition.

When we spoke of his uncompromising strictness, we would wish it to be understood that it was strictness of morals unaccompanied by severity or harshness of speech. While he was very far from being one of those lax teachers whose wretched indulgence, as Bossuet said, puts cushions under the sinner's elbows, neither was he of that opposite class, of whom the same great writer says, they hold consciences captive with inflexible sternness, they make allowance for no weakness, forever dragging hell fires after them, and thundering out incessant anathemas. From the brief but most interesting account of him, written shortly after his decease, by the excellent Lamoignon, President à Mortier of the Parliament of Paris, we

get a pleasing glimpse of his private life ; we behold him the cheerful companion, the considerate self-sacrificing friend ; and probably in few places in the kingdom could a pleasanter company be met with than was occasionally gathered around the President's hospitable board at his château at Arpajon, a few leagues distant from Paris, where Boileau, Racine and Bourdaloue were ever welcome guests. We have a pleasing memorial of this intercourse in the song written by Boileau complimenting the President's hospitality, in which he pays also a gratifying tribute to the faithfulness of the upright Jesuit.—The song contains the following verse :

If rigid Bourdaloue
Will limit our potation,
We'll plead our health to Escobar
And get a dispensation.

and it is doubly interesting, as it shows how the earnest and conscientious confessors of the society must have been embarrassed by the sophistical casuistry of Escobar and others like him, who, as La Fontaine says, laid down velvet paths to heaven. It was on this occasion that Bourdaloue threatened to retaliate on the poet, and put him into a sermon instead of a song. When after Bourdaloue's death, the lady of the President sent to Boileau a portrait of the zealous preacher, the poet returned thanks for the gift in still more pleasing terms ; expressing admiration of the genius, and affection for the person of the eloquent divine. A favorite among the great, rich and poor were alike the objects of his care ; and was a summons to the deathbed of the poorest peasant whispered in his ear, he instantly but quietly withdrew from the most agreeable company, to be an angel of comfort to the disconsolate and the dying. Wherever consolation was needed, his was the gentle hand to administer it. When the aged Marechal de Grammont, before mentioned, had lost his oldest and favorite son by a premature death, Bourdaloue was chosen to convey the mournful intelligence to the loving father ; for six hours the minister of God staid beside the heart-broken old man, and did not leave him till he had led him to the church, and taught him to rest on that merciful Father, that compassionate Redeemer, and that Holy Ghost the Comforter, who chastens us in mercy, not for his pleasure, but for our own good.

Bourdaloue lived fifty-six years after his admission to the society, nearly forty being occupied with the active duties of the priesthood, and it is affecting to read the letter he addressed, but three years before his death, to the General of the order, earnestly entreating to be permitted to retire from his public

ministrations to one of the religious houses of the society, that he might occupy himself exclusively in preparation for the great change he knew could not be far distant. The permission was withheld, and we have learned to love him so well that we sympathize with his disappointment. He, however, cheerfully submitted to the decision of his superiors, and labored, almost to his last hour, no less assiduously than before, in his sacred vocation. During the latter years of his life, his services were almost constantly in request for preaching charity sermons. On the 4th of May, 1704, he preached for the last time. On the following Sunday (Whitsunday) he said mass, and immediately after he was seized with a sickness which he at once felt to be mortal. Having received the last sacraments according to the faith of his church, he was speedily removed by the Lord of the vineyard from his earthly labors to his eternal reward. He breathed his last at five in the morning of Tuesday the 13th, less than two days after the first attack, thus falling almost literally with all his armour on.

Educated as he had been, it would be superfluous to say that he possessed a familiar acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the fathers of the church. Among the inspired writers, Isaiah, Ezekiel and St. Paul, appear to have been his special favorites, and Jerome and Augustine among the fathers. He possessed an elevated genius, a quick and penetrating mind, an un mistakeable sincerity in advancing the cause of his great Master, and an untiring zeal in discharging his important duties. Often when apparently exhausted by one of his great efforts in the pulpit, he has been known to hasten without a moment's rest to new labors at the chair of the confessional, or the bedside of the suffering poor. That he was entirely free from the ambition so repeatedly charged upon the members of his society, was shown by his declining to become confessor to Madame Maintenon, alleging that his engagements would not permit him to give her more than two days in the year. He was through life a bright example of the good priest, the faithful soldier of the cross. The first in the march, the foremost in the battle; alluring others to brighter worlds, himself led the way; and whether in public or private, he knew how to make infidels themselves respect the religion he professed. His style is more suited to our protestant taste than that of any other French preacher we know, and both style and matter are especially deserving of the attentive study of every earnest minister of the protestant church.

ARTICLE IV.

JOHN ARNDT.

By John G. Morris.

THE Lutheran church presents a brilliant array of names illustrious for piety, usefulness and learning. The lives and writings of these distinguished men are celebrated throughout the world, wherever the languages in which they have written are read and understood. Tens of thousands of persons in past times have derived the richest instruction from their works, and a countless number are to this day receiving inappreciable benefits from the same exhaustless storehouse of piety and theological science. Luther and Melancthon, Arndt, Spener and Franke, Andraea, Scriva and Bengel, Chemnitz, the Gerhards and Hutter, and a long catalogue of other worthies of the more distant and modern times, have blessed the church and the world by their labors, and have erected monuments to their own memory, which will endure as long as the world stands. Their merits should be better known than those of most of them are, to the members of our communion in this country. They present material for biographical literature of the richest character, and it is high time that our church here should be furnished with the history of her own great men.

Among these illustrious characters, none of post-reformation celebrity, deserves higher admiration than *John Arndt*. None has received more. "His praise is in all the churches." "He was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost, and much people was added to the Lord." His name, at least, is familiar to all Lutherans, and the title of one of his books is well known; but it requires only a slight acquaintance with his character, to cherish for him the most profound veneration.

Nine years after the death of Luther, John Arndt saw the light of the world. The 27th of December, 1555, was his natal day, and Ballenstadt, in the Grand Duchy of Anhalt, the place of his birth. His father was a clergyman who enjoyed the universal esteem of the godly, for his own godly deportment and truly christian spirit. But John Arndt had a *mother* also; not only a female parent—all children have that, but a *mother*, who was no less admired than her husband for her humility and piety. She was regarded as an ornament of that most responsible station, a pastor's wife. Though poor in

goods, and extremely limited in pecuniary resources, they felt themselves rich in the possession of their infant son, and in testimony of their gratitude to Heaven, they gave him the expressive name of *John*; that is, *the Lord is gracious*.

This was verily a christian family. These pious parents knew that upon their training of this little immortal would depend, in a great measure, his religious character, and consequently his usefulness in the world, and hence at the very earliest period, they commenced that course of christian instruction and discipline which will *always* insure the blessing of Heaven. They have set an example of conscientious fidelity and unwearied zeal in the religious education of their child, which was sanctioned of God, and which may be safely imitated by others. It need scarcely be mentioned, that they regarded his religious culture as the most important, and accordingly they employed every effort at a very early period to develop the spiritual character of their darling boy, and gradually to elevate his uncertain hopes and fears to an enlightened, living and heart-felt faith. They considered it undeniably certain that religion must be deeply rooted in the soul in order to control the life, and that where this principle is sound and active, its salutary influence would be exhibited in every act of the man. If that be once secured, there need be no painful anxiety about any thing else. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added to you." This declaration of our Lord was properly appreciated by them. They knew no higher gratification than to conduct their cherished son in the way of righteousness and truth. By fervent prayer, judicious instruction and holy example, they instilled into his soul the principles and love of the gospel, and were happy in observing their pious exertions blessed of God. The mother, of course, as it should be in every family, undertook the earliest training of the child. She was eminently qualified for the office. Would that all female parents were *mothers* to their children, in this most exalted sense!

What was the result of this course of christian instruction? "From a child he knew the scriptures." In his earliest years he became practically and intimately acquainted with his Savior; from a child he was a true believer. He could have said with Baxter of a later period, "that he could not remember the time when he did not love God." Thus it would be with every child properly trained by christian parents. Christianity is designed to save us from our very birth, and there is no ne-

cessity that we should be gross, practical sinners, or grow up to a certain age in rebellion against God, before we can become truly pious. Who will limit the operations of the Holy Ghost? Who will set bounds to the sanctifying energy of divine truth? Hence the question, whether children of tender years can be converted, is entirely superfluous and nugatory.

When young Arndt was sent to school he distinguished himself as one of the most studious of the pupils. He united an unwearied industry to a most retentive memory, and a ready comprehension to an unusual facility for acquiring knowledge. He was endowed with extraordinary gifts of mind and heart. "The child grew and waxed strong in spirit, and increased in wisdom and years, and in favor with God and man." The mother—so mother like—cherished the pleasing hope of once seeing her son arrayed in the clerical robes of his father, and of saluting him as a faithful minister of Christ. But they were poor, and how could they furnish the means of supporting him at the University? The father soon after died. The widow was bowed to the earth. The son was left without a father's care or counsel, and the future was dark. But their fears were groundless. God has said he will be a father and helper to the widow and orphan. The hearts of several benevolent persons were inclined towards this desolate little family. Means for prosecuting his education were furnished to young Arndt, and such a beneficiary as he was! so humble, so godly, so diligent, so self-denying, so modest; he may well serve as an example to that class of recipients of the church's charity.

But alas! for the mother's hopes, her son decided to devote himself to the study of medicine. Though disappointed, yet she did not despair. As she well knew, that desire and inclination for a profession are essential conditions of its happy and successful prosecution, she resolved not to oppose any obstacle in the way of his choice, and much less to persuade him, perhaps contrary to his inclination, to study theology. She still cherished the secret hope of seeing her ardent wish fulfilled. She had some ground for this hope. His favorite books were the Bible, the writings of Luther, Bernhard, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and other pious authors. The candidate for medical honors was, after all, a diligent reader of the works of pious divines. His subsequent numerous writings give unequivocal evidence of their commanding influence on his opinions, and even his style.

Thus, without in the remotest degree intending it or anticipating it, did Arndt in the most effectual manner prepare him-

self for the sacred profession to which he subsequently devoted himself with all his heart. "The Lord reigns." His previous determination to study medicine was changed by a remarkable circumstance which Providence employed to direct him in the way which had been marked out for him. He was brought nigh to death by sickness. All hope of recovery was abandoned. Yet the sufferer prayed most fervently. To his frequent and ardent prayers, he added the most solemn vow, that if God would restore him, he would thenceforth consecrate all his gifts and strength to him in the service of the church. His supplication was heard. His vow was accepted. He recovered as by a miracle. The vow was fulfilled, and Arndt gave himself up exclusively to his new vocation. His earlier studies were renewed with double diligence, and in 1576, at the age of twenty-one, he entered the University of Helmstädt. Here he was a pattern of piety to all around him; he resisted all the temptations, which assailed him. His conduct was so exemplary, that his presence rebuked the ungodly. The voice of blasphemy was silent when young Arndt approached. The heart of piety was cheered when he entered the social circle. His favorite recreation was instructive conversation with intimate friends. He delighted also in the contemplation of nature around him, the hidden powers and wonders of which he studied with zeal. We are not, however, to presume that he belonged to that class of melancholy christians, who decry every enjoyment of life, even the most innocent, and believe that a dejected countenance and a stern demeanor are essential features of christianity. So far from favoring this fanatical view in his behavior, he was regarded by his intimate friends as the most cheerful of them all. He however carefully avoided those pleasures which are enjoyed without God, or rather against God, and hence he passed his whole University life without even in a single instance having purchased any enjoyment at the expense of conscience.

From Helmstadt he went to Wittenberg, well furnished with scientific learning and a rich treasure of practical experience. The hallowed memory of the great reformer, Luther, still threw a magical lustre around this school. An additional attraction was the fact that recently a new corps of professors, who breathed the spirit and taught the theology of Luther, had been recently appointed. Among these was the celebrated theologian Polycarp Lyser, at that time only, twenty-five years of age. Thence Arndt proceeded to Strasburg, where he pursued his theological course with diligence, under teachers distinguished for their erudition and talents. He afterwards

studied at Basel, where he gratuitously read some lectures on Natural Philosophy, Ethics and Eloquence, to a private class of friends. He also lectured with great approbation on the epistle of Paul to the Romans. Here he became the private tutor of a young Polish nobleman. This engagement not only aided him in the payment of his expenses, but it was also employed by Providence to furnish him with an additional evidence that the Lord gives his angels charge over us, and preserves us in all our ways. One day as he was walking with his pupil on the banks of the Rhine, Arndt accidentally fell into the water, and being unable to swim, would have been drowned, if the Pole had not rushed in and dragged him out by the hair of his head.

Arndt was twenty-seven years of age before he conceived himself qualified to mount "that awful place, the pulpit." He even then hesitated, and determined to devote himself for some time to the profession of teaching, and regarded this as a stepping stone to the ministry, believing that after he had fed the lambs of Christ, he would be better fitted to lead the whole flock into the rich pastures of his word. He was soon called an assistant preacher to Badenborn, in Anhalt, in connexion with his office as teacher. Many of his pupils, in after years, thankfully acknowledged Arndt's pious instructions, next to the grace of God, as the means of bringing them to a knowledge of the truth. He most industriously and conscientiously discharged his duties as a teacher, for he regarded nothing in the world so important as the early training of children in the truths and ways of religion. He remembered and experienced the blessed results of his own mother's instructions on his youthful heart. He very properly held that if christianity is to be maintained in its full vigor in the world, we cannot begin too early to instil its principles into the mind. He devoted his best energies to this duty, and extraordinary success attended his labors. He was not intimidated by difficulties, nor disheartened by apparent want of success. He persevered without weariness, until he had accomplished the desired end. As a preacher, he must have been popular with the pious, for when he was afterwards called to Quedlinburg, some of the people of Badenborn, which was not far distant, were among his hearers, whenever he preached. Arndt was of Luther's opinion, that no one should become a preacher who had not for some time before been a teacher, and learned simplicity among simple pupils. In later years, when he became superintendent of schools at Celle, he thankfully acknowledged the goodness of God, which in early life had invested him with

the office of teacher, that he might gain personal experience, and thus be better prepared to discharge his duties.

His marriage with Anna Wagner, the daughter of a judge in Eisleben, was the great event of this period of his life. She was in all respects well suited to him; modest, pious, intelligent and active as a christian, he considered himself blessed in the possession of such an inestimable treasure.

We feel strongly tempted thus early in our sketch of Arndt, to delineate his character as a preacher, for his character as such was developed in the very beginning of his ministerial career. That a man like Arndt should be most conscientious, faithful and diligent, may well be presumed. In these respects he may well serve as a model to all his clerical brethren. In all his official services he acted on the well established principle that he who as a preacher, teacher, or parent, or in any other relation, wishes to exert a happy influence on others, must above all, begin the work in himself. He very properly thought, that as a preacher, Christ should be formed in himself before he was qualified to represent him in his real character to his hearers. He was further convinced that he himself must most distinctly know the way of the truth before he could safely guide others into it, and that he could never successfully combat the enemy of souls as long as he himself was held bound by him; and finally, that he could not oppose the vices of the times, if he himself did not keep free from them. Before he undertook to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him an overseer, he most deeply impressed on his mind the words of the apostle; "Take heed to thyself." He knew no better means of ascertaining the character of his own heart, and at the same time of qualifying himself for his christian as well as pastoral calling, than the pure word of God. Hence he daily and diligently studied the scriptures, that he might constantly improve in the knowledge of God and of himself. He always commenced his biblical reading with prayer. He well knew that the circumstance which gave such impressiveness to the preaching of the apostles, and spread abroad their influence so extensively, was the exemplification of the truth which they preached, in their own lives, and the practice of the virtues which they commended to others. The apostles could without hesitation say, "be ye followers of us, and mark them which walk so," as ye have us for an example; hence, that he might not himself be a cast away whilst preaching to others, and not be a stumbling block in the way of the truth, he aimed first above all things at the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and laid it down as an inviolable

rule, not only to preach practical sermons in the pulpit, but also and particularly to preach by his own example.

He bestowed the most careful attention on the preparation of his sermons and other public discourses and it was only in cases of extreme necessity that he preached without first having devoted much study to the subject. It was with extreme impatience that he heard some men, proud of their presumed acquirements, boast of being able to preach without special preparation. His practice was very different. Before he ever sketched the plan of his sermons, he sought by diligent reading of the scriptures and fervent prayer, to acquire a proper frame of mind, and vividly to depict to himself the truth, which he conceived most appropriate to his hearers at the time. The grand design of all his discourses was to build up his hearers on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone. In order to prepare their hearts for the reception of this faith, he regarded nothing more important and necessary, than to lead them to a knowledge of their own fallen condition, and to awaken in their hearts a sense of their corruption by nature and practice. He very properly maintained that so long as a man does not feel himself to be a grievous sinner before God, he cannot appreciate the blessing of salvation through Christ, and will not accept of him as a Redeemer. Then, after he had convinced the sinner of his personal guilt, and humbled his proud heart, he opened the treasure of the gospel, and demonstrated to the penitent, that though our heart condemn us, yet God's grace is greater than our heart, and that if we confess and forsake our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. Hence, there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, by whom we have access by faith into this grace, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. It was not a dead, inactive faith that he preached, but a living, practical godliness. He vindicated the claims of the moral law with extraordinary power. He taught with Paul, "that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world." The consoling doctrines of reconciliation through Christ, and of justification by faith, did not serve in his hands as a soft and luxurious cushion for the uneasy conscience to repose on, but he insisted strenuously on moral reformation, self-denial, a daily growth in grace, and the rigid practice of all the christian virtues, as the only sure evidence of a hearty acceptance of these doctrines. He inveighed severely against those formal christians who vainly imagined that a heartless repetition of certain forms of prayer

and well arranged words was sufficient, and who depended solely on their profession of faith and membership in the church. No less impressively did he rebuke the sins and vices of the day. He did not come to preach the gospel "with wisdom of words," but to declare the uncorrupted message with all simplicity. He proved it to be the power of God—a light that shineth in a dark place—a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces—a sword that divides asunder the soul and spirit. To those who desired to be christians without repentance and holiness, his preaching appeared severe, and they took no pleasure in hearing him. They hardened their hearts against his faithful admonitions. Those, on the other hand, who earnestly sought salvation, felt the power of the truth, and heard him willingly.

He did not regard his office as *pastor* as less important than that of preacher. As often as time and circumstances allowed, he visited the members of his congregation, and embraced every opportunity of doing them good in private. He was indefatigable in reconciling those who were at enmity, in rousing the lukewarm, reminding the careless of their duty, encouraging the disheartened, cheering the disconsolate, instructing the ignorant and rebuking the perverse. The poor and needy he aided to the extent of his ability. In this work of mercy, he was essentially aided by his wife, who obtained food and clothing for the destitute and sick, visited the poor families of the church, and interested others in their behalf.

The children of the church, particularly, claimed much of his attention and care. Confirmation was, at that time, not generally practised, although it had been introduced into Pomerania by Dr. Bugenhagen, in 1534, and hence there was, properly speaking, no instruction given to candidates for that ancient but then obsolete rite. Still, he was most industrious in his catechetical instruction of the young, and these lessons were also attended by many of riper years.

In this spirit Arndt labored for nearly seven years in Badenborn, and the blessings of his ministry survived him so long, that even at this late day, the descendants of his parishioners revere his memory not only as a distinguished servant of God, but as having been the pastor and preacher of their ancestors. These seven years were the happiest of his life. It is true, that even here some unpleasant circumstances occurred to interrupt his perfect happiness, but on the other hand his domestic felicity was a full compensation for all his troubles. The affectionate concern of his wife in all his labors and trials, her profound sympathy in all his sorrows and successes, was a con-

stant source of the purest enjoyment. Finally, however, a terrible storm gathered and broke over his head with tremendous violence. It terminated sadly. The pious, meek, inoffensive and useful John Arndt was not only deposed from his pastoral office in Badenborn, but was even banished from the duchy of Anhalt. He had committed no heinous offence against God or man, but merely maintained the rights of his conscience in an affair of church discipline, and refused to submit to the tyrannical and persecuting edict of his government in the abolition of the ancient ceremony of exorcism.

In order to have a proper understanding of this singular affair, and of the numerous controversies which grew out of it, it is necessary, briefly, to consider the history of the times.—The period was one of great excitement in a political as well as in a religious and ecclesiastical respect. We shall confine our observations to the church. It will be remembered that the light of the glorious gospel, through the instrumentality of the illustrious Luther, had shone over the whole of Germany, and had awakened a new ecclesiastical life, the influence of which the most lukewarm could not resist. But where there is much light, there is much shadow. This newborn activity brought out vast differences and varieties of religious convictions and views, which alas! too soon degenerated into violent controversies and mutual accusations of heresy. It is well known that even during Luther's life time, some discontented and litigious spirits had occasioned the most acrimonious dissensions, and sowed the seeds of discord among the people.—As long as Luther himself held the rudder with a firm grasp, and steered the ship of the church, the danger was not so great, for he was a master pilot, and could navigate the storm tossed vessel into a safe and peaceful harbor, but no sooner had he himself entered the haven above (Feb. 18, 1546,) than the tempest burst forth fearfully from every quarter. Now followed one of the most unpromising periods of all modern church history. The theological war raged with terrible severity, not only between the Lutherans and Reformed, but the most bitter dissensions arose in the bosom of the Lutheran church itself. The peace of the church was seriously threatened, and the most fearful apprehensions were entertained of an open rupture. All the friends of order and harmony felt the urgent necessity of putting a stop to this lamentable condition of things. Some of the Princes of Germany offered their aid in the work of restoring peace to the distracted church. But the noble and pious August, Elector of Saxony, particularly exerted himself to reconcile the contending parties. After many

fruitless attempts to accomplish his laudable purpose, he at last ordered several learned and distinguished divines to prepare the celebrated *Form of Concord*, which was completed in 1577. The work aimed at two objects: first, to check the controversies in the Lutheran church, and to harmonize the views of theologians; and secondly, to refute the opinions of the Reformed church, particularly in reference to the Lord's Supper. It however accomplished this object very imperfectly. On the other hand, it originated new controversies and widened the breach instead of closing it. A majority of the countries of Germany willingly adopted this Formula, as a faithful exposition of their doctrinal views, and awarded to it the dignity of a church confession of faith. Others, and among them the duchy of Anhalt, of which Arndt was a subject, obstinately resisted the reception of it, partly on the ground that the people were already strongly inclined to the doctrine of the Reformed party. Notwithstanding this opposition, the Elector August had it published in connexion with the other confessions of the Lutheran church, and it first made its appearance in Dresden, in 1580, under the title of the Evangelical Book of Concord, just fifty years after the delivery of the Augsburg Confession. This was the signal for fresh and violent provocation and dissensions: The Reformed felt themselves much aggrieved, and raised a loud outcry against it, because it severely handled and conclusively refuted their peculiar theological doctrines. In some countries the princes now openly embraced the confession of the Reformed. This roused the Lutherans to the highest pitch of excitement, and the mutual dislike of the parties was carried to a fearful extent. This blind zeal led to the employment of most unrighteous means to gain the victory, and to the use of the most abusive and disgraceful language.

Exorcism, that is the adjuration of Satan at the baptism of infants, as practised by some Lutherans at that time, was particularly hateful to the Reformed.¹ They thundered against

¹This practice is traced as far back as the end of the second century, and was advocated by some of the most celebrated fathers of the church. It was abolished at a very early period after the Reformation in many protestant countries, and retained in others. It is now practised by none, excepting the *old Lutherans* as distinguished from the more moderate portion of their brethren, and their form of adjuration in the baptism of infants is, "I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, &c. &c., that thou depart from this servant of Jesus Christ, amen!" In the new Liturgy of the church of Prussia, the officiating minister in the beginning of the baptismal service says, "may the unclean spirit give place to the Holy Ghost."

This custom has always been reckoned by our church among the *adiapho-*

it with a terrible ferocity, and insisted on its abolition with unyielding pertinacity. It is undeniable that exorcism, although common in the church hundreds of years before the Reformation, has no foundation in the scriptures, nor in the example of the apostles. For these reasons, many Lutherans united with the Reformed, in their opposition to the rite. Wurtemberg, though purely Lutheran, had already abolished the practice. The same was done under Joachim Ernst in Zerbst, and soon after in other places. The abolition of it in Anhalt was systematically pursued, and the inhabitants of the small towns and villages, were ordered by the prince to express their desire for its abolition. This circumstance was of itself sufficient to excite the obstinate opposition of many Lutherans, and on all sides complaints were heard against the interference of the civil authorities in the affairs of faith and religion.—Many of the nobles even, and of the clergy, united in remonstrances against this retrenchment of their religious liberty. But all in vain; the prince issued a direct order to all the superintendents to compel the clergy totally and immediately to abandon the practice of exorcism. Many of them complied, doubtless from conviction, and many from fear of deposition and losing their bread. Finally, they all gave in their adhesion. John Arndt alone resisted. He took the stand of Luther: “Here I stand, I cannot act otherwise.” It need not be mentioned that Arndt, though from full conviction, devotedly attached to the Lutheran faith as taught in the symbolical books, was altogether free from that uncharitable and zealous spirit, which many of his colleagues displayed to such a disgraceful extent against the Calvinists, but on the other hand, he was always ready to sacrifice everything he held dear, yea, if necessary, even life itself, in the maintenance of that which he conscientiously believed to be scriptural truth. In this light he regarded exorcism, and whatever opinions we may have at the present day, we dare not deny to Arndt the credit of acting honestly in refusing to obey the decree of the prince, and in

ra, or things *non essential*, about which every man may exercise his private judgment. No controversy would ever have risen on the subject, and the practice would have been peacefully abolished if the Reformed had not violently opposed it on *doctrinal* grounds which the Lutheran divines regarded as erroneous. As an ancient church *custom*, the latter were willing to abolish it, but as *significant* of the doctrine of innate depravity, many defended it. Exorcism was nothing more than a *significant declaration* of the spiritual captivity of the infant in the kingdom of Satan (for a bodily possession of the devil was never thought of.) The language of the formula, “I adjure thee thou unclean spirit,” &c. &c., has indeed an imperative tone, but it is to be taken in the sense of a prayer to God against the influence of the spiritual enemy of the baptized infant.

preferring deposition from office to the violation of his conscience. Besides this, he was firmly convinced that the abolition of exorcism had another design in view, which was to feel the pulse of the people on another subject. He regarded it as the prelude to a systematic and gradual suppression of the Lutheran faith, and the introduction of the Reformed confession. Subsequent events very soon showed that his suspicions were well founded, for in 1596, the prince John George forcibly compelled all his subjects to embrace the Zwinglian system. Luther's catechism was everywhere suppressed; the churches were remodelled after the customs of the Reformed, and every thing of a peculiarly Lutheran stamp was carefully excluded. In 1597 twenty-eight doctrinal articles of the Reformed church were prepared and proposed to all the clergy for their approval and signature, on pain of exile and loss of their parishes.

What was Arndt to do in this case? to yield against his convictions, merely for the sake of bread? Never; and even if all the clergy in the country succumbed, as they afterwards really did, it was impossible for him to abandon his principles. He adhered to his position unchangeably, and continued to practice exorcism. What would be the result of his refusal, Arndt could anticipate very well from what had before occurred. Few can have a proper conception of his feelings in this predicament. Even if for himself he could endure the severity of his lot, in being deprived of his office, and the only means of support, what were his feelings when he looked on his wife, who would share his sufferings, and on his congregation, to which he was attached with all his heart, but which would in this event, be left destitute and forsaken? His devoted Anna did not betray, by the slightest word, any dissatisfaction with her husband's course. She was not only too refined and sympathizing, but she had too much faith and courage, and besides, had too high an estimate of the value of religious conviction and freedom of conscience, to complain of the stand he took. We may conceive that a separation from his office and congregation would be the most painful sacrifice he could make. But should these minor considerations lead him to deny his convictions and purchase these benefits at the expense of conscience? No; and though still heavier storms should burst over his head, and the future should be dark as midnight, yet he was firmly resolved to endure every thing, that Providence might please to lay upon him. Arndt resolutely took his stand; the threats of the prince could not move him. He wrote a declaration on the subject of exorcism, and sent it to the prince. He makes known his unalterable deter-

mination not to yield, but entreats his sovereign to deal tenderly towards him. But John George was unrelenting, and on the 24th of September John Arndt was deposed from office, and exiled from his country. His fate was decided, but he submitted to it with calmness. A mind like his, fast anchored on the immovable rock, which is Jesus, could not be violently shaken by any tempest, nor could anything disturb his christian serenity and inward peace with God.

The first intelligence of this event fell like lightning from a clear sky on his congregation, and sent, as it were, an electric shock through every heart. Though there was some expectation of the circumstance, yet when it really happened, the report was astounding. The occasion presented an opportunity of testifying the exalted esteem, in which he was held by the people. The congregation rose as one man, and petitioned the prince most fervently to remove the sentence of deposition from their beloved pastor. The prince was immovable, and they were compelled to yield to their severe destiny.

Who would suppose, that there were men capable of filling the cup of sorrows with wormwood and gall, which was already bitter enough for poor Arndt. But he was even now in a most trying manner to experience the fate of so many great men who are most liable to be misrepresented and envied. For it was not only his opponents in the Reformed church, not yet satisfied with his banishment and fall, but even some of his former colleagues, who perhaps in this way could best silence the voice of their own conscience, and palliate their inconstancy and unfaithfulness before the world, sought in a most dishonorable manner to excite distrust in him, and to represent his character in the worst possible light. Some regarded his conduct in this affair as the result of an unyielding and selfish obstinacy; others sought to discover in it the efforts of an eccentric character to render himself notorious; still others decried it as the abortion of an untimely and unchristian zealotism, and finally, others pitied him as a well-meaning but weak minded fanatic, who did not know nor understand his own interest. Some, doubtless, in these modern days of ultra liberalism, will be disposed to censure Arndt for his inflexible perseverance in maintaining his principles, and his preference of exile to submission. But let it be remembered that it was an affair of conscience, and he was not the man to accommodate his conscience to the caprices of a persecuting government. The question is not, whether exorcism is a scriptural or even a laudable rite, but whether any civil authority has the right of interfering with the religious convictions of any man? Arndt

in resolutely vindicating his position, and suffering banishment rather than abandon it, carried out the principles of genuine protestantism, whilst the prince who exiled him, displayed the persecuting spirit of the papacy, and violated all the rights of private judgment and of conscience, which the Reformation has secured to us.

Compelled to yield to the mandate of power, abandoned and assailed of men, proscribed and exiled, deposed and houseless, Arndt siezed the pilgrim's staff, and like Abraham, departed from his country and his friends, without knowing what course to take, or where to lay his head. But his mind was at ease. His God did not forsake him, though he was given up of men. He soon received two calls at the same time; one to Mansfeld, and the other to Quedlinburg. Here also he most faithfully discharged the duties of his office. His trials were numerous; whilst he was exceedingly beloved by the pious, he encountered severe opposition from a different class of persons. A regular war of persecution was waged against him. He was made the target of disgraceful attacks by those, who felt the force of his faithful rebukes of their sins. We do not know a man, who has been more unrelentingly persecuted than Arndt. Wherever he labored he encountered the most shameful opposition and the most disgraceful slanders. Satan seems to have had a particular dislike of him, and he roused his emissaries to the most violent attacks against this servant of the Lord. The enemy occasionally triumphed for awhile, but he was soon again vanquished, and Arndt conquered gloriously. His behaviour amid all these severe trials was saint-like. None but a man who daily held the closest communion with God, and who breathed the very spirit of his Divine Master, could have endured such repeated and aggravated insults. The details of them, which we have not room to give, are most sickening, and yet it is refreshing to behold this man of God sustaining himself nobly by faith, and displaying a martyr firmness, while the flames of persecution were raging around him.

The occurrence of the plague at Quedlinburg, in 1598, which in one year carried off three thousand persons, afforded him the best opportunity of giving the most unequivocal proof of his official fidelity and self-sacrificing spirit. During its continuance, he was constantly employed in the infected sick rooms of his friends and enemies. He often literally crept into the meanest hovels, where the pestilential odor was so horrible, that the occupants could scarcely endure it, and wherever he found dead bodies, he had them buried, accompanying them to the grave-yard himself. Besides this, he preached

every day, in addition to delivering many funeral discourses. And yet for all this extraordinary labor, he received no adequate acknowledgment. On the contrary, he was cruelly calumniated, and his motives misrepresented.

About this time he published his first book, entitled *Iconographia*, or, the origin, use and abuse of images in the old and new Testaments. He wrote this book against the ecclesiastical changes in Anhalt, in which he showed that the ancient usage of bowing at the mention of the name of Jesus, and of making the sign of the cross, should be retained.

During Arndt's residence at Quedlinburg, he became acquainted with a youth, then only fifteen years of age, but who afterwards rose to a lofty eminence in the theological world. It was John Gerhard, the celebrated Lutheran divine. Young Gerhard attributed his conversion, under God, to Arndt, and ever after, they lived on the most fraternal and intimate terms.

Arndt's next field of operation was the city of Brunswick, which, during his residence there, was most violently agitated by political strife. The Brunswickers were in open rebellion against their Grand Duke, who, however, finally subdued his refractory subjects, after bombarding the city for twenty-one days, and inundating it by damming up the river which runs through it. The history of these times is very interesting, but our limits will not allow us to dwell on them at length. The clergy were almost necessarily mixed up with the political broils that raged violently among the people. Arndt could not remain neutral. He rather inclined to the side of the government, although he did not apologize for its wrongs. He denounced its oppressive measures, whilst he exhorted the people to submit to the rightful sovereign. There were horrible excesses practised in Brunswick. Many citizens were most cruelly put to death. Superstition lent its aid to add a savage ferocity to the mode of execution, but Arndt did all in his power to mitigate the sufferings, and comfort the hearts of the victims of political rancor and governmental persecution.

The year 1605 was an important and decisive one for Arndt. He was now fifty years of age. Although he had previously published a small book, yet now properly speaking, begins his career as a writer and author. He entered a field of active usefulness, in which for over two centuries, and for millions of persons, he has been a substantial blessing, and will continue to be so until the end of time. The first of his "six books on true christianity" was published.¹ This world—renowned

¹ Properly speaking, there were but *four*, for the *fifth* and *sixth*, which comprise various treaties and letters, were only incorporated and printed with later editions.

work contains a series of week day sermons, preached by him. It has for its special object, as Arndt himself expresses it, to lead christians from a dead to a living faith ; from a mere scientific knowledge of christianity, to the real practice of faith and godliness ; to show them what genuine christian life is, and to teach them the meaning of the apostle's language, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." As regards the sentiments and style of the work, Arndt's previous ascetic training was plainly discernible. Not only were the spirit of Tauler, Kempis, and Bernard to be recognized, but even their modes of expression and shades of thought. If ever any man was competent to write on true christianity, that man was John Arndt. It had become his very life ; it entered into the very centre of his own experience ; it was an essential part of his being, and hence it was only necessary to let the mouth utter that, of which the heart was full. We need not be surprised that this book, at its first appearance, met with undivided approbation and an extensive sale. It was properly regarded as the first book of devotion in the protestant church, and soon established for itself the character of a master piece of unperishable value. The practical writings of Luther, Bugenhagen, Lorenz and Sarcenes were mostly written in Latin, and were limited to ministers or professors ; hence the people had no devotional book, properly so called, until the publication of the *first* book of Arndt on true christianity. It was not long before its fame was spread throughout all Europe, and to this day it is accomplishing its work of blessing and mercy in undiminished vigor. In all European circles of pious christians, it continues to be the chief devotional book. It has led millions to a knowledge of the truth ; a countless number of the ungodly to repentance ; thousands of lukewarm believers to christian activity, and afforded comfort and refreshment to a host of the weary and heavy laden. Without hesitation, next to the Bible, no book can be more properly recommended to those seeking edification, than Arndt's *True Christianity*.

We are not to suppose that the book met with no opposition. It encountered the severest and most denunciatory criticism, even from some of the clergy. They were envious and embittered at its popularity. They took advantage of every offensive expression, and condemned the book with vehement zeal. One party condemned him for being too orthodox, and for trying to bring the people under the iron yoke of a spiritual despotism, and the rod of a paper Pope, by which they meant the symbolical books of the church, and the other party, the blind zealots of a churchly orthodoxy, who made *True Chris-*

tianity and true Lutheranism to consist in inflexible party forms and fixed phrases, denounced him and his book for not being sufficiently churchly. Although he had now three times publicly sworn to adhere to the symbolical books, and in all his preaching and writings had zealously maintained the Lutheran faith to its *fullest extent*, yet these men charged him with defending principles which were directly adverse to the Lutheran theology, when all history shows that he was a more consistent Lutheran than they. The most superficial examination of his book shows that their accusations were false. It is true that, however strong his attachment to the doctrines of the church was, yet it was a matter of infinitely greater moment to him to be purely pious than merely orthodox (*nicht nur rechtgläubig sondern rechtgläubig*). He ascribed everything in and after conversion, exclusively to the divine grace, and acknowledged no other righteousness of life than that based on a righteousness of faith. Hence faith and godliness were, in his mind, two ideas so intimately associated, that he could never think of them as separated, as he himself tells us, where true faith exists, there is Christ, for Christ and faith are not divided. Where Christ is, there is also his life, for Christ and his life are never divided. Where the life of Christ is, there is pure love, for the life of Christ is nothing but love. Where the love of Christ is, there is the Holy Ghost. Where the Holy Ghost is, there is the kingdom of God. If a man has one he has all; if he fails in one he has none. If then Christ dwells, lives and works in you, all the good you do is not yours, but it is the king's who dwells in you, so that you must not ascribe it to yourself, nor do you deserve anything on account of it, for it is not yours, but everything that is good comes from God in us, &c., &c. This intimate connexion of faith with newness of life, he did not prominently hold forth everywhere in his writings, for as he says in a letter to his friend Piscator, whose opinion he requested on his *True Christianity*, he did not write only for those who made no pretension to conversion, but for those especially who professed to be christians, but who led immoral lives. Hence, it was not his design to engage in extensive discussions on the nature of faith, but to write against the unchristian conduct of those, who loudly professed the true faith, but denied it in their works.

Whilst Arndt was compelled to endure these attacks from various parties, he received not only from Piscator, in Jena, a very favorable opinion of his book, but from many other places, the most unequivocal testimonies of the good, which the book had accomplished. Many learned men even, and

princes of high distinction, thanked him for it, and urgently requested him to publish the remaining parts of the work. This greatly encouraged him, but of what avail was all this? He was still vehemently assailed by the theologians. His own colleague, Deneke, was more violent in his opposition than all the other zealots. He even employed the pulpit to warn the people against the dangerous doctrines taught by Arndt. He invaded Arndt's domestic sanctuary in his rabid reproaches, and assailed the character of his wife. Arndt tells us, that if God and his conscience had not supported him, this treatment would have occasioned his death, or at least, thrown him into a violent fever.

It is not to be wondered at, that under such circumstances, instead of proceeding at once to prepare and publish the remaining books of *True Christianity*, three or four years should have elapsed before they appeared.

Under this melancholy condition of things, one would suppose that he would have accepted a call to Hallerstadt with joy, which he received about this time, if with no other view than to escape his persecutions and vexations in Brunswick. The call was subsequently renewed, and he finally accepted it, but the council of Brunswick would not grant him an honorable dismissal, and positively refused him permission to leave the city. He consented to this abridgment of his liberty, and yielded without a murmur.

The opposition to his book continued with unabated violence. He sometimes even feared that the excited vulgar populace, who had been led to decry him as a fanatic, and who held all godliness in abomination, would lay violent hands on him, and put him to death. His solemn avowal, that he never wrote anything contrary to the teachings of the symbolical books, was of no effect. He writes to Piscator, "I would with joy submit to banishment, that I might escape this wretched condition of things, if I did not fear that the cause of religion would suffer by it, for any one can easily imagine the effect of the banishment of a theologian on account of a false suspicion of religious error." He continued to receive congratulations on his book from various places, but considering the outrageous assaults made on him, these congratulations were like a few drops of honey in a vessel of gall. He was surrounded by implacable enemies; he everywhere felt himself under restraint, on account of the unfounded suspicion the people cherished of his orthodoxy; he was not on friendly terms with a majority of his colleagues; even the suppression

and alteration of some objectionable passages in the new edition of his book, did not satisfy them; they still denounced him as the old synergist, and seemed determined not to cease their heartless persecutions. He wrote thus complainingly to his young friend, John Gerhard: "I am privately and publicly assailed by the most cruel slanders, I am branded with suspicion before the common people, and I presume they are anxious to get rid of me. * * * I have not had a happy day since you were with me, two years ago. If I receive no other call, I shall retire to some place, perhaps to Eisleben, and live a retired life. Really, the world is becoming too ungodly. I never would have believed, either, that there were such mischievous, wicked men among theologians."

How much more wisely, in the opinion of some men, Arndt would have acted two years before, if he had resolutely insisted on going to Halberstadt, (for the council must have yielded) and if he could have foreseen all the horrors of the long siege, and all the sufferings arising from his incessant persecutions, which were in preparation for him, who knows, if he would have allowed himself to remain? But perhaps he was specially destined to endure such severe sufferings, that from his own experience he might be the better qualified to comfort others in the remaining books of *True Christianity*. These books were ardently longed for by many pious persons. Some of them begged the privilege of having them transcribed, for it was known they were written, so impatient were they to read them. So great was his popularity among that class of persons, that individuals even of rank, travelled one hundred miles to see the man and enjoy his society for a short time. But Arndt was far from being happy at Brunswick, with all these evidences of respect from strangers. However, a more favorable change than he expected, awaited him, and this was his call to Eisleben. He determined to go and preach the gospel in the birth and death place of Luther. The Burgo-master of Brunswick, and a large number of church members exerted themselves to induce him to change his determination. He would not yield. The Brunswickers allowed him to leave their city without paying him all the salary due him, and he was afterwards compelled to demand it by law. This was discreditable to the church, and yet, on the other hand, testimonials of the highest character were given him by the town council and some of the clergy.

He was most cordially welcomed at Eisleben, and it may well be conceived how grateful to his feelings all this was, after his severe persecutions at Brunswick, which he never visited

again. He felt like one who in a dream had been attacked by savage beasts in a dark forest, but who on awaking, finds himself secure. He here again subscribed the symbolical books in the presence of the Prince and many other distinguished persons. He was not only pastor of St. Andrew's church, but was also a member of the consistorium, or council of ministers.

It was not, however, Arndt's lot to enjoy many days of unclouded sunshine, and he was again called on to experience that "the afflictions of the righteous are many." A deposed colleague named Wolf, occasioned him unspeakable trouble, but the Lord knows how to bring the counsels of the ungodly to nought. In Count Mansfeld, and in the general superintendent, Dr. Schleussner, he found the warmest and most influential friends and defenders.

His numerous friends and distinguished patrons now importunately urged him to publish the additional book of True Christianity. He yielded to their request, and in 1609, the three other books were published under the direction of John Gerhard. Thus was the work completed, and it will always remain one of the most suitable, uninspired books ever printed, for the instruction of the believer in the origin, progress, difficulties and practice of christian piety. *Christ in us*, that is, the sanctification of man is the principal theme of all his books, but every where grounded on *Christ for us*, that is faith. The refutation of false doctrine is conducted very mildly in the work, and even where the prevailing sins of the day are rebuked, it is done in the gentlest manner. In such a work there must almost necessarily be much repetition. This, with Arndt's copiousness of language, imparts to some portions of it an amplitude and dryness, which prevent the admirers of a tasteful and finished style, from reading much of it at a time.

It was natural that the orthodox clergy should so fiercely oppose this book, and take offence at its mystical expressions and style, and the more so because the fanatics and mystics of that day glorified Arndt above all measure, and designated him as the third Elijah, and the restorer of true godliness. Arndt, with his strong tendencies in that direction, might have fallen wholly into the arms of the mystics, but for these furious assaults upon him. Perhaps we have to thank these orthodox divines for being the cause of the gradual expurgation of the book of these excrescences, and of finally rendering it what it has really become, the best devotional book of ancient or modern times.

In 1610 he received a call to a still more influential post.—Duke Ernest, of Brunswick Luneburg, offered him the place of general superintendent of the Principality of Luneburg, in connexion with the pastorate at Celle. He accepted it after various hindrances, and we now behold him elevated to a high office in the church, which involved an immense responsibility, as well as a most commanding influence. Before he accepted this call, he requested the opinion of the theological faculty at Wittenberg. They returned an equivocal and very unsatisfactory reply. This drew from him a rejoinder, which we wish that he had never written. It is one of the weakest and most objectionable acts he ever committed, and although he may have considered the provocation great, yet the severity of his rejoinder was not justifiable.

About this time he received the painful intelligence of the death of the excellent wife of his dear friend, John Gerhard. The letter of condolence which he sent to him is so beautiful, and affords such an interesting view of the character of the writer, that we cannot refrain from giving some extracts of it.

“From my inmost soul, I pray the Father of all mercies, and the God of all consolation, to grant you grace and comfort, my reverend and excellent friend, whom I embrace in the arms of christian fellowship, and whom I love with the affection of a father. With the most profound grief, I have heard of the death of your excellent wife. If my sighs, my sympathy, my tears could avail anything, I would do every thing to convince you that my services are at your command; but as the divine will must be obeyed, patience is necessary, and not tears and lamentations. The children of this world are estimated according to worldly prosperity; the children of God according to afflictions and trials. Choose now, which of the two would you prefer? Very seldom indeed does Christ allow those to be always happy whom he has destined for heaven. They who are to enjoy the bliss of Paradise, come up out of great tribulation. It is not granted to the inhabitants of heaven to partake of the pleasures of both worlds. You have sent before you a wife, a mother, a bride. A wife who was given you of God for a little while, in order through her to procure an heir for heaven; a mother, who through the leaven of regeneration has enriched the kingdom with an infant son; a bride, who betrothed to Christ, was to become a queen in heaven, whom the bridegroom of virgin souls would not allow to remain longer on earth, that she might no longer be deprived of heaven. * * God has made you the follower of the patriarch Jacob, who on his return to his native land, sent be-

fore his wife and children, and traveled after them by himself on foot. I ask you, which would you prefer, to leave your dear infant son with his mother behind you, or send them on before you? If it is safer to send them on before you, why do you mourn? *Do you envy Christ's joy?* He has only demanded back his own, and not yours. * * * How happy those souls, who freed from the dross and anxieties of this world, are enjoying an everlasting rest in the blissful presence of God. Soon did your sainted wife complete her earthly career, and during a brief period she was a daughter, maiden, bride, wife, mother; richly adorned with the true knowledge of the Son of God, crowned with the most brilliant virtues, and admired for her distinguished piety. She was a temple of the Holy Ghost. She bore the cross of Christ without weariness; she was patient in tribulation without murmuring. She was faithful in prayer without doubting, and at last, full of confidence in God, and calmly committing her soul to Christ, she left the prison house of clay, and became a partaker of the heavenly bliss. What more do you wish? Is it not better suddenly to complete our course, and discharge our particular duties, than to drag out a slow and weary existence? He who performs his work soon, deserves rest soon." * * *

At Celle, Arndt had the unspeakably great advantage of serving a prince who was truly pious. In all christian duties, he was an example not only to persons of his own rank, but to the poorest of his subjects. The duke Christian was a conscientious observer of the Lord's day. He did every thing in his power to maintain the dignity and honor of the house of God, and was a liberal patron of the servants of the church. Arndt's external and financial condition was much improved by his removal to this place, but his liberality to the more needy around him, always kept him poor. The good things of this world could never have fallen into more generous hands, for nothing afforded him more pleasure than to do good and communicate. All the money which was laid on the altar as a compensation for sacramental services performed, (as was the custom at that time) was regularly deposited by him in the charity box before he left the church.

The sphere of his official operations was extensive. At one time we see him on tours of inspection and visitation; at another in the sessions of the Consistorium, proposing wise and salutary measures; again, visiting all the schools of the Principality, encouraging the teachers with friendly advice, and communicating the results of his own rich experience. The striking improvement in the religious life of the people, and

the complete and wholesome reformation in all affairs pertaining to the schools, was a speaking evidence of the wisdom and conscientiousness, the care and fidelity with which he discharged the various duties of his profession. And if even to the present day, the Principality of Luneburg has many peculiar and excellent arrangements in these respects, superior to those of other sections of Germany, it owes them in part to the faithful zeal of its former general superintendent, more than two hundred years ago.

Exalted and influential as his position was, never for a moment did he forget his relation to Christ. He ever kept in view the language of John the Baptist: "He must increase, but I must decrease." Herein lay, according to him the whole mystery of godliness, the sanctification of the heart, and the way of salvation. Hence, he gloried in his own weakness that the strength of Christ might dwell in him, for he knew that "when we are weak then are we strong," and that we are only great in that proportion, in which we feel ourselves low, and daily become more convinced of our utter helplessness and unworthiness.

How, in the multitude of his engagements, he could yet find time, not only for his extensive correspondence, but also for his labors as an author, would be incomprehensible, if we did not know that he well understood the happy art of employing every hour of the day to some useful purpose, and that besides this, the most perfect system and punctuality characterized all his proceedings. He did everything in the right way, at the right time, and with untiring diligence. He was neither idle, nor slow, nor slovenly. Hence, postponed and half-finished labors, so common with most men, were almost strange to him, and if he had them on hand occasionally, he gave himself no rest until all was finished. Restless activity and constant application were real luxuries to him; a real, proper element of his life, in which he felt himself happy.—Overloaded as he was with business, to such an extent that many others would have sunk under it, he continued cheerful and undismayed. He laid hold of his work with the energy of a man, who was determined to perform it, and never was he so contented as when he was most laboriously engaged. He was an example of industry to all his colleagues, and thus urged on to activity many a man who tarried by the way, or groaned at the prospect of difficulties, real or imaginary, before him.

Of his writings that were published about this time, (1615) the following may be mentioned, sermons (*Postilla*¹) on the Gospels and Epistles. In 1617 appeared his exposition of the Psalms, the German theology, and a German translation Kempi's Imitation of Christ. In 1618 he prepared, at the command of Duke Christian, a church constitution and discipline for Luneburg, which would be considered too severe, even by the most puritanic of *our* congregations at this day. But those were the times of most rigid adherence to the symbolical books. In proportion as that adherence became lax, the exercise of discipline was relaxed, and all sorts of rationalistic error were introduced. That man has read church history to very little purpose, who has not learned that fact, and his opinion on the subject is entitled to no consideration whatever. The days of the church's greatest purity are those, in which she clings to her confessions with most ardor, and cultivates the spirit inculcated in them with most zeal. It has always been so in the history of *our* church. All the books show it; all the facts demonstrate it. The days of the revivals under Arndt, Spener and Franke, were the days of uncompromising allegiance to the symbolical books.

The number of Arndt's admirers increased in the same proportion, in which during this period, he multiplied the number of his writings. From near at hand and afar off, the high and the low, an immense number of letters were sent, expressing their cordial thanks for the unspeakably great blessings which they had derived from his book. Princes and nobles, professors, ministers and laymen sent him their hearty congratulations, and related numerous instances of conversions through the instrumentality of his books. On the other hand, the number of those who envied and hated him also increased.—They assailed him most remorselessly, and renewed calumnious accusations which had been refuted a hundred times. But it is refreshing to look on the calmness and patience with which he bore this unrelenting opposition. Whenever he was assailed, he carefully and impartially inquired whether there was any ground for the attack. He was far from presuming himself to be infallible, nor did he deem himself so wise as to

¹ *Postilla*.—A collection of sermons to be read in the churches *after the gospel*, especially by schoolmasters in the villages in the absence of the minister. Paul Warnefried, under Charlemagne, made a collection of sermons from the Fathers, and the Emperor ordered that they should be read in the churches *post illa*, i. e. verba Evangelii. Hence the name *post illa*. It is said that Luther first applied this name to this class of devotional books. It is very Luther like.

need no advice or correction from others. Hence, as soon as he was convinced that either in his conduct or his writings, he had committed an error or given offence without cause, he was not ashamed to acknowledge it, and no man was more ready to make all due reparation. Instead of being offended, when charged with error on good grounds, he felt sincerely thankful to the person who told him of his fault. But if, on the other hand, after conscientious investigation, he discovered that he was right, nothing could move him from the truth, or the execution of his purpose. This perseverance in a good cause, amid reproach and opposition, is often regarded as selfishness and obstinacy, by persons who never felt the power of conviction or the love of truth. When Arndt found men opposed to him in honest, open discussion, who he knew were in pursuit of truth, and discovered that a mere misunderstanding existed between them, he defended his position or his conduct with the most remarkable gentleness and modesty, seeking to convince them with the whole power of his extraordinary eloquence, without however attempting to force his convictions upon them by the employment of severity or dogmatism. If, on the other hand, he saw that the assault arose from a spirit of controversy, envy, obstinacy, malice or knavery, and that the only object in view was to occasion vexation, or injure his reputation, then, if he felt that the dignity of his office, or other important reasons rendered it necessary, he engaged in the controversy with the firmest resolution and most unflinching courage, always, however, observing the law of love, and never attacking the personal character of his opponent.

In the discharge of his pastoral duties at Celle, Arndt was faithful and diligent. The many evidences of confidence and veneration, which he received from his civil rulers and the people, show conclusively that he did not allow his labors as an author, nor his numerous controversies to interfere, in the least degree, with his duties to his church.

Arndt had now attained his sixty-sixth year, and his strength began to decline. Though naturally of a strong constitution, yet his incessant toils as preacher, pastor, author and controversialist, at length overcame him. He preached his last sermon on the 3d of May, 1621. It required extraordinary exertion to finish the discourse. This did not escape the notice of his hearers, for they observed that during the sermon his face turned deadly pale, and that his voice, usually strong, clear and melodious, frequently failed. Arndt, who for a long time before anticipated the approaching termination of his pilgrimage, did not attempt to conceal his present condition from him-

self. On returning from church, and meeting his wife at his own door, he observed with composure, "I have now preached my funeral sermon." He was not mistaken. He was obliged to take to his bed on that day, and never left it alive. From that moment he gave himself no more concern about his official affairs, that he might be undisturbed in his final preparation for death, and that he might not distress his family and friends unduly, he gave no evidence by word or action, that he looked for death with certainty.

At first his condition did not seem desperate, for, besides great exhaustion, he suffered only from an apparently slight inflammation of the throat, which rendered speaking and swallowing difficult. However, there soon followed painful oppressions of the breast, associated with a burning fever, which very soon exhausted all his remaining strength. Amidst his severest sufferings, he did not betray the least degree of impatience. By the side of his faithful wife, who, from the first moment of his attack, never left his bed, and with whom he had lived in a happy though childless marriage thirty-eight years, he looked forward to his death with perfect composure and filial submission to the will of his Heavenly Father. Why should not this have been the case? He had learned to die, before the final hour arrived. He prayed, not relying on his own righteousness, but on God's mercy in Christ, and comforted himself with the assurance that we are justified by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ. Supported on this foundation-rock of his faith, he calmly awaited his approaching end, and was not only satisfied, but fervently prayed, that God would deliver him from his misery and trials.

In order to unite himself still more intimately with his Savior on earth already, he sent for his friend and colleague, Storch, with the request to receive the Lord's Supper. He soon appeared, and after Arndt had been seated on a chair, and in deep humility had made a confession of sin, he partook of the holy sacrament in the presence of his wife, his colleagues and several other friends. After this effort he became weaker. Storch then addressed him in language, similar to that which Dr. Jones used in speaking to the dying Luther. "I do not doubt that, as you have never entertained any doctrine contrary to God's word, but have always continued firm and steadfast in the unadulterated word, the writings of the prophets and apostles, the Augsburg confession and other symbolical books of the Lutheran church, so you will also, by God's grace, maintain to the end the same doctrines and faith

which you have publicly preached and professed." Arndt replied several times, in a weak but intelligible voice, "yes, yes, that I will even to the end."

After these words he sunk back exhausted, and although the physicians employed all their skill to preserve his life; and his people, not only in the churches, but in private also, fervently prayed for his restoration, yet those around him could no longer doubt of the speedy issue. The hour had struck, when he was to enter the joy of his Lord, and receive the crown of eternal life.

The 11th of May finally arrived; it was Friday; which he spent for the most part silently, but yet in fervent aspirations to his heavenly father. Towards evening he interrupted that silence, and uttered the words of the Psalmist, "Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant;" on which some one present replied what is written in John 5, 24; "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word and believeth on him that hath sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life." He sunk into a brief, tranquil slumber, but soon awoke, and, casting his eyes towards heaven, he spoke with holy ecstasy. "We saw his glory, the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth." And when his wife asked when he had seen this glory, he replied, "I have seen it just now. Oh, what a glory it is! It is the glory, which no eye hath seen, no ear hath heard. Yet this glory have I seen."

Soon after, the clock struck eight, and he asked the hour.—An hour after he repeated the question, and when he was told it had struck nine, he joyfully responded, "now I have conquered." These were his last words. Surrounded by his friends, he lay with folded hands, and with the countenance of an angel, full of holy peace. When at half-past twelve at night, they bent over his tranquil face, believing that his breathing had become more faint, he had already departed; that noble heart had ceased to beat; his eloquent lips were sealed and his lustrous eyes closed forever. On his really beautiful countenance there was not the least trace of suffering or struggle, but there was spread over it a placid, holy serenity; that peace of God, which, during the whole of his active life, even amid the most threatening outward excitement, always reigned in his soul.

It was a remarkable fact, that on the day of his death there was an eclipse of the sun, which his friends considered portentous. With him, in fact, the greatest, purest and most brilliant

light in the firmament of the church since the time of Luther was extinguished.

If we take but a superficial view of this extraordinary man, if we accompany him to his solitary chamber, or in the stormy arena of his public life, we every where discern traces of character which elevate him among the noblest and most venerable of his race; a man equally distinguished for thorough, sound and solid science, and extensive, profound and practical knowledge of God, as well as for extraordinary purity of character, and unblemished christian and apostolic deportment. Yea, truly as far as human infirmity is capable, he was richly endowed with all the virtues and graces of a faithful pastor, an eloquent preacher, a learned theologian, an affectionate husband, a sincere friend, an upright follower of Jesus Christ.

Nothing was more natural, than that his death should universally excite the deepest sympathy, and the most profound grief. On the 15th of May, he was buried in the church at Celle. His funeral was honored by the presence of Duke Christian, and an immense throng of citizens of every class.

If ever the words of Daniel could with propriety be applied to any great teachers in the church, among them was Arndt. "And they that be wise (the teachers) shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever." He shone on earth already in doctrine, word and work. If he was not so brilliant a scholar as Melancthon or Erasmus, or so fearless a hero as Luther, yet he displayed in his writings and his life, a power, a love, a piety which cannot be contemplated without profit by any man. He bore the same relation to Luther, that the apostle James bore to Paul. Holding fast to purity of doctrine, he yet placed the practice of it in the foreground, and he often used the expression, "Christ has many disciples, but few followers."

In his sermons, he was a true reformer of the taste of that age; for instead of making an idle display of learning and controversial acrimony, he expounded the scriptures plainly and faithfully. In his books, he stands forth prominently as the greatest practical writer of the whole Protestant church, and there is, perhaps, no book in the literature of practical theology, which at the time of its appearance created such a sensation, and met with so wide a circulation as his *True Christianity*. He never was a poet, but extremely fond of music. He loved the Latin language, and wrote it with great facility, but the German language he cherished with enthusiasm. In his intercourse he was friendly and sociable. He was often visit-

ed by strangers, desirous of making his acquaintance. He was always at the service of every body. He did not become vain when he was commended, nor displeased when he was blamed. He was willing to learn from any person, and was always ready to correct his errors when he was convinced of them. His riper years were, notwithstanding a continual conflict with the envy, impatience and bigotry of the theologians, many of whom were more zealous for an external confession than for holiness of heart and conduct.

Very peculiar to him, and probably the remains of the superstition of earlier times, was his anxious confidence in *premonitions*. Thus, he was dreadfully afraid of an approaching war, because one day a large number of storks had gathered on the roofs of the houses in the town of his residence; he regarded a circumstance, that occurred in a family in Brunswick, in 1608, as ominous of its downfall; thus also, the death of Duke Ernest, in 1611, was considered by him as a warning not to accept the call to Celle.

He was not only an uncommonly active and industrious man, who cultivated his own fields, but he was also very economical and temperate, satisfied with little, and leading a very frugal life. His wife contributed much, by her prudent and economical management of household affairs, to his comfort, and thus enabled him to dispense more liberal charities to the poor.

Great, as he was, as a preacher, yet he was still more distinguished for his gift of prayer. In the numerous vexations of his life, from his youth up, he had learned to pray with the most fervent devotion, and often with bitter tears did he commend to God the condition of the church. To this day, his book entitled the Garden of Paradise, remains unexcelled as a book of prayer.

All Arndt's writings were published in three folio volumes at Leipzig and Görlitz—the first in 1734, the second in 1735, the third in 1736.

The most extensively read of his writings is, of course, the four books of True Christianity. If, during the life time of the author, this work was bitterly assailed, we need not wonder that after his death this opposition not only continued, but became even more violent than ever.

The work was attacked and defended by eminent men. The most influential and violent of its opponents was Dr. Lucas Osiander, junior, Professor, Provost and Chancellor at the University of Tübingen. In the preface he promises to say nothing with regard to the person or character of Arndt, but he

is soon carried away in the heat of polemics, and charges Arndt with all manner of heresies. His design was to maintain the purity of the church doctrine, which he conceived to be tarnished by the writings of Arndt. Osiander belonged to a family in which the spirit of controversy seemed to be hereditary. The prejudice, which he cherished against Arndt, associated with his blind zeal for orthodoxy, carried him too far, and tempted him to unfairness and unwarrantable severity. He aimed at the total extermination of the book, and in order to accomplish its complete destruction, he published another book in 1624, entitled *Simple Christianity*. But his design so signally failed, that whilst Arndt's book was translated into many languages, and was circulated by the thousands in and out of Germany, Osiander's fell into such obscurity, that nothing is now known of it except the title. On his death bed, Osiander repented sincerely of his opposition to Arndt, and confessed that he was moved against him by envy and other evil passions. Numerous other writing for and against the book, appeared, which we have not room to mention.

The more extensively these controversial writings were read and discussed, the more decisive was the verdict in Arndt's favor, and hence we hear the most distinguished theologians of the Protestant church, expressing themselves in his behalf, and vindicating him against the charge of heresy. Some of them lauded him unconditionally; others did him full justice in all essential points, and greatly admired the genuine christian principles, on which his book was founded, whilst they here and there censure some expression liable to misconstruction, and complain of the absence of discriminating doctrinal distinctness.

Among those, each of whose names is a host, who vindicated Arndt, were John Gerhard, the great Lutheran divine, Professor at Jena; John Valentine Andraeae, Professor at Tübingen; (of whose character our readers shall learn more in our next number) John Benedict Carpzov, Professor at Leipzig; Dr. Solomon Glasius, Superintendent at Gotha; John Andrew Quenstedt, Professor at Wittenberg; Polycarp Lyser, Spener, Beyer, Lange, Buddaeus, Walch, Bengel; who, in his commentary on Revelations 14: 6, regards Arndt as the angel flying through the midst of heaven, proclaiming the everlasting gospel. We have collected the testimony of these, and a number of other celebrated Lutheran theologians, in favor of Arndt, but we have not room to give them.

It was not only the divines of the Lutheran church, but those of the Reformed church have also borne evidence to the

exalted merits of this illustrious man of God. Even in the church of Rome, his worth has been acknowledged. In 1734, the *True Christianity* was printed in the Romish institute at Kempten, in Bavaria, but without the original title, dedication, preface and biography, and given out as though published by Dr. *Randt*. Some alterations were made, but by some neglect or oversight, the third part, which treats of the Holy Trinity, has the whole of the title of the Leipzig copy, from which this surreptitious edition was printed.

But the numerous translations and editions of this work, for the last two hundred years, afford the most brilliant proof of the victory of Arndt over his enemies, and of the powerful influence it has had on the minds of men. There is, perhaps, no book, besides the Bible and Luther's smaller catechism, that has been so often printed, so extensively sold, and so much read, as this. From 1664 to 1780, that is, in 116 years, more than seventy principal editions were issued, without reckoning others of inferior and cheaper character. It has been translated into many European languages and dialects, and into Malabar by the missionary Schulze. In 1646, and again in 1712-14, English translations appeared in London. An abridgment in questions and answers, was published in 1750. In 1777 Flederssen began to modernize the style, and adapt it to the literary taste of the times, and published it in three parts. It was finished by Sinterius.¹

The English version of 1712 was dedicated to Queen Anne. The following is an extract of the preface: "Our Arndt was the ornament of the Lutheran church in the beginning of the seventeenth century. He endeavored to awaken the people from their lifeless formality to an inward sense of true christianity, by restoring the doctrine of a living faith to its first integrity and practical application. Dr. Worthington, in the preface to his translation of the *Christian Pattern*, introduces Arndt as one of the brightest lights of the Protestant church, and having compared him with Salvian among the ancients, and Thomas á Kempis among the moderns, he likens him in the last place to the prophet Micah, with regard to the hardness of his lot, informing us how such a plain and sincere dealing met with great opposition and censures, even among protestants themselves, but how unjustly and undeservedly hath been observed by others."

Several editions have been published in this country. The best is by H. Ludwig, New York. That issued by the Amer-

¹ It was this work that was translated and published some years ago by the Rev. John N. Hoffman, of our church in this country.

ican Tract Society is divested of every thing characteristically Lutheran.

He who longs after spiritual edification and deep religious confidence, can take up no book better adapted to exhibit the entire nothingness of every thing earthly, and the absolute necessity of divine grace, and of an internal life in God, than this work. It became the principal devotional book in all protestant christendom, and it has continued to be such to this day, especially among those speaking the German language. With great propriety does Pritius remark in his preface to the small Leipzig edition, (1701) "What necessity is there of many words when the works speak so loudly? Truly this book has brought uncounted numbers to a knowledge of salvation. And if it were possible to state how many ungodly persons have been through it awakened to repentance—how many resting in previous security, led to a proper appreciation of True Christianity—how many lukewarm roused to active zeal—how many mourning souls comforted;—in a word, how many unbelievers truly converted, we would then have a proper conception of the extent of the divine aid which was imparted to this holy man in writing this book."

Some years ago, Dr. Anton, Professor at Halle, accompanied the Saxon prince, August, to Madrid as his travelling chaplain, and in company with the prince's physician, visited the library of the Jesuit college in that city. He asked the librarian, what book of a practical character they esteemed most highly? a Latin work without any title was shewn to them, and highly commended as a most excellent production. Dr. Anton immediately recognized it as the Latin translation of Arndt's *True Christianity*, and remarked that he was well acquainted with the book. "That is John Arndt's work, one of our protestant divines." The puzzled Jesuit could not, of course, retract his unmeasured commendation, and only observed, he did not comprehend how that book should ever have found its way into Spain!

Count von Hohelohe, a convert to the faith of Rome, once expressed himself thus to Dr. Anton: "If you had many Arndts, it would be better for you, and much worse for us!"

A young man of the Protestant faith, residing in a Roman Catholic city, became much concerned about his salvation. He tried many expedients, but all in vain, to secure his acceptance with God. He thought, at length, he might find peace of mind in the church of Rome. He applied to a priest for advice. "Young man," said the priest, "return to your native country; read John Arndt's *True Christianity*; read it dili-

gently and prayerfully, and your ardent longings after God's grace will be satisfied."

Thus Arndt has triumphed. His writings have materially contributed to the regeneration of the church in his native land. The most influential ministers of a later period have followed in his footsteps. Many imitated his style, but especially copied his example in holding up practical christianity, repentance and faith, conversion and sanctification, thus entirely changing their mode of preaching, of which they soon beheld the happy results.

But the principles of Arndt were most fully carried out many years afterwards, by Spener and his pupils, and hence with great propriety, Lange designates Spener as the second Arndt (*Arndtium redivivum*). Since that time, devotional literature has received a new impetus. Dr. Gerhard wrote his *School of Piety*, Paul Egardier, his *True Christianity*, and many other pious divines published works of a similar character.

Whilst those books written against Arndt are lying covered with dust, and unread in old libraries, and their titles forgotten, Arndt's books are still revered and studied, and the name of their author will live in grateful remembrance for ever. Those of his enemies have been proved to be hay and stubble, whilst his are gold and precious stones. For two hundred years they have been the source of blessings to millions, and they will continue to exert an influence for good from generation to generation to the end of time.

ARTICLE V.

NOTES ON PROPHECY.

DANIEL 7TH CHAP.

By Rev. J. Oswald, York, Pa.

DANIEL was a descendant of the kings of Judah, and is said to have been born at Upper Bethoron, in the territory of Ephraim. He was carried away captive to Babylon when he was about eighteen or twenty years of age, 606 B. C. He was placed in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, and was afterwards raised to situations of high rank and great power, both in the

empire of Babylon and Persia. He lived to the end of the captivity, but being then very old, it is most probable that he did not return to the land of Israel. It is generally believed that he died at Susa, soon after his last vision, which is dated in the third year of the reign of Cyrus. Daniel enjoyed a large share of worldly prosperity, but amidst the corruptions of a licentious and heathen court, he preserved his integrity and virtue inviolate, and no danger or temptation could divert him from the worship of the true God.

This seventh chapter of Daniel embraces a period certainly extending from the time of the prophet until now, and how much longer, we may have occasion to show hereafter. The points here spoken of, are also noticed elsewhere in the sacred scriptures, as will be seen in the progress of our illustrations. This chapter, finally, was written in the Chaldee, the language of Nebuchadnezzar and Nitocris, and is prophetic, nearly all prophecy, and it may be proper to inquire :

What is prophecy? It has been defined a miracle of knowledge, a declaration, or description, or representation of something future, which a man knows not from his own sagacity, nor from the relation of others, but by an extraordinary revelation from God, and is the highest possible evidence of supernatural communion with the Deity. It is quite as much beyond man's ability to foresee and foretell future events, as to heal the diseased with a word, or to raise up the dead. That miracles, in the common acceptation of the word, *or miracles of power* were performed, can be proved at a distant period of time only, by witnesses, against whom the unbelieving may cavil and object. But the man who reads prophecy, and perceives the corresponding event, *is himself the witness of the miracle*, and the longer the lapse of time, the stronger the evidence that he who uttered the prediction was divinely inspired, and that it is indeed a revelation from heaven. Those, who stood around the tomb of Lazarus and heard the words of the Son of God, "Lazarus come forth," and saw the grave give up its mouldering captive, were witnesses of a stupendous miracle, so *are we*, who after the lapse of more than four thousand years, read the prophetic curse of Noah (Gen. 9 : 25, 26, 27,) upon Canaan, and his prophetic blessing upon Shem and Japheth, and witness the fulfilment before our eyes ; the Africans or Hamites, as were many of the immediate descendants of Canaan, *are still in servitude*, and the Europeans or Japhethites *are enlarging now*, and dwelling in the tents of Shem. Those, who were with Jesus in the ship, on the tempest tossed

sea, and heard him rebuke the elements, and saw the great calm, which immediately ensued, were witnesses of a miracle, no less are we, who after the lapse of three thousand years read Moses' account of the present character, condition and dispersion of the descendants of Jacob. If the Jews, who personally saw the wonderful works of Jesus Christ, and yet believed not, were guilty, and worthy of condemnation, no less can be our guilt, who read the ancient prophecies, and witness their fulfilment, if we abide in unbelief.

The prophecies of the sacred scriptures differ widely from the pretended predictions of the heathen, among whom imposture supplied the place of revelation. The events foretold by the prophets of Jehovah, were often complicated and remote, dependent on the arbitrary will of many, and arising from various causes, which concurred to bring them to pass. Some prophecies were fulfilled immediately, or shortly after they were delivered, as in the case of Micaiah's prediction in reference to Ahab, 1 Kings, 22, 28, and verse 34. The prophet had declared that if king Ahab returned "at all in peace" from his expedition against Ramoth-gilead, in connection with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, then the Lord had not spoken by him, and so it was, that in the day of battle, one drew a bow at a venture, and sped his shaft, which smote the king between the joints of his harness, and he was wounded, and at evening died. Some of their predictions had their accomplishment somewhat later, but the prophets who delivered them lived to see the event, e. g. the kings of Syria and Israel united together against Jerusalem. Ahaz, king of Judah, and all his subjects being seized with fear, the prophet Isaiah, by the command of God, came to him, and assured him that the enterprize should fail, (Isai. 7, 7,) and that before a child whose birth was then yet future, should have knowledge to cry "My father, and my mother," the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria should be taken away before the king of Assyria, Is. 8, 4.—Within three years, the prediction was accomplished, improbable as it might have seemed to human foresight, at the time of its utterance. Other prophecies, again, had a more distant object, but the fulfilment of those which were near, ever excited confidence in the truth of those that are distant, and the accomplishment of the last confirm the first.

To explain *unfulfilled* prophecy, I freely admit is difficult, and in some particulars *impossible*. The great fact or facts predicted are plain, and this is all that is required for the encouragement and support of the people of God, but to give the detail, manner, exact time, and all the circumstances by

which they were brought about, is beyond human ability. The bondage of the Israelites, and their deliverance from Egyptian servitude are plain facts, but what uninspired exponent of prophecy could have told beforehand, all the instrumentalities by which these should be effected, e. g. that Jacob should have twelve sons, that Joseph should be hated and sold by his brethren, that in Egypt he should rise to place and power, that his family in Canaan, pressed by famine, should at his invitation, go down to Egypt and dwell there; that in the progress of time a king would arise who did not know Joseph, and who should oppress the Israelites, and make their life bitter by a burthensome and grievous servitude, that God would raise up a deliverer in Moses, how he would cause him to be rescued from a watery grave, reared in the court of Pharaoh, appear to him in the burning bush, send him to the king with the demand to let his people go, and what means he would take to glorify his power, and to humble the proud Egyptian monarch to the point of yielding to the demand of God, by his servant, to let the Israelites depart. The overthrow of Babylon is a clear, distinct fact, but who, or what uninspired interpreter, would have told before, the singular and wonderful providences, by which it was accomplished? The redemption of the world by Jesus Christ, was a plain fact, clearly, fully predicted, nay all the minutiae are given, even to the casting of lots for his garments, yet what man, not a prophet of the Most high, could before their accomplishment in Jesus Christ, have put them all together, consecutively, and side by side, and thus constituted one great whole. I will not say, that it would have been utterly impossible, but very sure I am, that it never was done.

All this should teach us humility in our attempts to explain unfulfilled prophecy, yet by no means justifies neglect, on our part, of the prophetic portions of the sacred volume. Those are unquestionably wrong, who undertake precisely to set forth the exact time, the manner, and all the circumstances relating to the fulfilment of prophecy, whose accomplishment is yet future, as though they had been God's counsellors. But those are equally in error, who because they cannot understand all, make it a pretext to neglect prophetic studies, or the study of the prophetic scriptures, almost wholly, if not altogether.—Such conduct is injurious to themselves, inasmuch as they lose a part of the great system of means, which God employs to engage our faith, to support us under trials, and to guide us in duty, and has, accordingly, as high a title to our study and consideration, as the law or the gospel, and can no more justifiably be debarred from the influence it is calculated to exert.

It is injurious to God, as it proceeds on the assumption that he made a series of communications to us, constituting a large portion of his word, which are of such a nature, that it is the part of good sense and discretion to shun them; as though we understood what becomes us better than He, and had risen to such a knowledge of ourselves and Him, and such a refinement of taste, as to discern that he misjudged our faculties and the means that are adapted to subserve our improvement! Such conduct, finally, is contrary to that of the prophets of old, (1 Pet. 1: 10, 11,) who prophesied of the grace that should come unto us, for they searched diligently; "searching what, or what manner of time, the spirit of Christ, which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow."

This chapter is a miracle, a miracle of knowledge, of which it is our privilege to be *witnesses*, so far as it has been fulfilled, in so far as we behold the events predicted in the world's history. The principal subjects successively brought before us in this chapter are, "the times of the Gentiles," including the four great monarchies, viz: the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, the Roman, the ten kingdoms, and ecclesiastical, or Pontifical Rome, together with the kingdom of the Saints; what precedes its establishment, when and where set up, and its duration. The points or subjects of greatest interest to us, perhaps, are those nearest to our own times, and those yet future, which however we can best appreciate by a proper understanding of the whole, and hence the propriety of beginning *at the beginning*.

General remarks on the four Monarchies of Daniel, seventh chapter.

"In the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon," Daniel had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed." Belshazzar was the son of Evilmerodach, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar the great, who occupies perhaps as large a space in this volume, as any other mere Gentile prince, partly from his importance in the *historical world's* history, but chiefly from his relation to the church and people of God. Daniel had this vision about forty-eight years after his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great image, recorded in the second chapter of this book. He wrote his dream, left his vision on record, and "spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of heaven" (i. e. the east wind and the west wind, the north wind and the south wind) "strove upon the great sea," i. e. the Mediterranean, called great by the

Jews, in distinction from the lakes and inland seas, with which they were acquainted, as the lake of Gennesereth and the Dead Sea, &c. "And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from the other." The four great beasts are four great monarchies or kingdoms. There never were more than four universal governments and their divisions, as respects the church and people of God, from Nebuchadnezzar down to the present time, and there never will be more, until the Gentile dominion end, and the saints of the Most High take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom," *not for a thousand years*, but "forever, even forever and ever." These monarchies are called "great" in comparison with other kingdoms or states, that may have co-existed. But I apprehend it would be difficult to point out such states or kingdoms on the map of the world, over which one or the other of these did not, at some time, or does not now, exercise more or less dominion.¹ If there were any such states, they must have been so remote and secluded as not to attract attention, or else they would have been swallowed up or absorbed by these voracious, all absorbing governments. They could never have been of any historic moment. Again, these monarchies are denominated or represented as beasts, for, or on account of their rapacity, tyranny, cruelty and oppression, especially with reference to the church, both under the old and under the new dispensations. They were all persecuting powers, more or less. *The saints at best were only tolerated.* When they were left unharmed and at peace, or had privileges conferred upon them, we feel as thankful, and wonder almost as much as when we meet Daniel untouched in the lion's den. The same power that shut the lions' mouths, in the one case, that they hurt not the prophet, in the other, also restrained the wrath of these ferocious governments, that they exterminated not the church of the living God. They came up from the sea, on which the four winds of heaven strove, i. e. from the then known world, bordering upon the Mediterranean, and which was agitated by wars and commotions, and fiercely conflicting human passions, as the sea lashed into fury by opposite and tempestuous winds. They were diverse one from the other, in people, laws and customs, and in the executions of their several administrations; one was a lion, the other a bear, and a third a leopard; each with some additional monstrosity. The lion "had eagle's wings." The bear "had three ribs in the mouth, between the teeth."

¹ The last of the four, in its papal phase, exercises not a little authority, even in this free and happy land.

The leopard had "four wings of a fowl, and four heads," and the *fourth beast* was so "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly," with great iron teeth, that no beast in the earth was sufficiently beastly to give it a name, or to stand as its representative.

These four universal monarchies, together with the ten kingdoms and the "little horn," constitute the "*times of the Gentiles*," in which the Gentiles and not the saints have ruled, do rule and will rule, until their time be fulfilled, or accomplished, when the "Ancient of days" comes, and judgment is given to the saints of the Most High, and the time come that the saints possess the kingdom.

Extracts from Notes on the Kingdom referred to in verse four, of Daniel, seventh chapter.

1. The emblem or hieroglyphic here employed. The "lion with eagle's wings," evidently means a kingdom, verse seventeenth, a particular kingdom, the same as that intended by the head of "fine gold" in Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the great image, chapter second, viz: the first in order, the Babylonian. This kingdom is understood to be referred to, or spoken of as a lion, and an eagle by some of the other prophets; Is. 5, 29; Jer. 48, 40; Ezek. 17, 1-6. The lion is considered the king of beasts, and the eagle the king of birds, and hence Babylon, which was the first and noblest of these kingdoms, is represented in this place by this emblem. Its preeminence is also observable in the "head of fine gold," chapter second. The "eagle's wings" denote rapidity of movement, which was especially exemplified in the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar, before whom Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, Egypt and Arabia quickly lay prostrate. After him, however, the lion's "eagle's wings" were plucked, no further extension of empire seems to have taken place; Lydia, Media and Persia indeed, which had been provinces before, revolted, and set up independent governments.

2. The origin of this kingdom. It was founded a short time after the deluge, A. M. 1717. B. C. 2233 or 34, and ended with the death of Belshazzar, B. C. 538. But what is generally understood by the Babylonian empire, began about 606 B. C., when Belesis, the hereditary Satrap of Babylon, overthrew both Nineveh and Sardanapalus, and transferred the seat of power to his own city. There may be said to have been two distinct kingdoms of Babylon, the one preceding, the other following the Assyrian empire. Or rather, there were three great eras of the same monarchy in the country of As-

syria. The first commences with Nimrod, when Babylon was the seat of power. The second commences with Ninus, when Nineveh became the metropolis of the empire. The third commences with Belesis' 606, when Babylon's palaces once more became the residence of the sovereigns of the east.

3. The universality of this monarchy. It was at its zenith under Nebuchadnezzar. Its universality seems not to have extended much beyond his reign, for previous to his time there were some independent nations, as the Jews, the Egyptians, the Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Tyrians and the Zidonians, and after him, as we have seen, the "eagle's wings were plucked" by the revolt of the provinces of Lydia, Media and Persia.

If it were asked, whence the universality of this monarchy? I would answer from God, it was an ordination of heaven. "For the God of heaven," spake the prophet to Nebuchadnezzar, "hath given thee a kingdom, power strength and glory, and wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all." Dan. 2: 37, 38.—The Lord, moreover, threatened the most terrible vengeance against those who should refuse obedience to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; that nation Jehovah said he would punish, with the sword, and with famine, and with the pestilence, until he had consumed them. Jer. 27: 1-9. The nations round about were guilty; the Jews were wicked, and the heathen were abominable. God punishes nations here, for national sins. His instruments to inflict judgments are many, drought, famine, pestilence, war; the tempest serves him, the fiery flame obeys him, all the elements are the ministers of his pleasure, will and purposes. Often he uses one nation as the executioner of his judgments upon another. Thus Babylon was the instrument of the divine vengeance, and he made her strong to punish the guilty. She was the staff, wherewith he smote many nations; the weapon of war, which became drunk with the blood of the people. Jehovah, having accomplished his purposes, cast aside this instrument; he brake this staff; he cast from him this weapon, for as Babylon was guilty also, there was done unto her as she had done unto others.

4. The nature of the rule of this government, and its relation to the church. It was an absolute monarchy; a despotism. The absolute power of the king, and the blind obedience of the people, is fully illustrated in the conduct of Nebuchadnezzar towards the magicians, the astrologers, the sorcerers and the Chaldeans, as recorded in the second chapter of this book.—

Again, it was an oppressive government, it smote the people in wrath, with a continual stroke ; it ruled the nations in vengeance, over whose fall the inhabitants of the earth gave a joyful shout, and the oppressed kingdoms and their rulers rejoiced. It was a terrible and destructive government. The fierceness of war was the delight of its kings, and the Chaldeans themselves were bitter, sanguinary and ferocious. It made the earth tremble, and shook the kingdoms. It made the world a wilderness, and desolated the cities.

As respects the relation of this government to the church—*Zion was subjected to "the Gentiles,"* and is still, and will be, until their time is accomplished. The daughter of Zion was desolate, her children captives, sitting by the waters of Babylon weeping, when they remembered Zion. The reason of this captivity we have succinctly and clearly given us in the second book of Chronicles, 36: 11–22. Nevertheless though their sins brought destruction on the Jews, their city and country, and seventy years subjection to the Babylonish yoke, yet it did not destroy the covenant relation, into which God had entered with the fathers, and any indignity offered to an afflicted people, or insult offered to the service of the Temple, was regarded as an affront to the Most High, nor could pass with impunity, though the perpetrators were the potentates of the earth.

5. The downfall and utter destruction of Babylon, and with her the ruin of the empire, of which she was the proud metropolis. Isaiah foretold the doom pronounced against Babylon, more than one hundred years before the event, and called the prince by name, who fulfilled this prediction. About 540 B. C. Cyrus the great invested this city with his victorious army, and after spending two years in this blockade, learned that there was a great festival to be celebrated in Babylon, and that it was the custom of the Babylonians on this occasion, to spend the night in drunkenness and debauchery. Taking advantage of this circumstance, he drained the river which flowed through Babylon, and at midnight his troops found easy access along its bed, into the city. In consequence of the general disorder, they encountered no obstacle whatever in their progress. Having penetrated into the heart of the city, the several divisions of Cyrus's army met, according to agreement, at the gates of the palace, overpowered the guards, cut to pieces all who opposed them, slew the king Belshazzar while attempting resistance, and received the submission of the whole city in a few hours. Thus fell Babylon, over which there was to be immense rejoicings, as we learn from the four-

teenth chapter of Isaiah, in which is found the boldest figure perhaps ever attempted in poetic composition. But Babylon was not only to fall, but to be utterly desolated. "And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation," &c. Isai. 13: 19. "I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts," Isa. 14: 23.

The entire desolation of Babylon was the result, partially of neglect, on the one hand, and of violence on the other. After its subjugation it ceased being the metropolis of a kingdom, and rapidly declined in importance and splendor. In the reign of Darius Hystaspes, 518 B. C., the inhabitants raised the standard of rebellion, which drew upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire, which resulted in the execution of the chief rebels, and the demolition of the hundred gates and the impregnable walls of the city. Xerxes B. C. 478, on his return from his inglorious invasion of Greece, plundered the temple of Belus of its immense treasures, and laid its lofty tower in ruins, partly from his hatred to the Sabian worship, and partly to recruit his exhausted treasury. Babylon declined rapidly under the successors of Alexander, who had attempted somewhat for its restoration, and in the year 294 B. C., it was almost exhausted of its inhabitants by Seleucus Nicator, who built in its neighborhood the city of Seleuci, or New Babylon. It also suffered greatly from the neglect or violence of the Parthian princes, before the christian era. Diodorus Siculus B. C. 44, Strabo B. C. 30, Pliny A. D. 66, Pausanias A. D. 150, Maximus Tyrius, and Constantine the great, as recorded by Eusebius, all concur in describing its ruined condition; and Jerome at length informs us, that about the end of the fourth century, its walls were employed by the Persian princes as an inclosure for wild beasts, preserved there for the pleasures of the chase.

6. The name of the metropolis of this first kingdom, Babylon, is in the sacred scriptures applied to the metropolis of the last of this succession of monarchies, viz: Rome, and not pagan, but so called christian or rather papal Rome. In proof of this fact, see Rev. 16: 19, and 18: 2, and also chapter 17. "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, come hither, I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sit-

teth upon many waters: With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet colored beast full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication. And upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the earth. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; and when I saw her I wondered with great admiration."

Now to fix with certainty on the place intended by "Babylon the great," two things only are to be answered: 1st. What is meant by the "many waters" in the first verse, where the whore sitteth, and 2d. What is intended by the "woman" in this chapter, Rev. 17. All this we can do with the utmost precision or certainty, for the angel who spake with John, dropt the figurative style, and explained in the latter part of the chapter. By the "waters" he meant "peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues," verse 15; and by the "woman," "that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth," verse 18. Now what city, it may be asked, reigned over the kings of the earth, in the days of the apostle? *Rome* answers every intelligent man; *Rome* says the historian; *Rome* says the protestant, and *Rome* says the candid papist. It is demonstration, that the metropolis of the last of these kingdoms is designated in the Bible by the name of the first, the only difference is, that papists apply the name Babylon to Rome in her pagan state, and it remains for me to prove that Rome papal is intended.

1. Rome pagan is not intended, the time would not apply. When John saw this vision, pagan Rome was at the zenith of its glory, but "Babylon the great," this monster was yet to rise. This great "mother of harlots" was yet future, and it was only when the secular imperial Roman power was taken out of the way, that she arose in full stature.

2. Pagan Rome is not meant, the character would not suit. Pagan Rome never seduced the kings of the earth to join in her idolatries. She never intoxicated them with the wine of her fornication. She subdued and ruled them with a rod of iron, but left them generally to their ancient usages and worship, nay, it is even said, imported the idols of the conquered

nations, and thus, instead of corrupting others in this respect, corrupted herself. But papal Rome, without any adequate temporal power, by subtilty, policy, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, has exercised an ascendancy over kings and nations, attached them to her usurped dominion in blind submission, *and induced them to conform to her idolatries, and corruptions of christianity.*

3. The color of the dress of the "woman" not only designates the city which she represents, but at what *period* of its history. Purple belonged to imperial; purple and scarlet to papal Rome; purple was the dress of the emperors; purple and scarlet have always been the distinctive colors of popes and cardinals.

4. The name "Mystery" in connection with "Babylon the great," points conclusively to papal Rome. In pagan Rome there was nothing to which this title was more proper, than any other heathen city, nor would it have been very mysterious to have substituted one pagan city for another; but it was a great *mystery* indeed, that the professed metropolis of the christian world should be another Babylon in idolatry, iniquity and cruelty to the people of God. Affecting the character of our holy mother, the church, she is the "mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth;" the inventor, source, promotor and principal example of idolatries, and all kinds of abominable abuses and perversions of christianity with which the nations have been corrupted.

So much for the fact under consideration; let us consider the reason or reasons of this fact, viz: Wherefore the chief city of the last in its latest phase, bears the name of the chief city of the first of these monarchies. These governments, though many and diverse, and administered by different people, with their centres of power in far distant places successively, are yet all *one* in character, viz: *gentile*, and all constituting but *one period* in prophecy in the divine mind, as respects the world's history, and hence the scripture use of the name Babylon is easy and natural. But to the reasons more particularly:

1. Papal Rome is called "Babylon" because "Rome" resembles Babylon in her enmity against the church. Babylon was the most formidable foe of the church under the old dispensation. Rome has been her most terrible enemy under the new. Until in later times, the church of Jesus Christ has suffered immensely from this apostacy, as a long and dark and sickening array of dungeons, and chains, and gibbets, and stakes, and racks, and deaths in their most horrid form, abun-

dantly testify. Rome papal was immeasurably worse in this respect than Rome pagan; an unbelieving and indifferent Galio may care for nothing pertaining to the gospel of the Son of God, but an apostate Julian must needs exterminate the church.

2. Rome papal is called by this name, because Rome resembles Babylon in her idolatry. Babylon, according to Jeremiah, was "the land of graven images," and mad upon their idols; Jer. 50: 38. The provision made in this ancient capitol for idolatrous purposes, was immense. Rome papal is in christendom the very "headquarters" of images and image worship, and so infatuated, it is said, as to have left out of the Bible, that part of the Decalogue prohibiting image making, and image worship, and thus incurring the penalty of those who "take away" from the words of the divine record, and they must be mad upon their idols indeed, who will *for them* run the certain hazard of having God take away their part, "out of the book of life." Idolatry took its rise at Babylon, was fostered and protected there, and from thence diffused itself abroad; so with Rome under the christian name, in modern times, under the gospel dispensation. Babylon of old was the chief of all idolatrous cities, hence she is taken as the fittest emblem to set forth the enormous guilt, and exhibit in full light the extensive influence of idolatrous Rome; each in its turn, "the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth," the former corrupting the heathen world with her abominations, the latter the christian.

Finally. Papal Rome is thus designated because Rome resembles Babylon in her overthrow. There were great rejoicings when Babylon fell, there will be no less when Rome's judgment comes. Babylon was never to be inhabited. Rome is to be a similar desolation; Rev. 18: 21, 22, 23. Babylon was to be as when the Lord overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. Sodom and Gomorrah were consumed with fire, and Rome is destined to the flames also; (Rev. 18: 8,) and then, when the mystic Babylon is no more, when the last metropolis of the last *prophetic gentile kingdom in its last phase*, has passed away, then will be the millennium, which is neither a thousand years, nor yet three hundred and sixty thousand, but the beginning of the eternal, the heavenly state. The one thousand years (the Apocalyptic *τα χιλια ετη*, mille anni, whence the word millennium) only marking the difference between the two resurrections, that of the just and of the unjust. May the day be hastened when it is proclaimed that "Babylon the great is fallen," for thereafter the "meek shall inherit the earth" in "the regeneration," possess forever "the kingdom prepared

for them from the foundation of the world," (Matt. 25 : 34,) the kingdom forfeited by apostacy, but recovered through grace, which we are directed to seek, for whose coming we are to pray, (Matt. 6 : 10,) but which will not be *until the judgment, and the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.*—2 Tim. 4 : 1.

ARTICLE VI.

Obituary Addresses, Delivered on the Occasion of the Death of Augustus Neander. Translated from the German, by the Rev. H. M. Harman, A. M., to which is prefixed a Sketch of the Life of Neander by the Translator. Ellicotts, Md., 1852. pp. 24.

We are indebted to the clever external appearance of this pamphlet for one of the sorryest investments of a quarter of a dollar that we have ever made. We would rather be minus five times the sum than suffer the effrontery which it has brought under our notice. It is true, the pamphlet treats of a great subject, Dr. Augustus Neander—the mighty champion of truth against the hosts of proud Neologions—the annihilator of the impious Straus—the John the Baptist of modern times—his life, his character, and his Death. And it also professes to give the concentrated and ignited thoughts of distinguished men—such as Drs. Krummacher, Nitzsch, and others—as they addressed the people in his Death-chamber, at his grave, and in the University Hall in which he lectured for forty years.—It is also given as “a faithful *translation* of the original, not a mere *paraphrase*, thus preserving in a great measure the style and manner of the different speakers,” by a Rev. Master of Arts. All this seemed well, and tempted us, as we suppose others have been tempted, to pick it up as a little treasure.—And it would no doubt have been an agreeable pamphlet, and a worthy tribute in a small way to the memory of a great man, but for a few things which we exceedingly regret. It just happened so, that this Ellicotts Master of Arts had unwittingly forgotten to consult his German and English grammars to the requisite extent; or Nature has unfortunately withheld from him the penetration to comprehend what he has endeavored to reproduce, or the discrimination to detect what might be called a readable construction of “Chatham’s mother tongue.”

For the edification of the readers of the Review, we copy a few specimens.

“Lazarus, our Friend, sleeps! He, whose life was but a reflection of that everlasting bliss, the breath of which, his pure soul, even upon earth, drank in and exhaled, he needed to make his death holy, nothing, but to continue to live as he had lived, as his transition was but the external realization of that which, internally for all who were connected with him, had long ago assumed tone and form.” * * “Scarcely had the hour of work arrived after his quickly eaten dinner, or rather hardly touched at all, when the reader, whom his disease of the eyes, almost increased to blindness, made necessary, was compelled to resume his labor, and after some time, he continued to dictate for his Church History, frequently interrupted by increasing weaknesses;”—page 7 of the first discourse.

Again, “A worthy old man, who in that infidel period was one of the last witnesses for Christ, and in the then recently dawning one, was the first, uttered a prophecy; when he learned to know him, concerning his future career, which was soon fulfilled. * “An internal propensity, then, for the present, led him to stillness in the country and to the fraternity of the Moravians, and for the past, to the first ages of the church when she, as she was never afterwards, was rich in witnesses both in life and death of the love of Christ.” Page 12.

Thus also discourses the eloquent Krummacher, according to this “faithful *translation*”: “And now even he!—Yet the thought could almost have entered our minds, if it were possible for the last debt of nature to be remitted to a life so glorified in God, without any detriment to the arrangement of Providence, as it was once remitted to the life of Enoch; that surely a tree, thus planted by the water-brook, whose fruit would not cast its blossom, would indeed strike its roots deep into the soil of immortality, and a foundation of thought and of life, so inexhaustible as is his, would perpetually fructify the field of the Church with new streams, that it would never fail, but eternally gush forth.” Page 16.

This classic pamphlet abounds with much more “of the same sort,” but we have not the nerve to transcribe it. What we have given will certainly suffice to prove, that what Denham said to Sir R. Fanshaw, has something more than mere rhyming fancy in it.

Such is our pride, our folly, or our fate,
That few, but *such as cannot write, translate.*

We would not utter a word to depreciate or discourage translations. We agree with Miss Talbot, in her letter to Mrs. Carter, that "a faithful and elegant translator is a character of the highest virtue in the literary republic. It implies public spirit, the most void of ostentation ; a kind regard for the illiterate ; a love of our native country, shown by enriching its language with valuable books ; a just regard for merit, of whatever country, by placing the merit of some valuable foreigners in the truest and fairest light ; a care, a judgment and exactness that original writings do not require ; and some degree of humility, in scarce aspiring to the name of an author." But we also concede with the same writer, that "the common herd of translators are mere murderers." Sure oft it is that

——— hands impure dispense
The sacred streams of ancient eloquence,
Pedants assume the task for scholars fit,
And blockheads rise interpreters to wit.

Nor can we find anything in the pamphlet before us to confute the remark. One thing at least is evident, that the Rev. H. M. Harman, A. M., has never studied Tytler's Principles of Translation, nor Dr. Campbell on the chief things to be observed in translating, nor Bishop Huet *de optimo genere interpretandi*, nor yet even his grammars and lexicons to the requisite extent. We indeed pity the unenviable "fix" into which he has suffered himself to be persuaded ; but we have no more respect either for his "sketch" or his "translation," than for the merest school-boy trash. How he received his literary titles we know not, but if we had any connection with his Alma Mater, we should blush for our sons.

But withal, we would not put Mr. Harman down as utterly hopeless.

No good of worth sublime will heaven permit
To light on man, as from the passing air ;
The lamp of genius, though by nature lit,
If not protected, prun'd, and fed with care,
Soon dies, or runs to waste with fitful glare ;
And learning is a plant that spreads and towers,
Slow as Columbia's aloe.

And it may be, although now far behind, and promising poorly in the race for literary honors, that something good may yet come out of Nazareth.

S. H. S.

ARTICLE VII.

EXEGESIS.

Translated from the recent Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles,
By Dr. John E. Huther.

1 TIM. 3: 16.

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μεγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Καὶ is not a simple copulative, but in connecting what follows with the preceding, it serves at the same time to make prominent the succeeding predicate. ὁμολογουμένως, used nowhere else, is not either kündlich (Luther) or, according to the hymn of praise (Mack), but confessedly (compare Jos. Antiq. 1: 10, 2, 2, 9, 6,) μεγα comp. Ephes. 5: 32. (καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μεγα ἐστίν, means important, very significant. The subject of the sentence τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον is paraphrase of the preceding, αληθεία; this is characterized thus by the apostle, as it is the substance of christian reverence of God or piety, not revealed to the world. The contents—particularly the christian—are given in the following sentences; Paul's introducing them is explained by the polemical tendency of the epistle against the false teachers whose theology and christology were opposed to the gospel. In respect to the construction of these clauses, the first beginning with ὅς does not constitute the subject to which all the rest are subordinated as predicates, but, as they all have the same form, they are equally dependent on the preceding ὅς; they are six co-ordinate, relative sentences. "Ὁς ἐφάνερωδῃ ἐν σαρκί—if the true reading were Θεός, the structure of the period would be free from difficulty; it would not be so with the reading ὅ; this would have to be referred to μυστήριον, and it would have to be regarded as descriptive of Christ, as the essence of the hidden contents of the εὐσεβεία, which does not suit the course of thought; the difficulty is increased by the reading ὅς. With this, a substantive cannot be found in the preceding; to connect it directly with μυστήριον would be less admissible than with the reading ὅ; there is no other method than to refer ὅς to some subject not introduced; this, as is evident from the relative sentences, can be no other than Christ. This peculiar phenomenon can be solved by assuming that the sentences were borrowed from an ancient christian hymn or confession of faith; (see Rambach's Anthology of Christ; hymns of all ages of the church, 1, 33, and Winer page 660).

The view of Matthies, that the apostle did not mention Christ explicitly, more fully to exhibit the mystery as such (in the sense confessedly great, &c., who (he, who) is manifest, &c., and that such a use of the relative pronoun absolutely is found in the New Testament, is untenable; as it is not used in this way in any of the passages referred to: Rom. 2: 23; 1 Cor. 7: 37; John 1: 46, 3: 34; 1 John 1: 3. ἐφανερώθη is frequently used of the appearance of Christ on the earth, his incarnation, 1 John 1: 2. 3: 5; it pre-supposes a previous concealment, and consequently the pre-existence of Christ as the eternal logos. It is only here united with ἐν σαρκί. By this appendage the human nature of Christ is designated, in which Christ appeared; John 1: 14; ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγενετο. It is known that the appearance of Christ in the flesh is rendered explicit in the first epistle of John, in opposition to docetic errors. To this first member of the sentence the second is opposed; ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι—δικαιοῦσθαι (as in Matt. 11: 19; Luke 7: 35); means to be presented in that character which is real; here then he was manifested in his divine glory (as the logos or eternal son of God,) which was hidden by the flesh; ἐν πνεύματι, de Wette, in the spiritual sphere of life; this explanation is not lucid; it would then stand in contrast to in the flesh; whilst this latter expresses the external human manifestation, the other is to be regarded as the internal principle lying at the basis of every outward manifestation; now though the preposition ἐν connected with πνεύματι has not entirely lost its appropriate force, it does tend to express instrumentality—so far as it is the spirit¹ manifested in him, whereby he is manifested in his true nature.

It would be wrong to separate πνεῦμα from his person, or to understand by it the spirit proceeding from him, communicated to his people, it is much rather the spiritual principle of life dwelling in him, and at the same time operating from him.—Chrysostom, differing from what has been said, explains ἐδικαιώθη by δολον οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ὅπερ ὁ προφήτης λεγεί ὅς ἁμαρτιαν οὐκ ἐποίησε; and Bengel regards the explanation of the expression to be, that Christ bore the sins of the world (peccata peccatorum tulit; et justitiam aeternam sibi suisque asseruit), both explanations evidently introduce ideas not appropriate; the expression too ἐν πνεύματι has been variously explained; instead of taking πνεῦμα in its actual sense, it has been applied to par-

¹ Baur explains incorrectly ἐν πνεύματι by, as spirit; which is exegetically incorrect, and he confines himself to the mere assertion.

ticular points in the life of Christ, or particular methods of the manifestation of the πνεῦμα, or πνεῦμα, has been taken directly for the divinity of Christ.¹

Ὡς φθῆναι ἀγγέλοις, the proper meaning of the third member will be learned by carefully attending to the words; the word ὥς φθῆναι is frequently used with the dative; Matt. 17: 3; Luke 11; Acts 7: 2; 1 Cor. 15: 5-8; Heb. 9: 28; &c.; in all these passages it expresses not simply the being seen, but manifestation or exhibition; it always implies the agency of him who is manifested. According to this analogy, Christ is to be considered as going to them to whom he is manifested. Consequently all the explanations which regard ὥς φθῆναι as a mere being seen, are to be rejected. Ἀγγελοι can have no other than the ordinary meaning of the word in the Bible, viz: the angels. The angels have their residence in heaven at the throne of God, ὥς φθῆναι ἀγγέλοις can mean nothing but that he went into heaven, and was there visible to angels. To what could this apply but to the ascension of Christ, whereby he took his seat as the glorified Son of God, at the right hand of the Father. Baur indeed understands the expression gnostically, as a transition of Christ through the various ranks of Aeons, but it is evident that the words neither require nor admit of this explanation; not less arbitrary is it, when de Wette expresses the opinion, that it is a transcendental scene (different from the ascension) the counterpart of the descent to hell. The expression itself indicates clearly that appearance of angels at different periods of Christ's life, as some interpreters have thought, is not meant; and it is not necessary to say that ἀγγελοι does not mean apostles, as it is nowhere in the New Testament thus used. The explanation of Chrysostom, accepted amongst others in modern times by Matthies, is more plausible. Chrysostom says: seen by angels; that is, angels with us saw the son of God, whom they had not seen before. Theodoret is still more explicit: they saw not the invisible nature of his divinity, but they saw him when in the flesh. Matthies refers

¹ The earlier commentators understand mainly by πνεῦμα the miracles of Christ (Theodoret, ἀπεδείχθη διὰ τῶν θαυμάτων καὶ ἀπεφάνθη, ὅτι θεὸς ἀληθῆς καὶ θεοῦ υἱός); others refer it to the resurrection of Christ, as the most glorious manifestation of the πνεῦμα (so amongst others Heydenreich), others to the gift of the spirit imparted at his baptism; others to the outpouring of the spirit on Pentecost; others to the divine spiritual influence continually emanating from Christ. Glassius explains: Justus declaratus est, and filius Dei comprobatus in spiritu; i. e. per deitatem suam, cujus vi miracula fecit.

to Ephes. 1: 1, 20 fg. 3: 10, 4, 8 fg. Coloss. 1: 15 fg. 2: 10 and 15; Hebs. 1: 6 fg.; supposing that such passages would elucidate the point, in which it is said that Christ appeared visibly to all creatures in heaven and earth as head over all. But in these passages it is said that Christ shall reign over all, not that as man he will become visible as their supreme head. The only passage which could here be alleged, is Ephes. 3: 10; to which 1 Pet. 1: 12 might be added; but these do not contain that idea, but that the eternal purpose of divine love or wisdom would first be manifested as it was realized in Christ and made known by him; but this is not conveyed by the expression ὡς φθὴ ἀγγέλοις. ἐκηρύνθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν—on the first word compare Phil. 1: 15; the last Matt. 28: 19; ἐθνη are not the heathen, as distinguished from the Jews, but the nations in general; Chrysostom “every where made known.” ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ. The first is not with some interpreters to be explained, he was legitimated namely by miracles of the apostles, or fides sibi fecit, but literally the preaching of Christ was productive of faith in the world; κόσμος synonymous with ἔθνη, compare 2 Thess. 1: 10. ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ,—Mark 16: 19; Acts 1: 11. (Acts 10: 16.) the same verb is united with εἰς οὐρανόν to express the ascension. This induced most commentators to think of the same herè. ἐν δόξῃ, may be taken as adverbial appendage = ἐνδοξως (similarly 2 Cor. 3: 8; Col. 3: 4); but in this way this clause is removed entirely from the analogy of the remainder; Wahl takes the expression by attraction for ἀνελ. εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν δόξῃ; this is alone correct here. It is rendered conspicuous that Christ not only went to glory, but remains there by his not using εἰς &c., but ἐν; though it cannot be said with Matthies, that not the act of entering, but the result is intended, as the language expresses in energetic brevity, both. The assertion of De Wette is unwarranted, that the reference is not to the historical ascension, but to a celestial event (von einem himmlischen Vorgange.) In what relation to each other do these sentences stand? There is certainly an arranged consecution of them. This is to some extent chronological, the second not expressing the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the last bringing out rather the dwelling in, than the ascent of Christ to glory. But in addition, there is observable a close connection of the individual sentences.

Matthies and De Wette have, therefore, assumed 3 groups, each consisting of two sentences; but then the fourth and fifth sentence, whose connection Theodoret correctly thus gives: οὐκ ἐκηρύνθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιστεύθη, would be separated unnaturally.

It is therefore more correct to divide the whole into two leading parts, of which each has three members, the first two referring to earthly relations, the third to heavenly.

Remarks of the Translator.

There are various points connected with this passage, which may be considered sub judice. The reading referred to at the commencement, and decided in favor of *ὅς*, is yet disputed, and eminent critics prefer *ὅτι*. The interpretation of the different parts of this enumeration of doctrinal points, although interesting and coming from a skilful hand, may nevertheless admit of doubt, but as other interpretations are suggested, and the author's are not necessarily adopted, in the want of additional space, we leave the whole to the critical reader, to be used as he may deem best.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.—The following condensed view of German periodicals is taken chiefly from Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift* for January, 1852:

1. Ullmann and Umbreit's *Studien und Kritiken*. Besides the rather personal article of *Lücke's* Reminiscences of de Wette in No. III, and *Creuzer's* on recent contributions to Jewish history from Greek historians, which is not directly theological, the volume for 1851 contains the following leading articles: *Schwizer*, die Entwicklung des Moral-Systems in der ref. Kirch b. I-III.—*Schwarz*, Thomas Venatorius u. die ersten Anfänge der protestantischen Ethik im Zusammenhange mit der Entwicklung der Rechtfertigungslehre, H. I. *Roth*, die Berechtigung der Sinnlichkeit nach Aristoteles.—*Stickel*, der Israeliten Auszug aus Egypten bis zum rothen Meere, H. II.—*Jack*, über die Behandlung der Lehre von der göttlichen Dreieingkeit in der Predigt.—*Grimm* die Aechtheit der Briefe an die Thessalonischer (in reply to Dr. Baur's assaults) H. IV.

Shorter contributions are given by *Pfeiffer*, der Zusammenhang des Jakobusbriefs h. I. und über Apostgesch. 10, 35—36 h. II.—*Kunze*, versuch einer erkl. der stelle Rom. 5, 6 ff. h. II.—*Laufs*, über die areopagitische rede des ap. Paulus Apgsch.

17, 22—32 h. III.—*Hauff*, über einige stellen von Ps. 119. Ps. 62, 3 und Jes. 64, 8.—*Böhmer*, das fusswaschen Christi nach seiner sakramentlichen würde dargestellt h. IV.

Ecclesiastical affairs: *Schenkel*, über das ursprüngliche verhältniss der kirche zum staate auf dem gebiete des evang. protestantismus, h. I—II.—*Heppe*, der character der deutsch-reformirten kirche und das verhältniss derselben zum Lutherthum und Calvinismus, h. III.—*Ullman*, das gutachten der theol. facultät der Univ. Heidelberg über den der evang. kirche der Rheinpfalz vorgelegten verfassungsentwurf mit einem vorwort h. IV.

2. Ninth volume of *Baur and Zeller's theol. Jahrb.*—A combination of *Zeller's* abhandlung über die Apostelgeschichte ihre composition und ihren character h. III.—*Köstlin*, zur gesch. des urchristenthums h. I—II.—*Hilgenfeld*, über die composition der Clementinischen recognitionen h. I.—*Zeller*, über das Verhältniss der theologie zur wissenschaft und zur kirche h. I., und über griechische und christliche ethik, mit rücksicht auf die abh. von Roth in d. theol. stud. und krit. 1850. II. H. III.—*Volckmar*, über das Lucas-evangelium nach seinem verhältniss zu Marcion und seinem dogm. character, mit beziehung auf die kritischen untersuchungen Baur's und Ritschl's h. I—II.—*Baur*, beiträge zur erkl. der Korinthierbriefe h. II., und die einleitung in das N. T. als theol wissenschaft, etc. H. IV.

3. *Schneider's deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*. It is not without reason and justification by its contents, that this Journal bears the name of *German*, for it is more than any other a faithful mirror of the present phase in the development of *German theology*. And on this account it is richer than any other in articles of a truly scientific character. We mention the more important articles in alphabetical order: *Hupfeld*, die stellung und bedeutung des buches Hiob im A. T. nach seinem didactischen und dramatischen character, no. 35—37, with which we may connect—*Schlottmann*, über dichtung, sage und geschichte im buche Hiob und über Harigtschandra oder die indische Hiobsage, No. 21—23.—*J. L. Jacobi*, heidenthum, judenthum und Irvingianismus no. 5—8.—*J. Köstlin*, das dogma und die real. theol. entwicklung der schottischen kirche no. 17—25. *J. Müller*, die unsichtbare kirche no. 2—30; Gedanken über das verhältniss des christenthums zur poesie no. 17—19.—*Neander* (the last shorter articles of this distinguished man), das verflossene halbe jahrhundert in seinem verhältniss zur gegenwart no. 1—4; Über die christliche sonntagsfeie, no. 26—

28.—The admirers of Neander will read with interest the articles of *Rauh*, N. Heimgang no. 29, und N. der gottesfreund no. 31—32.—*Piper*, über die gründung der christl. archäologischen kunstsammlung bei der Universität zu Berlin u. s. v. no. 52.—*Rauh*, die Baur'schen ansichten über das ev. Johannis geprüft an der geschichte der wunderbaren speisung no. 33—37.—*Sack*, bemerkungen über die rechtliche stellung der union in der evang. kirche Preussens no. 11—13.—*Schauer*, über spuren urchristlicher hymnen im N. T. no. 48—49.—*Twisten*, Cyrillus Lukaris no. 39—40.—*Tholuck*, die inspirationslehre no 16—44.

4. *Niedner*, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* is very highly praised by *Guericke*, who says, that *Alhorn's* abhandlung über die Ignatianischen briefe H. 2—2, and *Engelhardt's* literatur des 2 viertels unsers Jahrhunderts would, alone, be sufficient to establish its reputation, and place it at the very head of the scientific journals for theology.

5. The second number of *Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift* for 1852, contains a continuation of *Rudelbach's* able article on staatskirchentum und religions-freiheit; 2) *M. Drechsler* der knecht Jehovah; 3) *W. Neumann*, leben, schauen und wirken eines Protestanten in Rom. 1851. 4) *Ströbel*, offenes sendscreiben über die Leipz. Luth. Conferenz.

In the Bibliographical department the display of exegetical works is unusually rich. *Rudelbach* notices with high praise *Peterman's* edition of the celebrated Ignatian Epistles, which appear under the title, "*S. Ignatii Patris Apostolici quae ferunter Epistolae una cum ejusdem Martyrio. Collatis edd. Graecis versionibusque Syriaca, Armeniaca, Latinis denno recensuit notasque criticas adjecit Jul. Henr. Petermann* (Dr. Prof. Berol. Lips. Vogel) 1849. 8. 4. Rthlr. The genuineness of the whole thirteen epistles is here stoutly maintained in defiance of all the evidence, internal and external, against them. The Armenian version, now for the first time collated by *Peterman*, is new to European scholars, although it was printed at Constantinople as long ago as 1783.

Neuman notices *Delitzsch's Commentary on Solomon's song* (*das Hohelied, untersucht und ausgelegt von Fr. Delitzsch. Leipz. (Dorffling). 1851. VI. 237 s. 8 1 Rthlr. 2 Ngr.*), but does not accede to his view that "the idea of marriage is that of canticles, and the mystery of marriage its mystery." The same reviewer also notices *Schlottman's Commentary on Job* (*das Buch Hiob, verdeutsch und erläutert von Lic. K. Schlottman. 1 Abt. Berl. (Wiegandt). 1850. X. 240 s. 8. 1 Thlr. 7½ Ngr.*, characterizing it as "the first applica-

tion of Neander's historical principles to an old testament book." Guericke speaks very favorably of *Tischendorff's Harmony of the Gospels* (*Synopsis Evangelica*). Ex. IV. evv. ordine chronolog. concinnavit, praetexto brevi commentario illustravit, ad antiqu. testes appos. app. crit. recensuit *Const. Tischendorff*. Lips. (Avenarius) 1851 I–XVI und 202s. gr. 8.

Ströbel and Zimmerman have each a brief but decidedly unfavorable notice of *Stiers' Commentary on Ephesians* (*Die Gemeinde in Christo Jesu. Ausleg. des Br. a. d. Epheser, von R. Stier, Doct. d. Th. Erste Hälfte, 1848. Der 2. Hälfte 1 Abthl. 1848. 2 Abthl. (Schluss des Werks,) 1849, Berlin (Besser) 548 u. 549 s., gr. 8.* The complaint of Stier's prolixity is certainly well grounded—1059 pages 8vo on this epistle, is certainly rather too much even of a good thing. But we think Ströbel entirely too sweeping in his censure when he says: "The author's dogmatic position and fundamental view, which animates and controls his exegesis is that of all conscious adherents of the union: behind pious phraseology and sophistry concealed hostility to the gospel." Karner speaks very favorably of *Huther's Commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy and Titus* (*Krit. Exeg. Handbuch über die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, von Dr. J. E. Huther, Gymnasiallehrer zu Schwerin. Götting, (Vandenhoek) 1850. 8. s. 390, 1 Rthlr.*—*Dietlein's Exposition of 2 Peter* (*W. O. Dietlein, Der zweite Brief Petri ausgelegt. Als 1 Theil einer Ausleg. der kath. Briefe. Berlin. (Wohlgemuth) 1851, 244 s.*) and *Arnaud's Investigations upon Jude* (*E. Arnaud Pasteur, Recherches critiques sur l'épître de Jude, présentant une introduction à l'épître et un commentaire sur chaque verset. Strasbourg (Berger-Levrault 1851. 218 s. gr. 8.)* are both very favorably noticed by Guericke. We hail it as a good omen that the French mind, as indicated by the fact that this last work was crowned with a prize by "The venerable company of pastors at Geneva," is once more awakening to a sound christian criticism.

In the department of *Christian Archaeology*, Guericke speaks favorably of *Alt's Christian Cultus* (Heinrich Alt, (Pred. in Berlin,) *Der christliche Cultus, I Abthl., Der christliche Gottesdienst, . . . historisch dargestellt mit ausf. Inhaltsver. u. Register, 2te vermehrte u. erweit. Ausg. (Berlin, Mueller,) 1851, 670 s. 2½ Rthlr.*

In the department of *Church history and the History of doctrines*, Guericke speaks very favorably of a popular church history by *Trautmann* (J. B. Trautmann) zu Waldenburg in Schles.) *Geschichte der christ. kirche, fuer jedermann, Inson-*

derh. für d. Jugend, Theil 1 bis auf Constantin d. Gr. 312, Dresden, (Naumann). 1851. 144 s. 10 Ngr.—Rudelbach gives a very interesting critique on *Deutinger's* "Spirit of Christian Tradition," (Der Geist der christl. Ueberlieferung. Ein versuch, der vorzueglichsten Schriftsteller der Kirche in ihrem innern Zusammenhange darzustellen u. durch uebersichtliche Auszuege zu veranschaulichen. Bearbeitet von einem Verein. Herausgegeben von Dr. Mart. Deutinger, (Prof. d. Philos.) 1 Bd. Augsburg, (Schmid.) 1850. 3 fl.) This is the production of a Romish theologian of the school of Möhler, whom, however, "he follows with very unequal steps. *Möhler*," says R., "was an acute and clear thinker, who knew how to separate the wheat from the chaff, thoroughly penetrated by the spirit of history:" *Deutinger*, on the contrary, is neither clear nor precise, nor properly schooled by history; what he gives with one hand, he takes back with the other; what he establishes here he destroys there."—*Höfling's* "Doctrine of the ancient church on Sacrifice," etc., (J. W. F. Höfling (in Erlangen), die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus der Christen. Erl. (Palm), 1851. 236 s. 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ Rthlr.) is very favorably noticed by both Guericke and Neumann.—Rudelbach furnishes a very candid and impartial notice of *Gieseler's* work on the *Protestant Church of France* (Die protestant. kirche Frankr. von 1787 bis 1846. Herausg. von Dr. J. C. L. Gieseler, I—II. Band. Leipz. (Breitkopf und Härtel.) 1848. 4 Rthlr.) The author is a moderate rationalist, writing in a lively style.—Guericke speaks favorably of the material, but slightly of the philosophical contents of *Krug's* "Krit. Geschichte der protest. relig. Schwärmerei, Sectirerei, u. der gesamt. und widerkirchl. Neuerung in Grossh. Berg, bes. im Wupperthal. Vorless. F. W. K. (Pred. amts-cand, Elberf. (Friederichs,) 1851, 364 s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rthlr."

"Under the head of *Church law and polity*," Rudelbach notices with cutting sarcasm *Schweder's* "Bedeutung der evangelisch. Kirchenfrage in Preussen. Vom geschichtl. Standpunkt aus beleuchtet, von G. S. (Prediger an der Nikolaikirche in Berlin. (Reimer,) 1850. 8. 15 Ngr." "The author's work," says R., "must be regarded as an attempt of a prisoner to explain to himself his imprisonment, even to the point of imagining that he is not a prisoner."—*Ströbel* as a notice of the two works "*Die Sache Schleswig-Holsteins* volksthümlich, historisch-politisch, staatsrechtlich u. kirchlich erörtert u. s. w. von Dr. A. G. Rudelbach. Stuttg. (Liesching,) 1851, 153 s. gr. 8. 27 Nrg." and "*Die Schleswig'sche Geistlichkeit* u. s. w. von Petersen, Feldpred. a. D. Kiel, (Schwers,) 1851, 60 s.

gr. 8. 7½ Ngr." gives an exposition of the case of the Schleswick-Holstein clergy, which we may hereafter lay before the readers of the Review, if we can find nothing better. To us Americans, whose fathers "wrung their civil liberties from the bloody grasp of reluctant kings," and whose ministers animated and blest the glorious and *God-owned* struggle, the clergy of Schleswick-Holstein seem to have been no less christian than patriotic. We are gratified to see the venerable *Claus Harms* here taking a stand against tyranny, and are sorry that Rudelbach does not carry into *civil* life his sound views of ecclesiastical liberty.

Under the head of "*Symbolik and Catechetical Theology*" we have notices of seven different works of greater or less extent. The most interesting are: A companion of the Romish and Protestant doctrines of the Lord's Supper, in a little tract by a Romish writer—*Diamant, oder Glas. Allen Christen zur Betrachtung vorgelegt von Dr. Alban Stolz.* Freiburg, (Herder,) 48 s. The Jesuit, with the usual craft of his order, entirely ignores the Lutheran doctrine. We have favorable notices by Guericke of "*Die erste Ausgabe von Luthers kl. Katechismus.* In e. niedersächs. Uebersetzung u. s. w. v. C. Mönckeberg, (Pred. in Hamburg,) Hamb. (Ranke Haus.) 1851, 176 s. in 12. 12 Ngr. : by Rudelbach, *Die katechetische Baukunst, oder Beiträge zur Reform des Katechismus und Katechumenen-Unterrichts, von C. N. Kühler,* (Pastor bei Kiel,) Kiel, (Schwers,) 1850. 8. 6 Ngr."; and "*Biblischer Lehrgang im Christenthum mit Zugrundlegung des kl. Kat. Luthers bearb. von G. M. Bauer, mit einem Vorwort von Past. D. Harms,* Kiel (Schwers,) 1850. 8. 24 Ngr.—*Handbuch der christl. Lehre fuer Confirmanden u. Confirmirte.*—Auf Grundlage des kl. Dr. M. L. u. s. von J. F. Bachman, (Prof. in Berlin.) Berlin, (Schulze, 1850. 8." by Karrer, "*Das Vater Unser in Christenlehren. Ein katech. Versuch von Dr. W. E. J. v. Biarowsky, ev. Pfarrer zu Waizenbach in Bayern. Nördlingen* (Beck,) 185. 8. s. 128. Pr. 36 Xr." — The "*Handwörterb. fur den historisch. u. doctrinellen, u. s. w. von L. C. Schmerbach,*" is unfavorably noticed by Zimmermann.

In the departments of *Apologetics*, *Polemics* and *Dogmatics*, we find nothing of special interest, although some eight works, great and small, are here noticed.

Mystical Theology is represented in a poor collection of fragments ("Schätz die nie veralten") noticed by Rudelbach.

Under the head of *Homiletics* and *Ethics* the same writer speaks very highly of the late Bf. *Drüseke*, a new volume of

whose works has recently appeared, under the title "Nachgelassene Schriften von *Dr. Joh. Hnr. Bernh. Dräseke*, herausg. von Theod. Hnr. Tim. Dräseke, 2r. Bd. Predigten ueber den Brief Jakobus, 1ste Abthl., Magdeburg, (Heinrichsh,) 1851. 8. 22½ Ngr." — A second edition of *C. Palmer's* Casualreden, (Stuttg. Liesching, 1851, 1ster Bd. 472 s. 8.) is also noticed, together with nearly a score of other works in this department.

In *Hymnology* Guericke notices with high praise "*Lauda Sion. Hymnos sacros antiquiores latino sermone et vernaculo edidit Car, Simrock*. Colon. (Heberb) 1851, 359 s." and "Unverfälschter Liedersegen, Gesangbuch fuer Kirchen, Schulen u. Häuser. Berlin, (Evang. Bucherverein, Gertr. Str. 22.) 1851. 672 s. 8 Ngr.

A casual notice of *Dr. Kahni's* work on the Lord's Supper, (of which the second edition is now out) appeared in the last No. of this Review. The title and contents are as follows: "*Die Lehre vom Abendmahl*. Von Dr. K. F. A. Kahnis. gr. 8. 2 Thlr. 10 Ngr. (Dörfling u. Franke,) Leipzig." Ev. Buch. 1. Das letzte Mahl Christi, 2. Das Passahmahl u. das Abendmahl, 3. Die Einsetzungsworte, 4. Die Rede Jesu, Joh. 6. 5. Die apostolische Lehre vom Abendmahl. 2tes Buch, 1. Geschichte der Abendmahlslehre bis auf die Reformation, 2. Das Abendmahlsbekenntniss der lutherischen Kirche u. seine Gegensätze. 3. Dogmatischer Abschluss.—*Dr. G. H. von Schubert* has brought out the third edition (entirely rewritten) of his "Weltgebäude, die Erde u. die Zeiten des Menschen auf der Erde." 782 s. (Palm u. Ernst,) Erl. 2 Thlr. 24 Ngr. — *Fritzsche & Grimm* have also brought out the first No. of their "Exegetisch. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen d. Alt. Testaments." The work is to be completed in four parts, and is published by Weidmann, at Leipzig.—The fifth volume of *Olshausen's Commentary* is edited from the author's Mss. by Lic. *Wiesinger* and Prof. Dr. *Ebrard*, both of whom were pupils of this distinguished man. It embraces the Epistles to the Philippians, Titus, Timothy, Philemon and the Hebrews. Dr. *Baumgarten*, of Rostock, has just brought out his "Apostelgeschichte, oder der Entwicklungsgang der Kirche von Jerusalem bis Rom." 1ste Abthl. 8. 308. 1 Rthlr. 18 sgr. "von Antiochia bis Korinth. 2 Abthl. III. 342 s. 1 Rthlr. 21 Ngr.

In general literature we notice the appearance of the great work upon the Monuments of Egypt, prepared by order of the Prussian government, and edited by Lepsius, under the title "Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien, nach den Zeichnungen der u. s. w. Tafeln 5—24 Lfg. imp. Fol. Ber-

lin, 1850-1852. Nicolai, 5 Rthlr." With two hundred colored lithographs. Also "*Talvj*, uebersichtliches Handbuch, e. Geschichte der slavischen Sprache." (Leipz. Geibel. 1½ Rthlr. with a preface by our countryman, Dr. Robinson, and edited by Dr. Bruhl.

DENMARK.—The "Dansk. Kirketidende" for June notices with approbation, Pastor *P. A. Fenger's* "Ord-Sprog" (Proverbs for schools) Cand. *S. C. Müller's* "Holy Scripture in extracts;" and Lic. *P. C. Lind's* "Christendommens Indflydelse," etc. (Influence of christianity upon social life from its origin until the time of Justinian, illustrated by the writings of the Fathers, decrees of councils and the Imperial laws) &c. VI. 180 s. Pr. 1 Rbd. 24 sk.

AMERICA.—The "*Bibliotheca Sacra*" has within the last six months lost two of its most active laborers, the veteran *Dr. Stuart*, and *Prof. B. B. Edwards*. *Prof. Park* and *S. H. Taylor* (the translator of Reinhard's "Plan,") are now the leading editors of that Review. *Dr. Robinson* is making a second journey through Palestine, and will doubtless enrich his great work on the geography of that country, by its results. "The *Mercersburg Review*" for July contains the commencement of a translation of the valuable tract of *Prof. Dr. H. Martensen*, of Copenhagen on "The Doctrine of Christian Baptism," &c.—*Prof. Schaff's* "Kirchenfreund" for August is chiefly taken up with the continuation of his interesting sketches of "living theologians of the German Universities." In his article on "Newman and Achilli," we are sorry to see that he can only notice the sins of the apostate priest, but not of the church which so long tolerated and honored him, and whose witnesses, used to convict Achilli, do her still greater damage, plainly revealing her as "*the cage of every unclean bird.*"—*Dr. Stuart's* Commentary on the book of Proverbs was just leaving the press at the time of his decease, and is, of course, the last of his exegetical works. It forms a volume of 432 pp., 12mo.—*Kitto's* "Daily Bible Illustrations;" being original readings for a year on subjects from Sacred History.

. . . Designed for the family circle. . . "Job and the Poetical Books" pp. 419. 12mo., is republished by Carter and Bros. N. Y. Price \$1.00.—Also the same author's "Land of Promise, or Topographical descriptions of the principal places in Palestine. Lane & Scott, N. Y. 60 cts. And "The History of Palestine from the Patriarchal age to the present time. Illustrated pp. 426, 12mo. Gould & Lincoln, Boston.

Mrs. H. C. Conant has translated *Neander's* "Epistle of James practically explained," pp. 115, 12mo. Lewis Colby,

N. Y. 50 cents.—The works of *Lyman Beecher*, D. D., are in the course of publication, vols. I & II, pp. 425 and 443, 12mo. having made their appearance, and containing "Lect. on Political Atheism and kindred subjects," and "Occasional Discourses." John P. Jewett & Co. Boston, \$1.25.—The same house have also brought out *Prof. Hackett's* "Com. on the original text of the Acts of the Apostles." pp. 407, 8vo. \$2.50.—Appleton & Co. have published "*Cousin's Course of the History of Modern Philosophy.*" Translated by O. W. Wight. 2 vols., 8vo. pp. 452, 435. \$3.50.—A translation of *Hengstenberg's Revelation of St. John* is published by Carter and Bros., vol. I, 581 p. 8vo.—Harper and Bros.—*Barnes' Notes* on the book of Revelation (the last volume of this author's commentary on the N. Testament.) 506p. 12mo. Price 75 cents.—*Schoolcraft's* "Information respecting . . . the Indian Tribes of the United States." . . . Illustrated by S. Eastman. Part II. 4 to. pp. 608. 80 plates. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia. \$15.00.—*Brace's* "Hungary in 1851." 12mo. pp. 419. Chas. Scribner, N. Y. \$1.25.—*Stile's* "Austria in 1848-9." 2 vols. 8vo. pp. x, 391; VI. 444. with portraits. Harper & Bros. \$3.50.—*Dr. Spring's* "Glory of Christ." 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 301; IV. 312. M. W. Dodd, N. Y. \$3.00.—Dodd also publishes "The Friend of Moses; or a defence of the Pentateuch as the production of Moses, and an inspired document against the objections of modern skepticism." By *Wm. T. Hamilton*, D. D. (of Mobile, Alabama.) 8vo. pp. I II, 552. \$2.00.—"A new Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels." By *James Strong*. 8vo. pp. 338. Lane & Scott, N. Y. \$3.00.—Blanchard and Lea, of Philadelphia, have just published, in the same form as their "Classical Series," "The Classical Manual: an epitome of Ancient Geography, Greek and Roman Mythology, Antiquity and Chronology." Chiefly intended for the use of schools. Compiled by Jas. S. S. Baird, Trinity College, Dublin, &c. pp. VI, 200, 16mo.—Also "Outlines of English Literature." By Thomas B. Shaw, B. A., Prof. of English Literature in the Imperial Alexander Lyceum of St. Petersburg. A new American ed. with a sketch of American Literature, by H. T. Tuckerman, author of "Characteristics of Lit. &c.," pp. XII, 489, 12mo.

LUTHERAN CHURCH.—The spirit of authorship seems to be awakening in the Lutheran church in America. There are now published, under the auspices of this church, *nine periodicals*; four in the German, four in the English, and one in the Danish language. Of these, one is weekly, six are semi-monthly, one monthly, and one quarterly. Another (semi-

monthly newspaper) is also contemplated. The Danish Monthly Magazine (*Maanedstidende*) published under the direction of the Norwegian pastors (Rev. A. C. Preus, Editor) in Wisconsin, is now in its second year. It is mainly of a practical character, for the religious edification of the members of the church, and as an organ for their special church news.—*Prof. Walther's* book has just reached us. It bears the title, "Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt. Eine Sammlung von Zeugnissen über diese Frage aus den Bekenntniss-Schriften der ev. luth. Kirche, und aus den Privatschriften rechtgläubiger Lehrer derselben, von der deutschen evang. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, als ein Zeugniß ihres Glaubens, zur Abwehr der Angriffe des Herrn P. Grabau, in Buffalo, N. Y., vorgelegt durch C. F. W. Walther, Prof. der Theologie an dem Concordien-Collegium zu St. Louis, u. Pf. der evang. luth. Gemeinde daselbst. Erlangen, 1852. (Deichert,)" pp. XVI. 472. 8 gr. We expect a special notice of this work, and a discussion of the questions involved in it, for the next number of this Review.—T. N. Kurtz, 151 Pratt St. Balt. Md., has just published a new edition of the General Synod's "Hymns for the use of Evangelical Lutheran churches," &c., in large 12mo. form, upon beautiful type and paper. This is in all respects an improvement upon the small revised edition, having besides a corrected and enlarged list of authors' names, a table of tunes for hymns translated from the German. The price in common binding is \$9.00 a dozen. Copies are prepared especially for pulpit use, in 8vo form, and in every variety of binding, at from \$1 to \$5.00 per copy.—Under the general title of "Lutheran Sunday Library," Mr. Kurtz also proposes publishing a series of works of a Lutheran character, provided he meets with sufficient encouragement. In this the following works have already appeared: "*Memoir of Rev. Walter Gunn*, late Missionary in India, by G. A. Lintner, D. D., general agent for For. Miss. Soc. of Ev. Luth. church of U. S." 18mo. 156 pp. price 37½ cents.—"*Prayer in all its forms. . . . and the training of Children*. By Benj. Kurtz, D. D. Ed. Lutheran Observer," &c., with a portrait of the author; 37½ cents.—By the same author, "*The Lutheran Prayer-book*, for the use of families and individuals, with introductory remarks on family prayer; together with a selection of hymns and music." 12mo. 460 pp. \$1.25.—"A Biography of John Arndt," author of that great religious classic, "True Christianity," by J. G. Morris, D. D., will form the next volume of this "Library." H. Ludwig, No. 46 Vesey St. N. Y. has just brought out

"*Dr. Schmidt on the Lord's Supper*," which is a recasting and enlargement of the article originally published by the author in our last volume. Price 50 cents per copy, or \$3.00 per dozen.—Messrs. *Henkle and Bros.*, of New Market, Va., have also translated; and nearly through the press, "*Luther on the Sacraments*," which will form a 12mo. volume of about 400 pp. We are favorably impressed with the style of the translation, so far as exhibited by a sheet kindly forwarded to us by the authors. From the same gentlemen we also learn that the revision of their translation of the Book of Concord is going steadily forward, and that they are determined to spare no pains to make it the standard English version of the Lutheran symbols.—*Rev. J. A. Seiss, A. M.*, also proposes publishing an enlarged edition of his "*Reflections upon the church*."—*Rev. F. R. Anspach, A. M.*, of Hagerstown Md., has also published a prospectus for a work under the following title: "*God in History, or an Exhibition*," &c. The author hopes to have associated with him a number of gentlemen well known in the literary and theological world.—Pamphlets, Sermons and Addresses multiply upon our hands from day to day. We have no less than four "*sermons upon the death of the late Hon. Henry Clay*," viz: by *C. P. Krauth, D. D.*, Prof. Theol. Sem., Gettysburg Pa.; *Rev. F. R. Anspach, A. M.*, of Hagerstown Md.; *Rev. J. A. Seiss, A. M.*, of Cumberland Md.; and *Rev. E. A. Hutter, A. M.*, of Philadelphia, Pa.—*Dr. Sprecher's*, President of Wittenburg College, Springfield Ohio, "*Baccalaureate Address to the students*" of said Institution. *F. W. Conrad*, of same Institution, "*A Plea for Wittenberg College*."—*Rev. W. M. Baum, A. M.*, of Middletown, Pa., "*A Thanksgiving sermon*."—*Rev. A. O. Brickmann*, "*Stephan der erste Märtyrer*."—*C. A. Smith, D. D.*, of Easton, Pa., "*Sermon*," etc. Two discourses by the *Rev. D. M. Henkel*, on the Truth and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, have just been received.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D. D. LL. D. By his Son-in-law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL. D. In four volumes. Vol. IV. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 and 331 Pearl St., Franklin Square—1852.

It will be gratifying intelligence to the many admirers of Dr. Chalmers, that the fourth volume of his memoirs has at last been published. This concluding volume is not a whit behind its predecessors in absorbing interest: to many minds it will be the most interesting. It narrates the events and labors of the last twelve years of that great life which has exerted, and will continue to exert, so profound and extensive an influence on the civilized and christian world; and, more particularly, it makes us intimately acquainted with one of the most extraordinary and important movements in the church of our day, the establishment of the free Church of Scotland, and the triumphant vindication of the church's independence of the State; a movement in which Dr. Chalmers was the prominent leader and most efficient agent. But, while we regard this as the chief point of interest, the volume is replete with important matter respecting the closing years of that great and good man's career of arduous labor and wide-spread usefulness. Our readers will not require urging to possess themselves of a work so instructive and delightful to the christian, and so eminently calculated to do good among all classes of the community.

The Mother at Home; or, The Principle of Maternal Duty familiarly illustrated. By John S. C. Abbott, author of "The Child at Home," "Josephine," "Marie Antoinette," "Kings and Queens," "Napoleon," &c. Very greatly improved and enlarged; with numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852.

It is a complaint very often heard, that parental authority and government are more and more falling into decay among us. Seeing how abundant and palpable are the evidences of its truth, we rejoice at the publication of a book like that before us. The educational views and principles here inculcated are so just, the illustrations employed so apt and impressive, the ends proposed so entirely right and good, the methods recommended for their attainment so judicious, appropriate and efficacious, and the whole book so thoroughly pervaded by the spirit of our holy religion, that we cannot but recommend it most cordially to our readers, and most earnestly request them to promote its circulation. It is written in a style so simple as to make it intelligible to all. Adapted as it is to instruct and guide the most intelligent, as well as the less educated, we should rejoice to know that every mother in the land possessed it, and followed its teachings.

The History of the United States of America, from the Adoption of the Federal Constitution to the end of the Sixteenth Congress. By Richard Hildreth. In three volumes. Vol. III. Madison and Monroe. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 and 331, Pearl Street, Franklin Square—1852.

THIS is the concluding volume of Hildreth's History of the United States, of which we have already spoken in terms of high commendation. The present volume embraces one of the most momentous and interesting periods in our history; and, as in the former volumes, so here, the narrator exhibits his eminent competency to the task which he has assumed; with a steady hand tracing the course of events, with just discrimination selecting, and with judgment and skill arranging, his details, and presenting altogether a well and strongly outlined, and correctly colored historical picture. The nearer the historian of his own country approaches his own age, the more difficult is it for him to maintain a strict impartiality. And, although in the present volume the writer's own political bias may more fully appear than in the former ones, he may justly claim the merit of stating facts and events with carefully informed and strict fairness: he expresses his honest opinions with candor, and utters his judgments with a just regard for the sincere convictions, and a due appreciation of the professions of those from whose political views and principles he dissents. The whole work, so calm and clear in its narrative, so dignified in its tone, so full and accurate in its details, and so just in its general views, reflections and conclusions, will occupy a prominent place among the historical works of our country.

The Diplomacy of the Revolution; an Historical Study. By William Henry Prescott. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway. MDCCCLII.

THE author of this little work exhibits a clear understanding of his subject, and not only discusses it with much ability, but renders it attractive and interesting to the general reader. He says in his preface: "My object has been, at a time when the influence of our foreign policy is beginning to govern largely the fortunes of the country, to ask attention to the spirit and character of those negotiations, which secured us a place in the world. I have stated facts with care, and drawn conclusions with caution." It is a wise book, and well timed, and well deserves, now that momentous questions relative to our foreign policy are, in rapid succession, and with increasing vehemence, calling for discreet and sober action, to be carefully studied and seriously pondered. The headlong zeal of "Young America" is greatly in need of being tempered with the calm wisdom, the deliberate circumspection, the discreet and even handed justice of the sages, who, under Providence, shaped our political destiny.

Appleton's Popular Library of the best Authors. Papers from the London Quarterly. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway—1852.

THE present volume of Appleton's Popular Library contains the following papers, selected from the London Quarterly: I. The Printer's Devil: a

spirited and instructive account of the history of printing, and of the progress, improvements and advanced state of the art, more particularly as exhibited in the very extensive establishment of the Messrs. Clowes, in London. II. Gastronomy and gastronomers: interesting in its historical data, well spiced with wit and humor. III. The Honey-Bee. IV. Music. V. Art of Dress: all highly instructive, abounding in valuable information, and exceedingly entertaining. This "Popular Library" already numbers a good many valuable and interesting volumes.

Marco Paul's Voyages and Travels. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852.

THIS is another series of juvenile books, by Jacob Abbott, than whom no man better understands how to instruct the young, on every sort of subject, in the most interesting and engaging manner. The order of these beautiful little volumes is as follows: Marco Paul, I in New York: II on the Erie Canal: III in Maine: IV in Vermont: V in Boston: VI at the Springfield Armory. The first four volumes are out: in these the author communicates, in his well known, felicitous manner, a great variety of valuable and pleasant information to his young readers, availing himself, at the same time, of every fitting opportunity, to inculcate important practical lessons respecting the affairs, pursuits, and duties of life. The volumes of this series are very handsomely got up, and illustrated by many neat engravings; and we cordially recommend them to all who desire profitable, and at the same time, entertaining reading for their young people.

A Latin English and English Latin Dictionary, for the use of Schools, chiefly from the Lexicons of Freund, Georges and Kaltschmidt. By Charles Anthon, LL. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, Rector of the Grammar School, etc. etc. New York, Harper & Brothers, Publishers—1852.

WE may safely venture the assertion, that this is the best Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary for the use of Schools, that has yet been published. Although mainly an abridgment of Mr. Riddle's translation of Dr. Freund's "*Gesamt-Wörterbuch der Lateinischer Sprache*," it has received many important improvements and additions from the hands of its American editor, to whose ripe and thorough scholarship the youth of our country are already so largely indebted. Although this Lexicon has been prepared with a direct view to the course of Latin reading pursued in our higher schools and academies, it is yet so full and comprehensive in its definitions, that the general scholar will find it a valuable companion and book of reference, more convenient for the study-table than the more ponderous volumes, which are required in a critical study of the higher classics. The English-Latin part will be highly prized for its great correctness, by all who have long lamented the want of such a work, combining with convenient size a reliable ac-

curacy and a copiousness sufficient for all ordinary purposes. Of the excellence of the book, the name of Dr. Anthon on the title-page is a sufficient guarantee.

Cicero's Tusculan Disputations. With English works, critical and explanatory. By Charles Anthon, LL. D., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, Rector of the Grammar School, etc. etc. New York. Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 339 & 331 Pearl St., Franklin Square—1852.

WE feel greatly indebted to Dr. Anthon for supplying a want long felt by ourselves, in common with many others, by publishing an edition so admirable as this, furnished with copious English notes, of one of the most important classical Latin works. The edition is based upon that of Tischer, while the text, "neither exclusively that of Kühner nor of Tischer, has been amended throughout in accordance with the opinions and suggestions of the best philologists, from the time of Bentley to our own days. In short, every thing has been done to make the present volume a useful college text-book." These are the editor's own words, and none can doubt his preeminent competency to do justice to his author. We commend the volume to college professors, and to all who desire to enjoy one of the most beautiful and interesting works of the great Roman.

Atlantic and Transatlantic : Sketches afloat and ashore. By Captain Mackinnon, R. N., author of "Steam Warfare in the Parana." New York : Harper & Brothers—1852.

THIS is a plain, unpretending and honest narrative by a captain in the British royal navy, of a tour quite recently made in the United States, concluding with some other very interesting "Miscellaneous Narratives." It is an exceedingly good-natured book. While the kind hearted captain scolds us severely for some absurd and pernicious habits and practices, which are very often as severely censured by American writers, he finds so much to admire in our country and its institutions, so much to commend in the character of our people and their enterprises, and is withal so thoroughly disposed to be pleased, and to bestow praise wherever it is deserved, that the book will doubtless meet with a very favorable reception, and be read with much pleasure throughout the States.

A new edition of Miss Burney's celebrated work, *Evelina*, so much admired by Dr. Johnson, has been published by the Harpers. The Appleton's have published a tale, entitled "*The Days of Bruce*," by Grace Aguilar, a posthumous publication. It is a lively picture of that stirring and chivalrous age. Harper's Magazine continues to appear regularly, freighted with its usual amount of interesting matter. In the last two numbers the leading article is entitled : "*Memors of the Holy*

Land." By Jacob Abbott. These articles are handsomely illustrated, and rich in information and entertainment; they are, we believe, to be further continued.

Lotus-Eating: A Summer Book. By George William Curtis. Author of "Nile Notes," "Howadji in Syria," etc. Illustrated by Kensett. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852.

THE title of this beautiful volume does not fully indicate its character. It presents the author's observations, the thoughts suggested and the feelings awakened by them, during his rambles among the most attractive and interesting points of natural scenery, chiefly in the Empire State. The following is its table of contents: I. The Hudson and the Rhine. II. Catskill. III. Catskill Falls. IV. Trenton. V. Niagara. VI. Niagara again. VII. Saratoga. VIII. Lake George. IX. Nahant. X. New York. XI. New York again. The book has none of those higher thoughts and serious reflections, which are excited in devout minds by the beauties and glories of the divine handi-work: it chats pleasantly about the places named above, their associations, and the pursuits and amusements of those who frequent them; it satirizes the absurdities of summer tourists and visitors of fashionable watering places, and disports itself in a variety of fanciful lucubrations. It will furnish pleasant entertainment for a hot summer's day, or prove an agreeable travelling companion.

Lutheran Prayer Book, for the use of Families and Individuals. Partly original, but chiefly compiled. With Introductory remarks on Family Prayer; together with a selection of hymns and music adapted to them. By Benjamin Kurtz, D. D. Baltimore: T. N. Kurtz, 1852—pp. 453.

THE want of a complete Prayer Book, adapted to daily devotions, to special occasions, and to every condition of life has been much felt, and the wish has again and again been expressed that some experienced and competent individual in the church would undertake the preparation of a suitable devotional manual. The work before us, we think, supplies this want, and we trust it will meet with the encouragement it deserves. It is introduced with a preliminary essay on the subject of prayer, with an earnest appeal for the regular and faithful discharge of the duty. Then follow morning and evening prayers for several successive weeks, with prayers for particular occasions, for the opening and close of the year, for general humiliation, thanksgiving and Sacramental occasions, for the festivals of the church, and for almost every position of life. A collection of hymns, with appropriate tunes, has been added, which gives additional value to the volume. Although prepared with special reference to the wants of the Lutheran church, there is nothing in the book which would exclude its use from the families of any Christian denomination. We are pleased with the plan and the execution of the work, and fully concur in the favorable opinions, which have already been expressed with regard

to its merits. It is an important acquisition to the devotional literature of the church, and Doctor Kurtz is entitled to the grateful acknowledgements of the members, for the service he has rendered.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of Hon. Henry Clay, delivered at the request of the citizens of Gettysburg. By Charles P. Krauth, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.—1852.

A discourse, pronounced on Sabbath evening, in the Lutheran church of Hagerstown, on the death of Henry Clay. By F. R. Anspach, A. M.—1852.

Eulogy on the Life and Character of Henry Clay, pronounced at the Civic and Military procession in Shepherdstown, Va. By Rev. J. A. Seiss, A. M.—1852.

THE death of the illustrious Statesman, who has just passed away, mourned by the whole nation, has occasioned some beautiful and eloquent tributes to his memory. The discourses, whose title page has been given, are all creditable productions, honorable to their authors, and worthy of the noble theme presented by the occasion for discussion. The first discourse is based on the text: *Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season.* The theme is—*The perfection of life*, which is defined to be a life extended to its normal length, comprehending the accomplishment of something, of much that is beneficial to man, honored by the intelligent and the good, which in the retrospect can be contemplated with interest and studied with profit, and which ends well, having a happy termination, and a peaceful departure, a joyful translation to a more elevated sphere. In the second part of the discourse the inquiry is instituted, how far such a life was realized in Henry Clay, whose death our countrymen of every party now mourn.

The second discourse is from the words: *Know ye not that there is a prince and great man fallen in Israel.* After an appropriate introduction, the author announces as his theme—*The death of eminent men is a fit occasion for the expression of national sorrow*—and establishes the proposition by the following considerations: It is natural, and in harmony with the laws of society, and the constitution of our being. It is encouraged by the almost universal example of nations, both ancient and modern. The death of such a man as Henry Clay is a national loss. Because of the influence which such an act will have upon the nation. The particular characteristics which marked the character of the illustrious deceased, are then presented, and the discourse concludes with some practical suggestions and instructive lessons.

The third discourse is devoted to the discussion of the life and services of this great man—his early career and professional success—his domestic relations and religious character; we have presented to our view the portrait of the magnanimous statesman, the unsullied patriot, the earnest philanthropist, and the unrivalled orator. The writer concludes the eulogium with a most beautiful comparison between the lamented Senator and the immortal Washington.

We have read these discourses with interest. They are able and judicious, chaste and appropriate, full of interesting facts and profitable reflections.—They compare favorably with any similar productions we have seen, and their perusal will amply repay the time devoted to them.

Christianity the Source of Freedom. A Sermon delivered on Sabbath morning, July 4th, 1852, in Christ's Church, Easton, Pa. By Charles A. Smith—1852.

THE discussion is based on the words: *If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.* After some very appropriate remarks on freedom, the author proceeds to point out a few of the signs of the times, which indicate that we are not, as a nation, precisely what we ought to be.

It is an excellent and instructive discourse, expressed in clear and forcible language, highly appropriate to the occasion on which it was delivered, and containing truthful sentiments and suggestions, worthy the consideration of every sincere lover of his country.

The Aias of Sophocles, with critical and explanatory notes. By J. B. M. Gray, M. D., late of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. pp. 342.

WE are glad to see an increased attention in our country given to the study of the ancient classics, and we hail with great satisfaction, the multiplication of so much excellent apparatus for the successful prosecution of this important department of learning. The book before us will be regarded by all, who are competent to form a correct opinion, as a useful contribution to the cause of classical knowledge, and scholars will feel grateful to the editor for collecting so much valuable matter for the elucidation of this interesting writer of antiquity. The annotation is full, and the tragedy is made, as far as possible, its own interpreter, the editor having collected from all available sources, ancient and modern, the best assistance. The valuable notes of Hermann, and the wonderful erudition of Lobeck, are introduced, with all that could be collected from other commentators, and arranged by the editor in such a manner as to conduce to the improvement of the student. The work has been executed with great care and accuracy, and has been presented by the publishers in a most attractive form. It is an ornament to the American press, and reflects credit upon the enterprising house, which has furnished the public with so many beautiful editions of the classics.

Outlines of English History. By Thomas Shaw, B. A. Professor of English Literature in the Imperial Alexander Lyceum of St. Petersburg. A new American edition, with a sketch of American Literature. By H. T. Tuckerman. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea—1852. pp. 489.

THE object of this work is to present a history of the progress of English Literature, to place in the hands of the student a manual which, without being too voluminous, will impart general and correct information upon a subject, with which all who use the noble old English tongue ought to be acquainted. The author has followed the language from the earliest times to

the present age, and seizing upon the more prominent "schools of writing," has traced their causes and effects. Brief biographical and critical sketches of the more celebrated authors are given, with an analysis of their best works, by which the student is furnished with a definite view of the development of the language, and the progress of its literature. An interesting sketch on *American Literature* is appended to the volume, which enhances its value, and renders it still more appropriate for the youth of this country. This, as well as Cleveland's *Compendium of English Literature*, which we, on a former occasion, favorably noticed, is an admirable work, and we hope that it may receive, as it deserves, an extensive circulation. They both meet a want, which has long been felt in our higher schools, and when their merits are known, one or the other will be regarded as an indispensable auxiliary in the study of English Literature.

The Classical Manual: an Epitome of Ancient Geography, Greek and Roman Mythology, Antiquities and Chronology. Chiefly intended for the use of schools. Compiled by J. S. S. Baird, Trinity College, Dublin. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea—1852. pp. 200.

THIS volume is intended as a companion of the admirable classical series by Schmitz and Zumpt, which we have frequently commended in our pages, and which has been prepared to supply the want of an epitome, which within a small compass should contain the information that is required to explain allusions in the classical authors, most commonly read in our schools. The work is not encumbered with a quantity of learning which, although exceedingly valuable to the advanced scholar, only perplexes the beginner. The compiler's aim has been to introduce into the manual merely such details as are really important or necessary, in such a form and space, that they may be thoroughly mastered and retained. We have been much pleased with our examination of the book, and we can safely say, that it contains *multum in parvo*. We recommend it for the amount of information given, the manner in which it is conveyed, as well as for its convenient size and its extremely low price. The volume not only deserves, but will, we are confident, receive the approval of all practical teachers.

Deutsches Wörterbuch, von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm. Erste Lieferung. A—Allversin. Leipzig, Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung—1852.

THE first number or *Lieferung* of this great work has been sent us by Messrs. Schafer and Koradi, German Booksellers, and Importers, Philadelphia, and we thank them for the favor. The name of Grimm is a sufficient pledge that the dictionary will be a work of the highest order, and greatly in advance of everything that has appeared in the department of German Lexicography. To those who aim at a thorough acquaintance with the noble German language, admirable in itself, and exceedingly rich in literature and science, in all departments, it will be a treasure of the greatest value. It is to appear in numbers of fifteen sheets—price 20 N. groschen. The second number was to appear in July.

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THE
EVANGELICAL REVIEW

NO. XV.

JANUARY, 1853.

ARTICLE I.

SYMBOLISM NOT OPPOSED TO EVANGELICAL RELIGION.

By J. L. Schock, Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. James, New York.

THERE is often much in a caption, much to arrest the attention of the reader, much also to control the thought and language of the writer. A caption is intended to convey to the mind, at a glance, the substance of what is designed to be discussed. Whether we have succeeded in making the object we have in view intelligible, in the caption we have placed at the head of this article, is not altogether satisfactory to ourselves. But be this as it may, sure we are, that the reader will not be obliged to proceed far, before he will have a clear apprehension of our meaning and design.

The readers of the Review need not be informed that, for some time past, the Lutheran church in the United States, throughout her length and breadth, has been considerably agitated upon the subject of her doctrinal basis and liturgical usages. Efforts have been made, in various ways, but principally by enlightened and learned discussion, to bring back the church to her original stand-point; the stand-point which she assumed, and upon which she fought and won the mighty battles of the Reformation.

That these efforts have been crowned with more than commensurate success, is likewise known. Only a few years have elapsed, and the great body of the church is everywhere aban-

doing the by-paths and latitudinarian platforms of sects, to which she had unwittingly allowed herself to be seduced, and fast returning to her ancient and time-honored symbols and usages. Indeed, it is perfectly marvellous, that so much should have been accomplished in this way, in so short a time, and with so little expenditure of means. The truth, however, is that the church being strictly sound and evangelical in her organic structure and life, needed but to hear, fairly and honestly, the voice of her confessions, and she would return to them, just as naturally and lovingly as the sheep, that had been seduced and led astray by the arts of the stranger, responds to the voice of the shepherd, who first led it to the green pastures and by the still waters. It is on this principle, more than any other that we account for the rapid and extensive return of the church to the doctrines and practices of her venerated fathers; and the time, we confidently believe, is not far distant, when the Lutheran church everywhere, and especially in America, will stand where alone she ought to stand, where alone she *can* stand, upon the unaltered Augustan Confession, acknowledging one Lord, one faith, one baptism, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself the chief corner stone.

Now it is not at all to be wondered at, that this effort to bring back the church to her true historic stand-point, should be opposed. To our mind, it is a matter of profound astonishment, not that so much, but that so little formidable opposition has been encountered. For years the church had been divorced from her doctrinal standards. She stood in no more tangible relation to them than to the Koran of Mahomet. Even the Augsburg Confession was seldom named. Congregations were organized, synods were formed, and ministers were licensed and ordained without the slightest reference to this model symbol of Protestantism. Many of her prominent ministers made special efforts to induce the belief, that the Lutheran communion deserved existence as a church, not because she held the truth in any peculiar and vital sense, but as she held it in common with the various other denominations of Christendom. There was no uniformity of doctrine, of worship, or of practice. The very names of our symbolic books were a stink in the nostrils of not a few of the clergy and laity. It was to be expected, therefore, that an effort to right the church and place her before the world in her true character, would be looked upon with suspicion, and opposed with determined resolution, and that it would require much time and patience before the work was consummated.

Among the various objections urged against this movement in the church, there is but one which, in our opinion, has any weight, or deserves any serious attention. It is this. Symbolism, it is contended, is opposed to vital godliness and active evangelism; that just in proportion as the church adheres to her confessions, just in the same proportion will lukewarmness and formalism be superinduced, and the energies of our Zion be crippled and paralyzed. This objection is pressed with unscrupulous tenacity, and many of our ministers and laymen who have not examined the subject, we know, have been influenced by it; some to remain indifferent, some to oppose the movement.

Now if this objection were well founded, we confess candidly, it would be serious, paramount, conclusive. Were we convinced, that such would be the legitimate and inevitable result of the church's return to her doctrinal standards, I, for one, would raise my voice in opposition to it, loud and determinately. Were we even persuaded, that it was ever so much in accordance with the teachings of the gospel and the genius of the church, in abstract theory, still, did we believe, or apprehend that in its practical workings it would have the effect alleged, we could not conscientiously favor it: nay, we would feel ourselves called upon to resist it with all the ability, God has given us. We are the avowed friend and advocate of vital godliness; of evangelical religion. The church cannot exist without it. It is to her what the circulation of the blood is to the human body; what the law of gravitation is to the physical universe.

But is it true, as is contended, that lukewarmness and formalism will follow the return of the church to her Confessions, necessarily, in the way of cause and effect, antecedent and consequent? To say the least, the question is debateable. Indeed, we are firmly convinced, that the position here assumed is not only not tenable, but that the contrary is true; that just to the extent the church stands upon and gives a faithful interpretation to her symbols, will she implant living piety in the hearts, and bring forth righteous fruit in the lives of her membership. And this is, perhaps, the form in which we should discuss the subject. We shall be content, however, in the present article, to confine ourselves to the negative aspect of the question, i. e., to show that the objection urged is groundless. If we succeed in this, the positive form of the position just referred to, will follow as a necessary consequence.

Let us look at this matter, then, for a few moments, calmly and dispassionately, but at the same time, honestly and fear-

lessly. Our opponents, I believe, do not take the position that adherence to our Confessions has a necessary tendency to produce formalism, because they embody the doctrines of Christianity in a systematic form, and require the church to subscribe to them: but because they inculcate certain tenets and usages which are anti-scriptural and decidedly Romanish in theory and practice. Or in other words, because they contend for higher and stronger views of the sacraments, than is consistent with the letter and spirit of the gospel. This, they allege, vitiates the Confessions, making them teach what they are pleased to style "sacramental religion." This is a pet phrase with them, used on all occasions, and not unfrequently placed at the head of flaming paragraphs, in the papers devoted to their interests, in which they warn the people in the most dolorous strains, and call upon them to resist, with all their might, every effort made to influence them to endorse and reverence the symbols of the church.

But what do they mean by "sacramental religion?" Do they mean a religion, which teaches that the sacraments are every thing, and the inward life of faith in the soul, nothing? that if a man be baptized and partake of the communion, he is a true child of God, and will be saved, whether he be renewed in the inward man, and live a pious and godly life or not? If this be their meaning, then we would like to know what authority they have for saying that such a religion is inculcated; nay, even countenanced in our Confessions, or by the theologians who adhere to them. For my own part, I would expect to meet with as much success in searching for such a religion, in the pages of the New Testament, as in the symbolic books of the Lutheran church. It is as foreign to them, in every shape and form, as error is to truth, darkness to light, death to life. Our confessions do indeed teach, that the sacraments are necessary to the existence of the church and the sanctification of the believer. But does it, therefore, necessarily follow that they inculcate a sacramental religion in the sense contended for? If so, then the gospel of Christ itself is open to the same charge; for it asserts emphatically and unmistakeably, that unless a man believes and is *baptized*, he cannot be saved; and unless he *eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of God*, he has no life in him. Here then, according to their own showing, is the position of our opponents; the symbolic books teach sacramental religion because they insist that the observance of the sacraments is necessary; the gospel of Christ does the same; therefore, it teaches sacramental religion, and in so far, at least, is not binding upon us.

But feeling the uncomfortableness of this position, our opponents seek to lift themselves out of it ; and how do they essay to accomplish this object ? Why, strange as it may seem, they do it by efforts to create the impression that our Confessions teach the sacraments, in the same objectionable and offensive sense in which they are taught by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The real presence, baptismal grace, and also private confession, are spoken of by them as though they were synonymous with transubstantiation, exorcism and auricular confession. Now, in regard to this course on their part, either one or two things is true ; either they are ignorant, or they purposely misrepresent. We can hardly suppose the former to be true, of those who have said and written most to this effect. They have these books in their possession : they have read them : they can understand the language in which they are written, if not in the German or Latin, at least in the English, into which they have been translated. And this being the case, they cannot but know that our Confessions, so far from teaching these doctrines, in the same sense that Rome teaches them, or any thing like it, they condemn and repudiate them in the *very articles* in which the Lutheran views are set forth. For example, under the articles on baptism, (see Schott's translation of the Augsburg Confession) we have the following : " Herewith the Evangelical church condemns the delusion of the papists, that through baptism there is imparted to man, (*ex opere operato*) such a holy nature, &c." Under the article on the Lord's Supper, " The Evangelical church therefore condemns as erroneous, the doctrine of the Romish church concerning transubstantiation, &c." And under the article on Confession, " Against the so-called *Auricular Confession*, which the Romish church demands, the Evangelical church declared itself in express terms, &c." Now these men must have seen and read these statements, and it cannot therefore, be ascribed to their ignorance, when they speak and write of the Lutheran doctrines of baptism, the Lord's Supper, and private confession as being equally unscriptural and objectionable with those, held by the papists on the same subjects.

But what is still more conclusive on this point, these very men themselves, have written in loud and eloquent protest against the assertions of strangers, that our doctrines on baptism, the Lord's Supper and private confession, were in harmony, in close sympathy with those of the Romish church. Their leading paper has again and again hurled anathemas, dire and fearful, upon those who dared to insinuate that of all the various christian communions, the Lutheran was most like the

Catholic in her doctrines and usages; and poor Buck, for making the same assertion in his Theological Dictionary, it is well known, has long since been handed over to the uncovenanted mercies of God. This shows that ignorance is not the cause of these misrepresentations, and we have no way left us but to conclude that our opponents, for some purpose or other, best known to themselves, pervert the standards of the church. And so long as they pursue this course, what right have they to complain of the misrepresentations or false statements of others? How can they, or we, consistently blame those who are not of us, for asserting that our church and Rome stand next door neighbors; that like the latter, the former inculcates sacramental religion? when those who are of us, or at least profess to be so, and those too placed at the head of our church institutions and periodicals, do the same, or at any rate, speak and write in such a manner as to lead nine-tenths of their readers to the conclusion, that between the sacraments as held in the Lutheran and Romish churches, there is no essential or important difference. Do these men not see that in making the symbols of our church teach what they never taught, what no one that adheres to them pretends they teach, they hold her up to public odium, cripple her energies and retard her progress? O! church of Luther! church of my Fathers, how hast thou been wounded in the house of thy friends! We confess, that among all the various obstacles with which we have been obliged to contend, in our efforts to build up and extend the Lutheran church, none has grieved and discouraged us so much, as this systematic effort, on the part of some of our most prominent ministers, to identify our doctrinal and liturgical economy with sacramental religion, and therefore with Romanism; and could we see this dark and heavy cloud breaking away, we should soon look for the ushering in of such a day, as has never yet shone upon the great church of the Reformation.

We re-assert, then, boldly and confidently, that our symbols do not teach sacramental religion in the sense contended for by our opponents; not any more than the gospel of Christ; and that therefore they cannot be opposed to vital piety or active evangelism, unless the New Testament also be placed in the same category. What is the great, vital and central doctrine of our Augustan Confession? Emphatically justification by faith; and is this calculated to work formalism in the church? But it is replied that this doctrine, though taught in the confession, is obscured; that it is subordinated to other and non-fundamental doctrines; that the sacraments are elevated

above it, and that in this way its natural out-workings, which are admitted to be evangelical, are effectually counteracted. This is what we deny, and we challenge those who make the charge, for proof to sustain it. There is nothing in the wording of any of the articles of this symbol, that will in any way honestly bear such a construction. If there were, would Luther, the man who declared that justification by faith was the doctrine of a standing or falling church, have subscribed to it? Would he have permitted it to be published to the world, as the symbol of the Evangelical church? No, he would have resisted it with the same honest indignation and uncompromising fidelity that he brought to bear against the corruptions of Popery. The fact that Luther approved of the Confession, is uncontrovertible testimony that the doctrine of justification by faith is not obscured or encumbered; that it stands there, like the sun in the heavens, supreme, central, all the other doctrines revolving around it in subordinate, yet necessary harmony. Because geography teaches that the earth and the moon are necessary to the harmonious existence of the universe, is it chargeable justly with making them equal to, or elevating them above the sun? So neither is our confession guilty of throwing the doctrine of justification by faith on the back ground, or in any way detracting from its importance, because it teaches that the sacraments are necessary to the integrity of the church.

It is also contended that the symbolical books claim authority apart from the Bible; that they do not recognize it as the original and supreme arbiter of christian truth, and that on this account, they are necessarily fatal to evangelical religion. Here again, we demand the proof; and here again, we appeal to the immortal Luther to silence the objection. Whoever contended more strenuously for the supremacy of God's word, in all things, than he? and is it reasonable to suppose that he, who had just fought and vanquished the Papacy on this ground, would turn round and give his allegiance to a symbol that embodied the same vital error; a symbol that elevated itself above the scriptures, which are given by inspiration of God? We cannot, we will not be so unjust and cruel to the memory of this great and good man as to harbor the suspicion even for a moment. The truth is, the Augsburg Confession, and those who receive it as the symbol of their faith, claim authority for it, because, and *only* because it harmonizes with, or is a perfect transcript of the word of God. The only difference there exists between them in this respect is, that in the confession, the great doctrines of the christian system as contained in the

scriptures, are drawn out and placed in a compendious form; and therefore, if the former be at war with evangelical religion, the latter must be saddled, I had almost said blasphemed with the same charge. The Bible, say our opponents, is above every thing else; so does the Augsburg Confession; so do we; how then can they consistently set us down as being opposed to evangelical religion, whilst they claim to be in favor of it, because they receive and acknowledge the scriptures to be supreme?

And what now, does the history of the practical workings of the Lutheran symbols speak upon this subject? Is it true that wherever these books, and especially the Augsburg Confession, has been adopted and rigidly adhered to, there vital religion was crushed and cold formalism superinduced? To say so, would be to display ignorance of church history to an extent which can certainly not be regarded as reflecting any credit, either upon the scholar or the theologian. Did adherence to the symbols vitiate the piety of Luther and Melancton and their illustrious co-adjutors, and corrupt their christian integrity? Were they any the less holy, self-denying, devoted and energetic in fighting the battles of the Lord, because they believed in and subscribed all the articles of the unaltered Augsburg Confession? And afterwards, when the other books were added, and received and acknowledged as symbols, was piety eliminated? Did formalism come in like a flood? Did the church present the spectacle of a house or field full of dead bones, unbound by the muscle of living faith, and unstirred by the breath of the Holy Ghost? Were there none to cry, "men and brethren, what must we do?" None to inquire the way to Zion, with their faces turned thitherward? Let the history of such men as Arndt, Gerhard, Spener, Francke, Schwartz, and a host of others, be the reply. Under what influences were these men reared, and to what creeds did they subscribe? The symbolical books of the Lutheran church and no others. Some of these men, and especially Arndt, rather than yield in a single point, and that which might have been deemed unimportant, and which is in fact, admitted to be non-fundamental by all, sacrificed his living, and being deposed by his sovereign, he became an exile, going forth with his beloved family into a cold and bitter world, not knowing where he should get bread to eat, or a pillow to sleep upon. It is an indisputable fact, that at no time were the symbolical books of our church more extensively revered and adhered to, than during the life of these holy men of God. They did, indeed, lament the prevalence of lukewarmness and formalism in the church, but in

no single instance, did they attribute this state of things to the Confessions of the Church, and seek to remedy it, by their abandonment, or even emendation or improvement. Mosheim, in his Church history, tells us that the deplorable state of religion that prevailed in Germany at this time, was the result of the celebrated thirty years' war, and that while, a small minority of the most fanatical of the pietists, did indeed attempt to effect a revolution, or a revival of evangelical religion among the Lutherans, "by making considerable alterations in their doctrine, and changing their whole form of ecclesiastical discipline and polity," the vast majority of the most learned and pious, at the head of which was Spener, proposed to accomplish the work, "without introducing any change into the doctrine, discipline, or form of government, that were established in the Lutheran Church," (see vol. III, page 382.) Here then, we have two important facts: first these men (I have reference now to the distinguished leaders of the pietistic movement,) did not attribute the prevalence of formalism to the influence of symbolism: and secondly, that they did not consider a rigid adherence to them, as presenting any obstacle to the work of reformation, in which they had embarked. The revival of religion, under their administration, was effectual, not by attacking and abandoning the Confession of the Church; but by adhering to them as a faithful exhibition of Christian doctrine and practice, and by preaching the gospel in all its primitive simplicity and power. Dr. Schmucker, in his discourse on the "Patriarchs of American Lutheranism," quoting from Walch's *Streitigkeiten &c.* says, the effect was *chiefly* due to the practical and biblical preaching of these men. Not a word is said about abandonment, or lukewarm adherence to the symbols. Does all this look as though the confessions of the Church, when rightly interpreted, inculcate a sacramental religion and formalism? Certainly not, whether we regard them either in the influence they exerted in the religious training of these men, or in the estimate they formed of them, after their conversion and enlightenment. If they believed the symbols had any thing to do with the formalism that had spread over the Churches, they would not have hesitated to say so, and they would likewise have sought to get rid of them or at least to have them greatly modified. But as they did neither, we are bound to conclude, that they found no fault with them on the ground that they were opposed to evangelical religion.

We have not quite done with John Arndt in this connection. No man, we contend, adhered more rigidly and undev-

iatingly to the Lutheran symbols, than he. Now, if they be fatal to evangelical religion and promotive of formalism, three things in regard to him must necessarily follow: either he was incapable of forming a correct judgment of them, or he was not the friend of vital godliness, or he was dishonest—he misrepresented his real opinions. Now that he was not capable of forming a correct estimate of the confessions, who, that knows anything about his history, will venture to assert, or even to insinuate. His intellectual powers were acute and vigorous; his literary and scientific acquirements profound and extensive; and that his judgment was sound and discriminating, is abundantly proved by the numerous and important trusts that were committed to him, both in the Church and in the State, and the able and satisfactory manner in which he executed them. And that he was not the friend of evangelical religion, is still more preposterous. What! John Arndt, the man who wrote the *True Christianity*—a book known and acknowledged in almost every quarter of the globe, as the best work on the subject of experimental religion ever given to the world—a book which, next to the Bible, has opened up the way of life through a crucified Redeemer to more souls than any other—a book which has carried the healing balm of salvation to thousands of human hearts, beating and throbbing under the pressure of conviction—a book, which has been the solace of believers, in prosperity and adversity, by night and by day, through sickness and health, leading them to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, in this world, and to life everlasting in the world to come—this man, not the friend of evangelical religion! As well might we contend that God, the author of light is not the friend of light, or that God who is love itself, is not the friend of love. No! Arndt was the devoted friend of vital piety and the sworn foe of anything and everything inimical to it, and therefore the inference is unavoidable, that if he believed the confessions of our Church, to have the tendency now ascribed to them, he would have opposed them with all his might.

And what shall we say of his dishonesty, which is necessarily involved, if he even had any suspicion, that our confessions were calculated to uproot piety and foster formalism?—To induce him to adhere to them under the conviction that such was their tendency, he must either have been influenced by personal popularity, or pecuniary aggrandizement. Now, it is a fact well known to all acquainted with his history, that his interests in both these respects, lay altogether the other way. His Sovereign, Prince John George, had publicly repudiated the

Lutheran symbols ; and for him still to adhere to them under these circumstances, he must assume the position of a rebel against his government ; he must leave the beloved people, to whom he had ministered, in holy things, for years ; he must sacrifice the means of sustaining his family ; he must become an exile and an outcast from Anhalt, the place of his birth, the home of his child-hood, and the grave of his fathers ! Do we not see that every motive, that could possibly appeal to, or bring into play the selfish promptings of the human breast—loyalty, friendship, ease, money, and home, conjoined, in the case of Arndt, with the conviction, if it existed, that the confessions favored a formal religion, to induce him to set his face against them ? Experience proves that nine men out of ten, of ordinary integrity, would under such circumstances, under such numerous and powerful motives, abandon any Confession, were they ever so thoroughly convinced, that it embodied the truth and nothing but the truth. He was, however, firm ; moved by none of these things, and this shows, that he not only entertained no suspicion of the Confessions, but honestly and conscientiously believed them to hold the truth in all its vital integrity and to be absolutely necessary to the existence and promotion of evangelical religion. It is worthy of notice, that Arndt, publicly and solemnly, subscribed to the Symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, on at least, three different occasions ; and that although charged by some envious formalists, with being untrue to them, no tangible evidence could be adduced, that he departed from them in a single instance, either in theory or practice.

The fact then, that these men—these giants in mind, in learning and in experimental religion—were nourished, brought up perfect, unto the measures of the stature of the fulness of Christ, under the Symbolical books, and that they even faithfully adhered to them, demonstrates conclusively, that when rightly interpreted, they are not opposed to, but strongly in favor and highly promotive of evangelical religion. Nor must we conclude, that these men, as ministers of the gospel, distinguished for their superior mental endowments and theological attainments, stood alone in this relation to the Confessions of the Church. In the congregations, to whom they preached, there were living epistles of the truth, known and read of all men : there were family altars, prayer meetings, Missionary societies, and true and genuine revivals of religion. Franke, the elder, says Guericke, declares, that “many thousands of souls were wakened up to true repentance : yea, many thousands of ministers have been awakened.” Where is the man

among us now, even among those of us who set ourselves up to be wiser and holier than our fathers, who is willing to stand up and say, that the Church, to which he ministers, is superior in piety, and in all the essential characteristics of a strict and peculiar Christianity, to the congregations over which Arndt, Spener, and Franke presided?

And what was the character of the early missionaries sent out to this Country by the Church in Germany?—the Mühlensbergs, Helmuth, Kunze and others? Were they not men of God, who had the root of the matter in them? Did they not preach against formalism, and insist upon the cultivation of vital piety? And the lay-fathers and mothers of our church; who has not listened with absorbing interest to accounts related of their devotional spirit and self-denying labors? of the care with which they sought to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to bring them into the church of the living God. And who is not also acquainted with the fact, that they, both ministers and lay-men, were indoctrinated in the truth under the symbolical economy of the Church, and that they never swerved from it, in a single instance?

But, our opponents point us to rationalism in Germany, alleging it to be the legitimate and necessary offspring or fruit of symbolism. It will be sufficient to reply to this, that these men, instead of working their way to this system of error, through the Lutheran Symbols, actually found their way, or at least professed to have found their way thither through the Scriptures. They never pretended, that there was any harmony between their religious views and the doctrines of our Confessions; but with the word of God, it was insisted, they were in perfect unison. They abandoned the Symbolical books, and maintained that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice. No men, or set of men, ever more cordially hated the doctrinal standards of our Church, and declaimed against them more lustily, and why? Undoubtedly, because they knew them to be in direct conflict with their opinions, and that no effort on their part, could bend them to the furtherance of their cause. When, therefore, their leaders wished to bring out their system and win proselytes to it, they first set themselves to work to impair the authority and destroy the influence of the Symbols: and in order to accomplish this, they did just what sects and errorists have always done, and what they are now doing; they decried ecclesiastical standards, and contended that the word of God alone is to be our guide.

And what is the position of affairs in Germany, at present, in this respect? Rationalism is everywhere losing ground.

Evangelical religion is fast gaining its ancient hold upon the consciousness of the Church and the affections of the people. How is this revolution being effected? Not by undervaluing or abandoning the Confessions; but by returning to and standing upon them and giving them their proper interpretation. The friends of vital godliness, for such always existed, deplored the spread of rationalism. Their hearts bled to see how it withered and carried everything before it. They threw themselves into battle against it. They fought it at every turn, by writing and publishing able and learned counter periodicals and books. But they met with comparatively little success, until they rallied upon the Symbols of the Church and fought the enemy from the same citadel which Luther occupied, and with the same weapons that he wielded with such terrible execution against Rome. Here, we see, that just as the church stands upon and rigidly interprets her Confessions, is she mighty in combating error and promoting truth.

But driven from this point, our opponents ask us to look at the practical workings of Symbolism in our own Country. The subject, say they, has scarcely been agitated. The Evangelical Review, in which a return of the Church to her Confessions is advocated, has been in existence only a short time, and the results have already been most disastrous. A few years ago, we are told, vital piety flourished, and the Church in every direction was enlarged by extensive revivals of religion. Now, lukewarmness every where prevails and revivals are few and far between. All this, they contend, is the legitimate result of the return of the Church to her doctrinal standards and liturgical usages; and that therefore everything that encourages the movement should be resisted.

We ask the candid and unprejudiced attention of the reader to this matter, a few moments. In the first place, is it true, that vital piety is losing ground and that revivals of religion are less frequent? One thing is certain. If we judge by the accounts of revivals published in our papers, the question just proposed, must be answered in the affirmative. But does it follow necessarily, that because we have not these flaming narrations, therefore, the Church is retrograding in piety and sound evangelical revivals of religion? We think not. A few years since, every awakening, though it resulted in the addition of only two or three persons, was published to the world. It is different now. Most of our ministers have come to entertain serious doubts about the expediency of giving publicity to these occurrences. We ourselves are acquainted with not a few, who at first, felt it their duty to let the public know of

every unusual seriousness in their congregations ; but, who, of late years, have not only refrained from publishing such accounts themselves of revivals that have occurred in their Churches, but have taken pains to prevent others from doing so.

But, in the second place, supposing it to be true, that there is a falling off in revivals of religion, is it justly attributable to the influence of the Symbolical books ? If so, to what is the same thing to be ascribed in other communions around us ? They are lamenting over the scarcity of revivals as well as we ; but surely, no one will contend that the Lutheran Symbols are so powerful to do evil, as to cast their mildew even into the ranks of our neighbors, and work out in them the same deplorable results. No, there are other ways by which to account for this less frequent occurrence of revivals, more philosophical and more in accordance with the truth. Re-action has not a little to do with it. Experience demonstrates that every unusual excitement in the moral and religious world, no less than in the physical, is invariably followed by a corresponding re-action: Does not the history of the Church show this beyond a doubt ? The great revival of religion, in the sixteenth century, under Luther, was followed by a re-action, so much so, that this good man at the close of his life, declared, with a sorrowful heart, his apprehension that the cause of Christ was retrograding, rather than advancing. The extensive awakening, under President Edwards in our own Country, was followed by a similar re-action, so that for years, there was the most lamentable dearth in our Churches. We have had our excitements ; and now we have the re-action, and so it will ever be. True, we have had beautiful and attractive theories of continued and uninterrupted revivals pressed upon us, but unhappily, they have always remained theories ; they always will remain theories ; they will die theories, if they are not dead already.

There is another consideration, closely connected with the one just adverted to, which shows that in the very nature of things, we could not look for anything else than fewer and less extensive revivals of religion for some time to come. Take, by way of illustration, a congregation. A general seriousness prevails, and during its continuance, all the material that can be reached in this way, is gathered into the Church. For years then, there can be no similar revival, unless it be to work over the material already operated upon, in which case, it were undoubtedly better, it had never taken place at all. There must time, years intervene in order to collect material again, for another extensive work of grace. Now what is thus true of any individual Church, is true of the Church as a whole ;

for the Church as a whole, is nothing more than the aggregate of individual Churches. When a general wave of salvation has rolled through the Church, and brought into her bosom the material open to such influences, it cannot be otherwise than that a corresponding dearth should ensue. If, as an offset to this, we are told, there are always sinners in the Churches; we reply, there are, and always will be sinners, who will never be reached, either by ordinary or extraordinary means.

The attempt then to invalidate the integrity of the great Lutheran Symbols, on the ground, that they inculcate sacramental religion, and are therefore opposed to evangelical piety, and genuine works of grace, is a magnificent failure. But, perhaps, after all, we shall be reminded, that we cannot deny, that in places and times where these books were in acknowledged authority, lukewarmness and formalism reigned supreme, whilst little or no activity was exhibited in the cause of Christ. In confirmation of this, we are referred, to the state of religion, in the Pennsylvania Churches, for some years prior to the formation of the General Synod. But how is this? Dr. Schmucker, whose authority our opponents will hardly venture to question, asserts, that the "fathers of the American Church soon relaxed from their rigid views of obligation to the Symbolical books;" that "during the first thirty years of this century, (I presume he means the nineteenth) the great body of the Lutheran Church had no human creeds at all binding upon them, though they always did refer to the Augsburg Confession. as a substantial expose of their doctrines;" that "our General Synod found the Lutheran Church in America without any human Symbols, &c;" and that this Synod "passed a formal adoption of the Augsburg Confession, in a fundamental way, as a test of admission and discipline." (vide *Lutheran Church in America*, page 169, 161, 158.) What force, then, is there in the position that the formalism, which everywhere prevailed, is attributable to adherence to the Symbols, where such adherence had no existence? Is it not true, that the history of the Church, as thus given, in her relation to her Confessions, proves the very opposite of what our opponents assert? At first, it is admitted, our fathers adhered somewhat rigidly to the Symbolical books; and this was an era, in which spiritual religion predominated. Soon afterwards, the "fathers relaxed from their rigid views of obligation to the Symbols," and formalism began to flood their Churches. At the formation of the General Synod, or not long thereafter, the Augsburg Confession was again more formally recognized; or in other words, the Church assumed a more official Symbolical stand-point;

and what was the consequence? The revival of evangelical religion, and the intervention of a more active state of things, decidedly, in all respects. What does this prove? Unquestionably, and we make our compliments to our opponents for pushing our thoughts in this direction, just what we have been contending for; that exactly in proportion as the Church stands upon and faithfully interprets her Confessions, will she counteract formalism and promote evangelical religion.

If, however, it will afford our anti-Symbolical friends, any satisfaction, or soothe their troubled spirits, we will not deny, nay, we will admit, that there have been times and places in which formalism and the Lutheran Confessions co-existed. But when we do this, we must be allowed to contend, that in these cases, the Confessions were perverted, abused; they were not properly and faithfully interpreted. But was this the fault of the Confessions? Manifestly not: it was the fault of those who adhered to them, and whose duty it was to interpret them. The Apostle tells us, that many wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction. Whose fault is it? Not of the Scriptures, but of those who pervert, or do not give them their true interpretation. The application we need not make.

But, if we felt any disposition to retort, in this connection, might we not ask our opponents, whether those systems of religious belief, which are free from the errors they charge upon our Confessions, and which they so highly commend, have not also sometimes been attended with evil results. Take Puritanism for example. No one will suspect it of any leaning towards sacramental religion. Its ermine, in this respect at least, has never been soiled. And yet, see the monstrous occurrences, which have grown out of, or sprung from this system of religious doctrine. Unitarianism, Universalism, Millerism and Fanaticism in some of its wildest and maddest forms. And from recent developements in that quarter, the end is not yet.

At this point, we rest our discussion, not because the subject is exhausted, but because the space allotted for this article is fully taken up. Enough, we trust, however, has been said to convince the candid and unprejudiced, that the ground, on which a return to the Symbols of the Church is opposed, is altogether untenable. And we appeal to all upright men, whether it is fair and honest in our opponents to cry down our Confessions and those periodicals and ministers, who are endeavoring to obtain a candid hearing for them before the Church, as being opposed to vital piety and genuine revivals of religion. The *Evangelical Review*, which has perhaps had more to do with this movement than any other of our

Church periodicals, is not the advocate of formalism ; nor are its editors and friends. It has no object of this kind in view whatever. We wish it distinctly understood, that we, as the friends of the Symbols, do not oppose evangelical religion and genuine works of grace in the Churches. All we want, is to bring back our Church and place her in the same relation to her Confessions, and especially to the unaltered Augustan Confession, which the Episcopal Church holds to its Thirty-nine Articles, or the Presbyterian Church to its Westminster Confession. And we want, likewise, a complete Liturgy, containing one form for morning and evening service in the sanctuary ; one form for each of the festival days ; one form for each of the Sacraments, &c.; one form for family worship, morning and evening for every day in the week, with about one hundred hymns, chiefly thanksgiving and supplicatory in their character ; the whole to be styled the *Lutheran Book of Worship*, so that our members may carry it with them wherever they go, on land or sea, and not be obliged, as they now are, to supply themselves with such a desideratum from another source, too well known to be mentioned. This is what we want ; this is what the Church wants, and this is what we will labor for, until, by the blessing of God it is obtained. We are thoroughly persuaded, that were the Lutheran Church to plant herself down upon the Augsburg Confession, and adopt the right kind of a Liturgy, and interpret them, as they must in honesty be interpreted, in favor of vital piety and *genuine* revivals of religion, she would in a comparatively short time, become the largest and most influential Church in the world ; and we wish our opponents to understand, that, in our estimate at least, so long as they maintain their present position, they are standing between the great Mother of Protestantism and this glorious destiny that is opened up before her. Our devout prayer to the great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church is, that he may speedily and effectually influence them, to come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

ARTICLE II.

Elemental Contrast of the Religion of Forms and of the Spirit, as exemplified in Puseyism and Popery on the one hand, and genuine Protestantism on the other.

By S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg.

IT is recorded of one of the generals of the politic and ambitious *Charles V.*, that when he solicited the favor of a discharge from public service, and the emperor demanded his reason, the thoughtful officer gave this memorable reply:—“*Sire, (said he) there ought to be a pause between the tumult of life and the day of death.*” And so it would seem wise for ministers of the gospel, who are soldiers of the cross, daily surrounded by the tumult of war, and “wrestling against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places,” occasionally to pause and inquire, not only into the actual progress of the fluctuating conflict, but also into the principles on which they are conducting it, the arms which they employ, and the maxims of strategy that govern them.

When the great Captain of our salvation had finished the work for which he had descended to earth, and was about to return to our Father and his Father, to our God and his God, to resume the glory which he had with him ere the world was, he gave to his disciples their great and final commission, “Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.” This commission legitimates the mission of the apostles, and of Christian ministers in general, as ambassadors to our rebel race, and devolves upon them the arduous enterprise of proclaiming his gospel over the earth. It is, moreover, accompanied by the precious promise of his gracious presence “unto the end of the world,” not as the Romish archbishop *Hughes* maintained,¹ to render them infallible, but to bless their legitimate efforts for the universal extension of his kingdom.

The directions embodied in this commission, have been variously apprehended. When we summon before our view the several portions of the professed kingdom of the Redeemer,

¹ See his controversy with Dr. Breckenridge.

through the different ages of the past, and contemplate their methods of executing the twofold injunction to “preach the gospel,” and to “make disciples,” we discover various tendencies, struggling with each other for the mastery, eventually arranging themselves by homogeneous sympathies or elective affinity into two general systems, into two forms of religious and ecclesiastical organization and action, though not without various counter-current lines. Generally considered, they may be designated as the religion of *Forms* and the religion of the *Spirit*, as the system of *Work* and of *Grace*, as the system of *blind Submission* to authority and the system of *Gospel liberty*, and as the reader may have anticipated, the *Romish* and *Protestant* systems. As wholes, these systems are characterized by definite and distinct features; yet their shades are often blended, and in many places they lie contiguous to each other. It is, therefore, important occasionally to re-examine their several lineaments, that we may detect them on their first appearance, and guard against the insinuation of error. Each of these systems is marked by minor diversities among its professors, yet we propose to treat them as units. It shall be our aim, *first* to group the features of these antagonist systems, and *secondly* to show that the Romish or Puseyite or Formal system is not, and the Protestant or Spiritual system is the religion of the gospel.

These two systems, as wholes, are characterized by the fact, that the one adopts the *word of God alone* as the infallible rule of faith and practice, and justification by *grace*, through faith, as the cardinal doctrine in the plan of salvation; whilst the other places uninspired, human *tradition* on an equality with the word of God, and maintains justification by works.¹ The other doctrines of the two systems diverge in accordance with these vital principles, but our present object will be best attained by confining our attention to the most important, to those which stand in more immediate logico-moral connexion

¹ *Baumgarten Crusius* thus defines the general stand-point of Protestantism and Popery:—“Die Lehre der *Protestantischen Kirche* führt von dem *formalen Princip*, von der alleinigen Auctorität der heiligen Schrift, und dem *Materialen*, von der Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben; durch die Artikel von Erbsünde, Rechtfertigung, seligmachendem Glauben, Mittel des Heiles. Ueber *Kirche* und *Gottesverehrung* hat sie Grundsätze, welche ihrer dogmatischen Denkweise völlig entsprechen.”—“In entgegengesetzter Weise hat die Römisch-katholische Kirche als *Principien*, das Ansehen der *Tradition* neben der heiligen Schrift, und die Rechtfertigung durch die *Werke* aufgestellt. Die einzelnen Dogmen entfalten sich in vollständigem Gegensatz zu der Protestantischen Auffassung. Und eben so stellen sich die Katholischen Begriffe von *Kirche* und von *Gottesverehrung* dar.” *Compendium der Christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, vol. I. pp. 432–433.

with the plan of salvation, namely: the *Word* that is to be preached, the *Church* by whose authority the minister preaches it, the *Ministerial office* which he sustains, the *Sacraments* which he is to administer, and finally *Justification* and the *Pastoral care*, or, the principles of *Spiritual culture* of the souls committed to his charge.

1. In what light does the *church of Rome* regard the *Scriptures*? We reply, as inspired and obligatory indeed, but as an *insufficient* rule of faith and practice. Accordingly, she adds the Apocrypha, which Jerome himself rejected as uncanonical,¹ though found in his Vulgate version, and also *tradition*, and the so called *unanimous consent* of the *fathers*. Rejecting the advice of Cardinal Cajetan, to adopt the original Hebrew and Greek scriptures, the Tridentine divines thus decreed: "Following the example of the orthodox fathers, the council of Trent doth receive and reverence with equal piety and veneration, all the books, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, the same God being the author of both, and also the aforesaid *traditions*, pertaining both to faith and manners, whether received by Christ himself, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the Catholic church by continual succession." "Whosoever shall not receive, as sacred and canonical, all these books and every part of them, as they are commonly read in the Catholic church, and are contained in the old *Vulgate Latin*² edition, or shall knowingly and deliber-

¹ Jerome made a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, excluding all the Apocrypha. He says, "That we may know what books there are besides these, they are to be placed among those of the Apocrypha. Therefore that commonly called the Wisdom of Solomon, also Jesus, the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias and the Shepherd, are not in the canon," &c. Prolog. Galeat. See Cramp's Text book, p. 49.

² The committee appointed by the council to collate copies of the vulgate and prepare a correct edition, accomplished nothing. Pius IV, after the dissolution of the council, engaged, in connexion with numerous learned men, to furnish a correct copy of the Vulgate Latin, now pronounced inspired by the council. "His successor, Pius V, continued the undertaking. The book was published by Sixtus V, in 1590. This active and resolute pontiff, not only assembled round him a number of the most learned and acute linguists and critics, but ardently and personally engaged in the examination of the work himself." He read the whole before it was committed to the press, read it over again as it passed through the press, and when it was all printed off re-examined it, and corrected it anew. This edition was accompanied by a bull, enjoining its universal reception, and forbidding the slightest alterations under pain of the most dreadful anathemas. But it was scarcely published before it was discovered to abound with errors, and was quickly called in. A more correct edition was issued by Clement VIII, in 1592, accompanied by a similar bull. An edition still further improved, left the press in 1593. The difference between these editions is very considerable. Dr. James, in his "Bellum Papale," notices 2000 variations, some of whole verses, and many others clearly and decidedly contradictory to each other.

ately despise the aforesaid *traditions*, let him be accursed.”¹ To the inspired word of God, Rome therefore, adds uninspired traditions, and the so called unanimous consent of the fathers, or theological writers of the former ages of the church; which are, in reality, just as contradictory as the writings of the same number of modern divines, taken promiscuously from the several Protestant denominations. Yet this tradition and consent of the fathers, she pronounces to be as much inspired, and as infallible, as the word of God itself, which she tries by various means to prevent her laity from reading, except under important restrictions.

The church is to her a divine and infallible body, paramount to the scriptures themselves; divided into militant on earth, and triumphant in heaven. The church militant, *Bellarmino* defines as “a body of men united in the profession of the same christian faith, and communion of the same sacraments, under the government of lawful pastors, and particularly of the Roman Pontiff, Christ’s only vicar upon earth.”² And he further affirms, that whilst the unbaptized, the heretics and apostates, the excommunicate and schismatics, do not belong to the church; the non-predestinate, the imperfect, and even *open sinners* and *concealed infidels*, are included in the church, if they hold the sacraments and the profession of faith, and are subject to the Roman Pontiff.” Out of this church there is no salvation, and as their sacraments professedly exert their influence *ex opere operato*, regardless of the moral qualifications of the recipient, *all in their church* who receive the sacraments, *they regard as certain heirs of salvation.*

Her *Ministry* she regards as a divinely appointed *priesthood*, deriving by succession from the apostles, the power to transubstantiate the host or wafer into the body and blood of Christ, and to offer or sacrifice it, as also to remit and retain sins.³ “Priests and bishops (says the Tridentine Catechism)⁴ are as it were the interpreters and heralds of God, commissioned in his name to teach mankind the law of God, and the precepts of a christian life; they are the representatives of God upon earth.” “They are justly called, not only angels but Gods,

Yet both editions were declared to be authentic by the same plenitude of knowledge and power, and both guarded against alteration by the same tremendous excommunication.” See Townley’s *Illustrations of Bib. Literature*, vol. II, p. 487–495, and Cramp’s text book of Popery, pp. 52–53.

¹ See *Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum*, edit. Augustæ Vindelicorum 1781. Sess. IV, pp. 8–9.

² *De Eccles. militante*, cap. 2. ³ *Concil. Trid. Sess. XXIII*, p. 313–314.

⁴ p. 304.

holding as they do, the place and power, and authority of God upon earth." "The power of consecrating and offering the body and blood of our Lord, and of remitting sins, with which the priesthood of the new law is invested, is such as cannot be comprehended by the human mind, still less is it equalled by or assimilated to any thing on earth."¹

The *Sacraments*, of which she numbers seven,² Rome regards as exerting their influence by virtue of an intrinsic, mystic influence (*ex opere operato*) regardless of the moral qualification of the subject,³ provided no death sin interpose, and the priest had the proper intention; although the recipient's state of mind may increase or diminish the degree of the blessing, and proper moral qualifications are enjoined. Says the Council of Trent, "If any one shall affirm, that grace is not conferred by these sacraments of the new law by their *own power* (*ex opere operato*), but that faith in the divine promise is all that is necessary to obtain grace, let him be accursed."⁴ As these sacraments are deemed essential to salvation, and can be administered only by the priest, (lay baptism excepted) it is evident that the entire population must regard their salvation as wholly under the control of the priesthood; and here we perceive the secret spring of that amazing power wielded by Romish priests over even the most immoral and abandoned papists.

As to *Justification and the Care of souls*, Rome inculcates justification by *works*. Christ, say her divines, made satisfaction only for the natural depravity or inherited sin of man,—for the guilt of his personal actions, of his life and conduct, he must himself make satisfaction; and the possibility of making it extends into the future world, into *purgatory*. These works consist of various external duties, such as attendance at mass,

¹ See Cramp's Text book of Popery, p. 301, Note 39.

² Rome adds five new sacraments, unknown to Scripture as such, viz: confirmation, penance, extreme unction, orders and matrimony.

³ Romish divines suppose, that grace may be acquired in two different ways, the one by the moral qualifications of the recipient, which is grace *ex opere operantis*; the other is by some supposed mystic influence or virtue of the sacrament itself, which is independent of the moral preparation of the recipient. Thus baptism, say they, regenerates the infant, or bestows grace on an idiot. And this is grace *ex opere operato*. The great *Melanchthon* thus expresses his appreciation of this view of the sacraments. "No language can express the amount of abuses which that *fanatical* opinion of the *opus operatum*, without a good motion in the recipient, has produced in the church." Apology to Conf. A. p. 205, Müller's ed.

⁴ Canon VIII. "Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ Legis Sacramenta *ex opere operato* non conferre gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit." Sacrosanctum Concil. Trident. p. 95, Sess. VII.

confession to a priest, performance of penance prescribed by him, obedience to all the injunctions of the church announced by the priest, &c. We are justified, say they, not by faith, but by the infused righteousness implanted in us by baptism alone,¹ by the cultivation of which, we perform good works through life, and continue in a justified state.

As to *Spiritual Culture* in general, the Romish priest regards and treats all baptized persons, yielding external obedience to his directions, as regenerate, as good Catholic christians. He, therefore, like the Puseyite, never urges on them the necessity of spiritual regeneration or conversion, no matter how striking the evidences of their estrangement from God; but he simply admonishes them to discharge their duties, or reform their conduct, to appear statedly at the confessional and at mass, to have their recent sins forgiven, and to obtain at the hand of the priest a continued passport to heaven.

This system of Formalism, as a whole, is evidently a moral monstrosity, a gross caricature of the Christianity of the New Testament; corrupting the pure word of inspiration, robbing the laity of their inalienable right to "search the scriptures," investing the fallible and oft corrupt minister with authority belonging only to God, substituting the filthy rags of our own morality for the all prevailing righteousness of Christ, thrusting the priest between the sinner and his Savior, and suspending the salvation of man on the pleasure of fallible, corrupt priests, instead of the grace of God, his Savior.

That the reformers should have repudiated this entire system as a corruption of primitive, apostolical Christianity, was the natural result of their fidelity in scriptural investigation, and in praying for illumination by the Holy Spirit. And that the entire Protestant world should, for several centuries, have confirmed this judgment, is equally natural. But it is no less a matter of surprise and regret, that a body of men, claiming to be Protestants, should of late years have adopted not only several, but nearly all these perversions of pure Christianity, and yet many of them hesitate to pass over to Rome, and openly profess her name, as they have virtually adopted her creed. These persons are principally found in the Episcopal church in Great Britain, and our own country, and it cannot be denied that a few ministers of other communions, appear to favor some of these views. We shall, however, adduce evidences only from the writers of the Episcopal church, where they are known as

¹ Concil. Trid. Sess. VI, p. 53. Sacramentum baptismi, quod est sacramentum fidei, sine qua nulla unquam contigit justificatio.

Puseyites. Hear the author of the celebrated Oxford Tracts.¹ "Scripture and *Tradition* taken together, are the joint rule of faith." Says Mr. Keble in his sermons,² "Consentient patristical tradition is the record of that oral teaching of the Apostles, which the Holy Spirit inspired." By this patristic tradition, which these Oxford divines extol as an infallible interpreter of scripture, and test of doctrinal truth, they understand the *voice of Catholic antiquity*, or the voice of the theologians of the Nicene age, of the fourth century; and yet a majority of them were at one time devoted to the Arian heresy. And says *Froude*,³ "Your trumpety principles about scripture being the sole rule in fundamentals, I nauseate the word." Stronger language professed Papists themselves could not employ. As to the *Sacraments*, of which the Protestants admit but two, these Puseyites restore the old Romish number, and affirm in Tract No. 90,⁴ "That there are seven sacraments,"⁵ and that "the *sacraments* and *not preaching*, are the sources of divine grace."⁶ "Justification is an imparting of righteousness."⁷ "Whilst the received doctrine in all ages of the church, has been, that by grace we can obey unto justification; it is the distinguishing tenet of the school of *Luther*, that through the incurable nature of our corruption we cannot."⁸ As to the *Mass*, Tract No. 10 affirms, "You will honor us (the clergy) with a purer honor, as entrusted with the awful and mysterious gift of making the bread and wine Christ's body and blood."⁹ Tract 90: "Antiquity continually affirms

¹ No. 78, p. 2 of the English edition.

² Sermons (3d ed.) p. 24.

³ Vol. I. p. 413.

⁴ p. 43.

⁵ Advertisement to vol. I.

⁶ The Puseyite doctrine of the Sacraments, says Mr. Dennison, "I understand to be this:

I. That man is "made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven," in and by holy Baptism.

II. That man "made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven," in and by holy Baptism, is renewed from time to time in holy Communion.

III. That "a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness" is given to every adult, and every infant, in and by the outward visible sign or forin in Baptism, "water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

IV. That the gift may be received, in the case of adults, worthily or unworthily, but that it is always received.

V. That the body and blood of Christ are given to every one who receives the Sacramental Bread and wine.

VI. That the gift may be received worthily or unworthily, but that it is always received.

There is no mistaking the meaning of this. It is clear and explicit; but wherein it differs from Romanism it would be difficult to tell.

⁷ Newman's Lecture on Justification, p. 247.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁹ Tract No. 10, 1st ed. p. 4.

a change in the sacred elements.”¹ And finally says Palmer,² “The bread and wine are *changed* by the consecration of the priest, and the operation of the Holy Ghost, and become the *very body and blood of our Lord*.” “The table is properly an altar, says the British critic, and altars presume a propitiatory sacrifice.”³ What more, I ask, could a professed Papist say? The Puseyites advocate the *veneration of relics*,⁴ the *invocation of saints*,⁵ the belief of purgatory.⁶ Again says Froude,⁷ “The Reformation was a limb badly set, it must be *broken again*, in order to be righted.” “Utterly reject and anathematise *the principle of the Reformation as a heresy*, with all its forms, sects and denominations,” says Palmer.⁸ The number of other equally decided declarations, might be augmented to almost any extent. But certainly these are sufficient to show that these men are Romanists in disguise, and that if they act consistently, they must all pass over into the fold of Rome, as so many of their number have already done. No wonder then that these men stigmatize the doctrine of justification by faith alone as the “*Lutheran heresy*,” and that their principal periodical organ, the British Critic, can employ such language as the following: “Whether any one heresy has ever infested the church, so hateful and unchristian as this doctrine (the Lutheran doctrine of justification) it is perhaps not necessary to determine: none certainly has ever prevailed so subtle and extensively poisonous. We must plainly express our conviction, that a religious heathen, were he really to accept the doctrine which Lutheran language expresses, so far from making any advance, would sustain a heavy loss, in exchanging fundamental truth for fundamental error.”⁹ And again, speaking of the Puseyite party, he makes this open confession: “We cannot stand where we are; we must go backward or forwards; and it will surely be the latter. As we go on, *we must recede more and more from the principles*, if any such there be, *of the English Reformation*,”¹⁰ which was a continuation of that by Luther.

Another phase of *Semi-Romanism*, more or less popular in continental Europe also, and often combined with Puseyism,

¹ Ib. p. 73.

² Palmer's Letter to a Protestant Catholic, p. 30.

³ Brit. Crit. July 1841. p. 24. This inference is undoubtedly correct, and as Christ is not sacrificed in Protestant churches, the table on which the sacramental elements are placed, ought not to be termed an *altar*, but a table. Altars are not congenial to the spirit of Protestantism, and as the thing was wisely discarded by the reformers, the name also should be dropped.

⁴ Tract 90, p. 31. ⁵ Pusey's Earnest Remonstrance Tracts, vol. 3, p. 22.

⁶ Tract 90, p. 25. ⁷ Vol. 1, p. 433. ⁸ Letter to Golightly, p. 9.

⁹ British Critic LXIV, p. 391. ¹⁰ No. LIX, p. 45.

is denominated *Church development*. This system regards the church as one organic body, and primitive, apostolic Christianity as a mere germ or seminal principle, to be developed and properly matured in the progress of ages. It adopts as such legitimate additions to biblical Christianity, various gross corruptions, which gained currency in the church in different centuries, and were taught by leading fathers or councils. This is evidently little else than Romish tradition disguised under a new dress, and the more dangerous, because it is less palpable, and is sometimes even combined with pantheistic tendencies. This theory throws an uncertainty about the lineaments of Christianity, which opens the door for every species of error that designing men may be inclined to adopt, whilst it enables the so called church Catholic to justify every one of her errors, both doctrinal and ritual. Another gross appendage sometimes associated with this theory of development is, that Christ has placed himself in some kind of physical connexion or concorporation with the mass of his disciples, the church; by which his body nourishes them in some mystical manner, through the eucharist, and furnishes the germ of their resurrection body. It is indeed melancholy to reflect upon these wild and fanciful innovations on our holy religion, and it is not difficult to trace their origin in the English churches to the influence of those subtle Romish theorists, at whose head is the distinguished author of the "Symbolik," Dr. Möhler, late Romish professor of Theology at Tübingen.

2. *But we must pass on and sketch a few lineaments of the Protestant or spiritual system.*

Here again we shall observe the same specifications, as in our characteristic of the Romish or Formal System. In regard to the *Word of God*, Protestants at an early day adopted two cardinal principles, whose influence is necessarily felt throughout their entire system. The first of these was indissolubly interwoven with the history of the Reformation by Luther's intrepid avowal of it in the face of imperial and papal dignitaries at the diet of Worms, namely, *That the Bible is the only infallible rule of faith and practice*. In his *Smalcald Articles*,¹ written seventeen years later, (in 1537,) he employs this language: "*It will not answer to construct articles of faith out of the declarations or actions of the fathers,*

¹ Part II, Art. II. p. 303, Müller's ed. Ex patrum enim verbis et factis non sunt extruendi articuli fidei, alioquin etiam articulus fidei fieret victus eorum, vestimentorum ratio, domus, et cet., quemadmodum cum reliquiis sanctorum luserunt. Regulam autem aliam habemus, ut videlicet verbum Dei condat articulos fidei, et preterea nemo, ne angelus quidem.

otherwise we must also make their form of dress, their food and dwellings, articles of faith, as men have sported with the relics of saints. *But we have another rule, namely, the word of God forms our articles of faith, and no one else, not even an angel.*"¹ The adherents of the *Helvetic Confession* expressed themselves in language fully as strong, as did also the XXXIX Articles of the Anglican church, and those of the Westminster Confession. In short, the profession of the bible as the only infallible norm, is universally conceded as the grand characteristic feature of Protestantism; although Puseyites and other nominal Protestants have in various indirect ways endeavored, perhaps unconsciously, to undermine it. The *other cardinal principle* is, that the word of God is the *chief means of grace*,² in connexion with the faithful preaching, hearing, or reading of which, the Holy Spirit exerts his awakening, converting and sanctifying influences on the hearts of sinners individually, when and where he sees a moral fitness to receive his blessing.³ The truths of God's word are addressed to sinners in three different ways; *orally* from the pulpit, *scripturally* in the declarations of the written word, and *symbolically* in the two sacraments of the New Testament. The influence of the Spirit always accompanies that of the word, and so fully coincides with it, that they cannot be separately distinguished.

As to the *Church of Christ*, Protestants regard it as a divinely instituted, collective or aggregate association⁴ (not one consolidated corporate body), consisting of all those throughout the earth, both ministers and laity, who professing to have yielded to the influence of the truth and Spirit, avow faith in Christ,⁵ and are associated for the purpose of mutual instruction, edification and supervision, together with their children,

¹ On this subject the *Form of Concord* is also very explicit, although this very book was the principal means of robbing the Lutheran church in Germany of her Protestant liberty in the use of the Bible. Part I. § 1. "We believe, profess and teach, that the only rule and square (regulam et normam) according to which all doctrines and teachers ought to be valued and judged, is none other than the prophetic and apostolic scriptures of the Old and New Testament."

² "Verbum Dei est medium salutis efficacissimum, quippe cujus vis et efficacia non est tantum objectiva, sed etiam effectiva." Hollazii Examen Theologicum, vol. II, p. 452.

³ Augsburg Confession Art. V. "Nam per verbum et sacramenta, tanquam per instrumenta, donatur Spiritus sanctus, qui fidem efficit *ubi et quando visum est Deo.*" "For by the word and sacraments, as means, the Holy Spirit is given, who produces faith *when and where* God sees fit."

⁴ The very terms by which the church is designated in the Old and New Testament (ἐκκλησία) are appellative, and signify any other collection or assembly of persons, as well as the church.

⁵ Union with Christ, by a living faith, is the basis of union with the church.

into different local societies, each of which is entrusted by Christ with the appointment of its officers, and the administration of the ordinances, privileges and duties of his kingdom,¹ and to every worthy member of which the Savior has promised, and actually bestows his Spirit, with every needful grace, not by any mystic influence, but in the faithful and scriptural use of the means.² Within this church are ordinarily found all those who constitute his true *invisible* church, being actually united to him by a living faith.³ As the church consists of *individual* believers, who are not permanent on earth, but constantly passing from grace to glory; she can be the depository of no other grace than that contained in the hearts of her members. Yet, as Christ has bestowed on her certain permanent means of grace, these may properly be regarded, not indeed as the depositories of any mystic, gracious influence, but as the permanent channels through which the Head of the church bestows his grace from day to day to individual believers. Thus every member of the church, which is Christ's spiritual body, stands in constant, direct, spiritual connexion with Christ, the head, and in incessant dependence on him. The difference between the Romish and Protestant idea of the church, may be clearly characterized by a single feature of antithesis. According to Rome, the sinner gains access to Christ through the church; but according to Protestants, he gains access to the church through Christ (that is, by faith in him). According

¹ "Obwohl als Stand eingesetzt (says Hase) von Gott, geht doch alle Gewalt des Priesterthums von der Gemeinde aus. Hierdurch ist die katholische Vorstellung des Priesterthums verworfen, als eines nothwendigen Mittleramtes zwischen Christo und der Gemeinde, und der alt-christliche Gedanke eines allgemeinen Priesterthums der Christenheit, wieder anerkannt." Hut-terus Redivivus, p. 318.

² The Augsburg Confession thus defines the church: *Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur sacramenta.* Art. VII.

³ Luther says: Ich glaube dasz eine heilige Christliche Kirche sei auf Erden, Das ist die Gemeinde und Zahl oder Versammlung aller Christen in aller Welt, die einge Braut Christi und sein geistlicher Leib." "Die Idee der Kirche ist im protestantischen Sinne die einer zwar äusserlichen (nicht bloß die unsichtbare, ja die unsichtbare Kirche wurde nur *innerhalb* der sichtbaren gedacht), aber nur für *innere* Zwecke, mit geistigen Mitteln, unter einem himmlischen Haupte—ferner die einer göttlichen Ordnung, jedoch freier, so dass nur Mittel der Ueberzeugung dargeboten werden—endlich eine Trägerin des göttlichen Geistes, aber so, dass derselbe nicht in sie *magisch*, substantiell gelegt worden sei, sondern sich den Empfänglichen mittheile durch Gottes Wort und das Sacrament." Baumgarten Crusius' Dogmengeschichte, I, p. 432-3. Gerhard defines the church as "Cœtus hominum per prædicationem verbi et administrationem sacramentorum, ex mundo ad regnum Dei vocatorum, in quo coetu sunt electi juxta prænotationem patris, quibus sunt mixti non sancti, sed tamen eandem doctrinam profitentes." Tom. V, p. 515.

to the former he makes a profession of religion before he possesses it; in the latter he must possess religion before he professes to do so. Into the one church he is received unconverted, in order that he may, by baptism, have his natural depravity forgiven for Christ's sake, and then make satisfaction for his personal sins by penance, and merit his salvation under the guidance of the priests; into the other he is not received until the Holy Spirit has enlightened his mind, and wrought faith in him, through the word and ordinances of the church, and when he "believes in the Lord Jesus Christ with all his heart," (Acts 8: 37,) he "may be baptized," and thus be added to the church (together with his children, to whom also the promises of the gospel are given) and be admitted to all the privileges of a christian.

The *Ministry* Protestants regard, not as a distinct *order*, perpetuated by apostolical succession, and serving as channels for certain mystic influences; but as a divinely appointed *office* in the church, whose incumbents are appointed by the church, and publicly recognized (ordained) by the existing ministry as her agents, to preach the word, and dispense the sacraments. In connexion with these various means of grace, the Holy Spirit bestows his gracious influences, producing faith and a sense of pardoned sin, when and where he sees a moral fitness, without the ministers interposing, except to publish the plan of salvation to seeking sinners, and the promises of God's word to all true penitents. The Romish system, interposes the priest between Christ and the believer, and supposes him to obtain pardon, not from God directly, but mediately through the pretended sin forgiving power of the priest; whilst the advocate of Protestantism points the sinner directly to his God who alone can forgive sin, and bids him ask of him pardon and grace to help in every time of need, assured that Christ has neither forsaken his church, nor confided the *judicial* administration of eternal interests to fallible and oft polluted hands.

The *Sacraments*, that is, baptism and the eucharist, according to the Protestant system, have the same intrinsic adaptation and efficacy which belong to other means instituted by God, and are sufficient by the divine appointment and the Spirit's influence, to communicate the blessings they were designed to convey, when properly received, when partaken of with a moral fitness or receptivity for those blessings; but they fail to effect the end, like the preached or written truth, when not received in a proper frame of mind. The Protestant system makes the sacraments exhibitions of *divine truth*, and thus

means of grace, whilst that of Rome gives them an *ex opere operato* influence, as indispensable channels of divine grace. The latter leads men to place more dependance on outward ordinances, and on the ritual accuracy of their administration, than on the spiritual qualifications of the recipient's heart, and the truths they represent. It leads the believer to the priest as a mediator between him and God, instead of sending him directly and "boldly to the throne of grace, that he may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need."

Finally, as to the *Justification* of the sinner before God, and the spiritual *care of his soul* by the minister, the Protestant system makes his pardon a forensic and instantaneous act of God, by which the believing sinner is released from the penalty of the divine law, and declared to be entitled to heaven, purely in consideration of the merits and atonement of Christ.

This doctrine *Luther* characterized as the cardinal doctrine, by which the church must stand or fall (*articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*), and it is indubitably the doctrine which above all others diffuses its pure and spiritual light over the whole field of Christian theology. It tends to cultivate an elevated, pure and spiritual piety, as far removed from the pharisaic, mercenary, and practically immoral religion of Rome on the one hand, as from the theoretical irresponsibility, and the avowed impurity of the antinomian theology on the other. This Protestant doctrine of salvation by grace, tends to keep the sinner clothed in humility at the foot of the cross, and yet elevates to the highest possible degree, his views of the boundless goodness, of the infinite holiness and glory of God.

As to the *Spiritual Culture of souls* or Pastoral Care, whilst the Romish and Puseyite system ties the sinner to the car of the priests, and makes him dependent on his blind guides, who inculcate a religion of mere forms, and delude him with the hope of certain salvation through these outward performances; the Protestant minister feels, that his perpetual vocation is to point the sinner to his crucified Redeemer, to regard and represent all men as by nature and practice sinners, and enemies of God, whether they attend on the outward ordinances or not, whether they are baptized or not, until they exhibit evidence of being "born of the *Spirit*" as well as of "water," until they perform "works meet for repentance." Accordingly, in all his intercourse with them, as well as in his public ministrations, he divides his congregation into two classes, into saints and sinners, into converted and unconverted. He dwells much on the evidences of regeneration, as consisting both in an internal change in the soul, a change of the habitual views,

feelings and purposes of the mind, and in a correspondent, entire change of life and conversation. He urges all to regard themselves as unregenerate, unless they are conscious of this inward change, and find their life exhibiting the fruits of the spirit, so that old things have passed away, and "behold all things have become new" unto them. The Romish or Puseyite priest need have but little concern for the safety of his flock, so long as they all attend on the outward ordinances with seriousness; for then they are all, in his judgment, regenerate children of God. But the Protestant minister knows, on the testimony of his divine Redeemer, that all who are "born of the flesh" are flesh, or sinful, and that unless they are "born again of the water and of the Spirit," they cannot enter into the kingdom of God. He urges them, therefore, to flee from the wrath to come, to be faithful in the use of the divinely appointed external means, and to be importunate at the throne of grace for the converting and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. He watches the spiritual condition of each member of his charge, he rejoices in every evidence of the work of the Spirit in a single individual, and when it pleases God to pour out his Spirit upon his flock in general, and to grant a pentecostal season of revival, he regards it as the highest honor, as well as favor, which the great Head of the church bestows on his faithful servants in the present life.

Such are the features of these two antagonist versions of Christianity. We must now briefly recount the evidence

II. *That the former is not, and the latter is, the Christianity of the Bible.*

1. This is evident from the fact, easily established,

That the Bible is, as Protestants allege, the sufficient and only infallible rule of faith and practice, in opposition to all additions, whether under the name of *Romish traditions*, or its *Puseyite* synonym, *church development*, and also, that it is the *principal means of grace*.

As Romanists and Puseyites professedly admit that the bible is an infallible rule of faith and practice, we need not adduce proof of the fact. But as they virtually retract this concession, and make the word of God of none effect by their traditions, it behooves us to meet them on this ground, and demonstrate the sufficiency and exclusive claims of the inspired volume.

It is a dictate of reason, that if inspiration from God was requisite at all, to teach and confer reliability on the doctrines contained in revelation, then the unaided powers of man were insufficient for this purpose. And if they were insufficient to teach those doctrines, how should they suffice for others, if

God deemed others necessary for us? If, therefore, the developed views of subsequent ages had been designed as a supplement to the apostolic instructions, God would doubtless have provided an inspired record of them. We might with equal propriety have been left to learn the teachings of the apostles from uninspired tradition, as those of subsequent ages. But we know of no inspired teachers in the post apostolic ages, either in the Nicene era or any other, and therefore must repudiate all such additions to the word of God.

It is natural to suppose that if God favored us with a revelation, it would contain all that is necessary to its recipients for salvation. It is equally evident, that to accomplish its end, a revelation must be intelligible. It will not be denied that the oral instructions of the apostles were intelligible to their hearers, and that those same instructions, recorded by the apostles themselves, and sent in their epistles to distant churches, were intelligible to their primitive readers. What rational ground is there, therefore, to doubt their intelligibility to us, if acquainted with their language and the various geographical, historical and other archeological circumstances, to which they frequently allude? These books are, moreover, addressed to all christians promiscuously, and not to ministers exclusively; hence the apostles must have believed them intelligible. The apostle Paul calls upon his Thessalonian brethren, (1 Thess. 5: 21.) to "prove all things." The beloved John directs his disciples to "try the spirits" (1 John 4: 1.). The Bereans were applauded by Paul for testing even his apostolic instructions by the scriptures, and the divine Master himself commands us to "search the scriptures." The duty of exercising our private judgment on all subjects of a religious nature, subjects especially taught us in scripture, is strongly inculcated by Paul. "So then, every one of us shall give an account of *himself* to God." (Rom. 12: 14.) Consequently the obligation rests on every one of us, to search the scriptures prayerfully and diligently, that we may hope for that "eternal life which is in them;" and the church of Rome is found fighting against God, by prohibiting the use of his word to her members,¹ as are the Puseyites also, and all others who corrupt the purity of the gospel by human additions or theories.

¹ "Pius VII, writing to the archbishop of Gnezn in 1816, calls the Bible Society "a most crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined, a pestilence and defilement of the faith, most imminently dangerous to souls." Leo XII, in 1824, speaking of the same institution, says: "It strolls with effrontery throughout the world, contemning the traditions of the holy Fathers, and contrary to the well known decree of the council of Trent, labors with all its might, and by every means, to translate, or rather

But the *sufficiency* and infallibility of the Scriptures, as well as the *exclusiveness* of their title to this character, are unequivocally taught. What other doctrine can be extracted from the declaration of Paul to Timothy: "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are *able to make thee wise unto salvation*;"¹ or from his monitory denunciation addressed to the Galatians: "*Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.*"² And at the close of the Revelation of St. John, we have the fearful judgment denounced against all who "add to," or "take from" that book, and by parity of reason, from any other book of the Christian Scriptures, "*that God will take away their part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.*"³

How criminal and destructive to the purity of the Christian religion, is the conduct of the Romish church, which presumes to supply pretended deficiencies in the word of God, by the addition of Tradition, and to decide on its import by her own action, together with the fabled unanimous consent of the fathers! As to *oral* tradition or transmission of the sayings of Christ or his apostles, for eighteen hundred years, the very idea is absurd. How many facts have been handed down to us from the days of *Christopher Columbus*, concerning the condition of the aborigines of our land, beside what is contained in books? Probably not a single fact or event. And if three and a half centuries have thus obliterated all traces of oral tradition on subjects so interesting to the parties themselves, how should similar traditions survive eighteen centuries? What single fact or sentiment do we know, except what is contained in the writings of antiquity, concerning Julius Cæsar, or of Augustus, or Nero, who lived in the same century with Christ? Absolutely nothing at all. But passing along the stream of time, do not some events reach us by oral tradition from the succeeding centuries? Do we know nothing through this source, concerning Trajan, or Marcus Antoninus, or of Constantine the Great in the fourth century; or of Charlemagne in the eighth? or of the first discovery of this country by the Northmen in the tenth century? of William the Con-

to pervert the holy Bible into the vulgar languages of every nation; from which proceeding it is greatly to be feared, that what is ascertained to have happened to some passages, may also occur with regard to others, to wit: that by a perverse interpretation, the gospel of Christ be turned into a human gospel, or what is still worse, into the gospel of the devil." See Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XII, and also Cramp's Text book of Popery, p. 60.

¹ 2 Tim. 3: 15.² Gal. 1: 18.³ Rev. 22: 19.

querer in the eleventh? of Wickliffe in the fourteenth? Nay even of the immortal *Luther* himself, although no uninspired man ever arrested more general attention, or retained it more constantly; is there anything known to us by mere oral tradition concerning his opinions and actions, beyond what is found on record?¹ I am not aware of a single item of the kind. How puerile, therefore, the folly of Romish pretence to the possession of any such information concerning Christ and his apostles? As to *written* traditions or reports concerning their doctrines and actions, found in the Apocryphal books of the New Testament, and writings of some early fathers; they are as perfectly accessible to Protestants as to Romanists, and are confessedly of not the least value. The so called unanimous consent of the fathers, which Papal authors so much land, is a figment of the imagination; for it cannot be successfully denied, that the ancient fathers differ from each other fully as much as the same number of modern prominent divines of evangelical churches. Of what value then can be this traditive interpretation of scripture, when every diversity of doctrine can be proved by it? The idea that the general or *Ecumenical councils of the church* afford a correct and reliable rule of truth, or of scriptural interpretation, is likewise a specious illusion, which must vanish before an impartial knowledge of their constituency and action. If those councils had fairly represented the sentiments of great bodies of *enlightened* and *truly pious* churches, they would be worthy of higher consideration *on those points* in which *they harmonize*, though they would still be fallible; but this, in most instances, they did not. Of the piety belonging to the members of the Romish council of Constance, in the fifteenth century, if the flames which consumed Huss and Jerome did not sufficiently illustrate it, you can form a judgment from the fact of well attested history, that they brought with them three hundred and ten musicians and fiddlers, two hundred cooks, seventy-five confectioners, and fifteen hundred prostitutes!² The celebrated council of Nice, A. D. 325, the first general council called by imperial order, was not only at one period of its session strongly inclined to favor Arianism; but its members were on the point of *enjoining the celibacy* of the clergy, and could be restrained only by the influence of the pious and venerable

¹ Of the uncertainty of oral tradition, the *Mensalia* or *Table talk* of Luther affords a striking illustration. Its contents were entrusted to oral transmission only about twenty years; yet who that is acquainted with the genuine publications of Luther, can fail to detect much that is spurious in that singular production? (It was first published in 1566, by John Aurifaber.)

² See Fuhrman's *Handwörterbuch*, vol. I, p. 559.

one-eyed *Paphnutius*, who was listened to the more cheerfully, because he had all his life lived in celibacy himself. The number of ministers constituting the earlier councils, was moreover not so respectable as to inspire much confidence. That of Nice in A. D. 325, consisted of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred ministers, that of Constantinople in 381, embraced one hundred and fifty, and that of Ephesus, in 431, comprised two hundred!¹ How small a number, compared to the millions of true believers in the church universal! Neither the numerical nor moral constituency of these councils, therefore, entitles them to any deference as to infallibility, and of miraculous guidance, no Protestant can even entertain the idea.

Equally nugatory is the opinion of the Tractarian or Puseyite divines of England and their allies in Germany and America, who talk learnedly about *the Catholic voice of antiquity*, and point especially to the church of *the Nicene age and the century following*. We have already stated, that even in the celebrated council of Nice, there was far from being unanimity; and the difference related to a question of no less moment than the (*ὁμοδοιαν τῆς ἑκ*) the essential equality of the Son of God with the Father, a point universally admitted by all orthodox churches of the present age. That consiliar assembly was, therefore, less unanimous than the different evangelical denominations of our day. Of the sentiments of those early divines in general, we have comparatively a very imperfect representation in the writers extant. It is estimated, that in the fourth or Nicene century, the entire Christian church, East and West, numbered about 30,000 ministers. Admitting three generations of them in the century, we have about 90,000 clergy. Now of all these, there remain the writings of only about fifteen, or at most, twenty; and these were not deputed to speak for any but themselves. Hence we know the opinions of only twenty out of 90,000 ministers, and these conflicting on a multitude of doctrines. Yet in endeavoring to follow the sentiments of these few writers, the Tractarians profess or imagine themselves to be following the voice of the great mass of divines of that century, yea the voice of "*Catholic Antiquity!*" That the church in these two centuries exhibited as great a diversity of sentiment as in any other, and is as little capable of serving as our guide, is demonstrated by the long list of controversies which make up her history, viz: those of the Arians, Semiarrians, Origenists, Eusebians, Homiousians, Apollinarians, Anthropomorphites, Messalians or Euchites, Manicheans, Eustathians, Photinians, Macedonians,

¹ Idem I, p. 217.

Meletians, Luciferians and Donatists, in the fourth century; and in the fifth the Pelagians, Semipelagians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Donatists, Novatians, the Acephali, Monophysites, Jacobites, Theopaschites, Predestinarians, and others of minor note. Many of these sects were denounced by particular synods or councils as heretics; yet they grew up in the church, and were the cause of much agitation in it.

In short, would we form an impartial estimate of the aid to be afforded us by the interpretations of others, either ancient or modern, in our biblical investigations, we must regulate our judgment by the acknowledged maxims of uninspired exegesis. As the Bible, though a revelation from heaven, is written in the language of men, it must be interpreted like other works. Take, for example, the Constitution of the United States;—those clauses in it—and they constitute a large part of the whole—which all interpret alike, are regarded as fully understood, and the provisions which all find in them, are received as certainly taught. The few which are differently interpreted, such as the extent of power conceded to Congress for internal improvements, a tariff for protection, &c., are less certain, and are open for discussion. Thus also those doctrines, duties and facts, which all enlightened and pious christians, having full access to the word of God agree in finding there, may be regarded as the undisputed and undisputable teachings of Scripture, and those on which they differ, as less clearly revealed, and as disputed. If the same norm be applied to the disputed doctrines, it would of course afford only a probability in favor of one or other sectarian peculiarity, a probability proportionate to the majority of enlightened bible christians, who have declared in its favor. This test cannot be applied to christians of all periods; for after the lapse of some centuries, the bible was a sealed book, and was not accessible to the laity generally, until the world was blessed with the art of printing, to furnish the book of God, and the Reformation gave liberty to use it. In estimating this majority, the Romish church is of course excluded, as her laity and clergy have not free access to the bible. Those Protestant countries only can be fairly included, which tolerate unrestricted dissent from the established church, and more especially those in which no church is legally established, and all denominations enjoy equality of rights and patronage, as in the United States. According to this criterion the early councils, though their proximity to the apostles affords them some advantage, were, from the paucity of their members, but imperfect tests of the general sentiment of the church, though the best we possess of that

period. The councils of later periods down to the Reformation, are almost wholly worthless, on account of the corruption of the Romish church, and her suppression of the bible. The views of the Reformers begin a new era of impartial, scriptural investigation, though at first laboring under many disadvantages. But the united testimony of all truly pious Protestant christians in Europe, and especially in the United States, proclaims the true *Catholic voice of Christianity*, on the doctrines of God's Holy Word, a voice far more to be relied on than the decrees of any council or synod ever held, because embracing the testimony of ten thousand times more independent witnesses than any council ever did. From all this it is evident, that on Protestant principles, the bible being received as the infallible and sufficient rule of faith and practice, there is more light to be obtained in the interpretation of scripture from the judgment of the present evangelical Christendom, than from the voice of Catholic antiquity in the Nicene or any other age, especially on the doctrinal portions, which depend, not on extraneous archeological references for their meaning, but on the general laws of language, which are the same in all ages and all tongues.

Finally, that the word of God is also *the chief means of grace*, is evident as well from the Savior's Commission as from other portions of the sacred volume. It is, therefore, not secondary to the sacraments, as Romanists contend.

"Go ye into all the world, says the Savior, and *preach the gospel* to every creature; he that *believeth* and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that *believeth* not shall be damned." Here preaching the "gospel," the truths of God's word, is placed *foremost* in the list of instrumentalities, and baptism is only appended as a rite to be performed *after* the Holy Spirit, through the preached word, has wrought faith in the hearer's soul. But faith presupposes regeneration. Hence, as truth is the instrumentality employed by the Holy Spirit in the production of *regeneration* and *faith*, and as baptism is to be added *after* the great moral change, conversion, has been effected in adults, it follows that the truth or word is the grand and principal means of grace, and not secondary to baptism.

In other passages the *mission of the apostles* is characterized as a mission to *preach*, and baptism is not even named at all. Jesus ordained the twelve, we are told, that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to *preach*, &c.; Mark 3: 14, 15. And Paul even thanks God, in his epistle to the Corinthians,¹ that he had baptized none of them save

¹ 1 Cor. 1: 14-17.

Crispus and Gaius, and adds: "For Christ sent me, *not to baptise*, but to *preach* the gospel." Paul, therefore, certainly regarded preaching as far more important than baptism. Of the apostles, Luke informs us, they *daily* in the temple and in every house, ceased *not to teach and to preach* Jesus Christ. Acts 5: 41, 42. And in order to gain more time for their great work, they appointed deacons to attend at tables, that they might give themselves "continually to prayer and the *ministry of the Word*," but they say nothing of baptism and the Lord's supper. Paul expressly tells the Romans (10: 13-15.) that faith comes by *hearing* (not by baptism); and to the Corinthians he says, "For in Christ Jesus I have begotten you, through the *gospel*. 1 Cor. 4: 15. We are regenerated by the incorruptible "*seed of the word*."¹ We are sanctified by "*the truth*." In short, our call,² our convictions,³ regeneration, our faith, our sanctification,⁴ our preservation⁵ and salvation,⁶ are all produced by the *word* or *truth*, and it must be the grand means of grace, as affirmed by Protestants.⁷ Baptism is indeed an ordinance of great importance, the neglect of which is highly criminal, and when intentional, involves the loss of the soul. It is important as the initiatory rite securing the privileges of membership in the visible church, it is important on account of the fundamental truths which it symbolically inculcates, namely the depravity of man, and necessity of the purifying influences of the Holy Ghost; and it is important as an appointed means for the gracious influences of the Spirit, and where there is a moral qualification, also for the pardon of sin. But it is the word of God, as we have fully proved, and not baptism, which is the principal means for the awakening, conversion and sanctification of the soul.

2. *That the Romish system is not, and the Protestant system is the Christianity of the Bible, is evident when we examine their several views of the church of Christ on earth.*

1) The church of Christ is not, as Romanists affirm, one visible, closely compacted *organic* body, under one visible *head*, with a graduated hierarchy, pledged to implicit obedience; but all local churches are, *jure divino*, of equal rank, each one possessing *entire jurisdiction* over itself, and the church of Christ embracing and consisting of them all.

¹ See also 1 Peter 1: 23. Luke 8: 4, 11, 15. Here the whole process of conversion is described, and the grand instrumentality is the word or seed, but not a syllable is said of baptism. Also James 1: 18.

² 2 Tim. 2: 14. ³ Jer. 23: 29. ⁴ John 17: 17. ⁵ Psalm 119: 11.

⁶ 1 Tim. 2: 4. ⁷ Verbum Dei est medium salutis *efficacissimum*, quippe cujus vis non est tantum objectiva, sed etiam effectiva. Hollazii Theol. Dog. II. p. 452.

To the important question, *what is the church*, let the apostle Paul himself furnish the reply. "Paul, (says he) unto *the church* of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, and to *all* in every place, that call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord."¹ It consists of those in every place, who are called through the gospel to be saints, and who profess to be so, that is, who call upon, profess, the name of our Lord. Or, as the Augsburg Confession correctly states: "the one holy church is the *congregation of saints*; nevertheless, in this life, many hypocrites and wicked men are mingled with them."² That the different local assemblies of these professed believers, are all integral parts of the church universal, each having, by divine appointment, all the powers necessary to self-government, independently of all others, is proclaimed alike by the word of God and the testimony of early history. The testimony of scripture on this subject, is negative. It consists in the entire absence of any traces either of stated connexion or subordination between the different churches or congregations. Nor can it be said there was no time for the apostles to organize the churches into one body, or that the number of churches was so small as to furnish no occasion or material for such organization. Some of the apostles labored about half a century after the church was founded, and the number of churches organized before the death of John, near the close of the century, must have been larger than that embraced in any denomination in our country. Luke does indeed describe *one advisory council* held at Jerusalem, and this example sanctions such synodical meetings, as often as found useful, which, in our church, is once a year. Yet, it should ever be remembered, that the stated and fixed combination of any number of churches into such a body, is of human origin, and can never confer on such bodies or denominations, any powers not inherently possessed by each local church; unless we adopt the absurdity that the church as organized by fallible men, is more perfect than the inspired apostolic model!

The testimony of early history, as to the primitive independence of each local church, is very decided. "Although, says Dr. Mosheim, all the churches were in the first age of Christianity united together in one common bond of faith and love,

¹ 1 Cor. 1: 2. See also Heb. 12: 23; Col. 1: 18, 24; and for the invisible church general, Rom. 16: 23; 1 Cor. 12: 18; 1 Cor. 12: 12, 13; Eph. 2: 20.

² Una, sancta ecclesia est congregatio sanctorum; tamen, in hac vita, multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sint. Art. VII. VIII.

and were in every respect ready to promote the interest and welfare of each other, by a reciprocal interchange of good offices, yet with regard to government and internal economy, every individual church considered itself, as an independent community, none of them ever looking beyond the circle of its own members for assistance, or recognizing any sort of external influence or authority.”¹ That respectable Episcopal historian, *Waddington*, expressly testifies that, “every church (in the first century) was essentially independent of every other. The churches, thus constituted and regulated, formed a sort of federative body of independent religious communities, dispersed through the greater part of the Roman empire, in continual communication, and in constant harmony with each other.”² In short, each church was a little republic,³ governed on republican principles, a system well calculated to foster civil as well as religious liberty. We might add the testimony of the greatest modern ecclesiastical historian of our age, Neander; but it is superfluous, as the fact is generally conceded, even by the most respectable Episcopal authorities. Of these, we select as representative of that entire class of writers, the distinguished Archbishop of Dublin, *Dr. Whately*, who in his *Essays on the Kingdom of Christ*, employs this explicit language:⁴ “It seems plainly to have been at least the general, if not the universal practice of the apostles, to appoint over each separate church, a single individual as the chief Governor under the title of “Angel,” (i. e. Messenger, or Legate from the Apostles) or “bishop,” i. e. Superintendent or Overseer.

¹ Mosheim de Rebus Christianorum, Sæc. I. § 48. Coleman’s primitive church, p. 49. See also Mosheim’s Eccles. History, Murdock edit. vol. I. p. 86, 142.

² Eccles. History, p. 43.

³ “Several years before the American Revolution, there was near the house of Mr. Jefferson, in Virginia, a church which was governed on congregational principles, and whose monthly meetings he often attended. Being asked how he was pleased with the church government, he replied, that it had struck him with great force, and interested him very much; that he considered it the only pure form of democracy that then existed in the world, and had concluded that it would be the best plan of government for the American colonies.” See Encyclopedia of Relig. Knowledge, art. Congregationalists.

The same republican tendencies of ministerial parity and congregational elections, is acknowledged by Blackwood’s Magazine, a decided advocate of Toryism in church and state. “The anomaly of a popularly elected church, and a hereditary monarchy, cannot co-exist in the same country.” Again, “If the cause of universal suffrage is triumphant in the church, how is it to be resisted in the State?” Vol. XI. No. 6. Art. Non-intrusion Question. If such then be the influence of Episcopacy, how much more prejudicial must the influence of Romanism be to our civil liberties.

⁴ p. 136-137.

A church and a diocese seem to have been for a considerable time co-extensive and *identical*. And each church or diocese (and consequently each superintendent) though connected with the rest by ties of faith, and hope, and charity, seems to have been (as has already been observed) perfectly independent as far as regards any power of control. The plan of the apostles seems to have been, to establish a great number of small (in comparison with most modern churches) distinct and independent communities, each governed by its own single bishop; consulting, no doubt, with his own Presbyters, and accustomed to act in concurrence with them, and occasionally conferring with the brethren in other churches, but owing no submission to the rulers of any other church, or to any central common authority, except the apostles themselves." This testimony is valid for the original independence of each congregation; but it cannot be proved from scripture, that of the several ministers (all sometimes called *elders*, and sometimes *bishops*) whom the apostles appointed in every city or place where they organized a church, one was appointed as chief or overseer over the others. It was not until after the apostolic age, that we find evidence of this fact, and then this overseeing minister was at first simply a chairman, or moderator, being merely *primus inter pares*. Episcopacy in its diocesan acceptation, was the gradual growth of later years. There is no trace of stated synods or councils until the middle of the second century, and the council of Nice itself, in the fourth century, rests the dignity and authority even of the metropolitan bishops of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria, *not on any scripture authority*, or divine right, but on ancient *usage*.¹ How unscriptural, superficial and unprotestant is therefore the supposition occasionally advanced, that the organization of local churches into synods or councils, and still more into different separate *denominations*, on the ground of doctrinal diversity, confers on any one of them more rights in the sight of God, than belong to every local church, organized like those of the apostles, or can make any one of them in any higher sense a church of Christ! Equally arrogant also, is the pretence, that larger denominations are, in this respect, necessarily more truly *the* church than smaller ones. If then, as is evident, all primitive churches were equal in authority, and independent of each

¹ Τα ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω, &c., Canon 6. See Dupin, Antiq. Eccles. Discip. Dissert. I, § 7. Mosheim, de Rebus Christianorum. Sæc. II, § 23. Note, and Coleman's Prim. Church, p. 52.

other, it follows that the church of Christ is not one compactly organized body, much less one organic whole, in the sense of some modern Puseyites, like a huge tree or animal, or even crystallization, in which the individual parts are lost sight of in the contemplation of the developed whole; and it is equally evident that the organization of the Romish church differs entirely from that of the apostolic example and injunction.

2) Again, contrary to the doctrine of Rome, the church of Christ *must* be distinguished as *visible* and *invisible*; and many members of the former, *do not belong to the latter*. Among the Romanizing tendencies of the present day is, the disposition of Puseyites to return to the old Papal view of the church, as a merely *visible* body, securing salvation to all its members, who receive the sacraments and submit to the church.

The origin of the controversy concerning the *invisibility* of the true church of Christ, may be traced to the disputes between Luther and the Papists on indulgences, justification, human satisfaction, &c. As the parties could not agree, the papists appealed to the church; by which they understood, the pope, bishops and priesthood. But Luther denied that these were the true church; and maintained that the true church could be known, not by a mere outward profession, or subjection to the pontiff, but merely by faith and piety of heart, which is not cognizable by the senses. This is evident from the concession of Bellarmine (Lib. 3, de Eccles. milit. c. 2.) "Luther, says he, in his fourth book on the Bondage of the Will, when Erasmus objected, that it is not possible that God would desert his church for so long a time, replied that God had never deserted his church; but that that is not the church of Christ, which is commonly called so, namely the pope and bishops, but that the church consisted of those few pious persons whom God preserves as a remnant." Dr. Hase has justly remarked, "Protestants could not justify their secession from Rome, without recurrence to the original difference between the internal communion and the external society (the invisible and visible church) and making the distinction between the kingdom of God as ideal (as it ought to be, the invisible church) and the imperfect realization of it in any actually existing (visible) church." Says the distinguished doctrinal historian, *Baumgarten Crusius*, "The division of the church into visible and invisible, grew up naturally in the Reformation from the duplicate antithesis of the same to the Romish church, in which the idea of the visible church preponderated, and to the Separatists, who held only to an internal (invisible) church." "By this (division) the essence of Protestantism was expressed,

namely, that the church real (visible) does not correspond to the church ideal, (invisible) but only aims at it. From this position all the Protestant inferences could be justly deduced, namely, that no actual church is holy, or infallible, or alone able to confer salvation."¹ Amongst the earliest and best definitions of this division, is that of the distinguished theologian, L. Hutter, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. "Viewed in regard to its external signs and rites, the church militant is said to be *visible*, and embraces all those who frequent the assembly of the called (vocatorum), whether they are pious or impious, whether they belong to the elect or reprobate. But viewed as a society of believers, having faith and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in their hearts, the church is termed *invisible*, and is confined to the elect."² Nor is there any want of scriptural evidence for this division. Indeed it runs through the entire teachings of both Testaments, and is necessary to its spirituality of interpretation. When the Savior denounces the Scribes and Pharisees, who made loud professions of religion, as hypocrites, as blind guides, as fools, because they were guilty of gross hypocrisy, because "*outwardly they appeared righteous to men, but within were full of hypocrisy and iniquity*;"³ how can we properly interpret the language of our Lord, unless we admit that there was a spiritual kingdom of heaven, to which they did not belong, although they were prominent members of the outward church of the Jews. Again, what can be more distinct than the declaration of the same divine instructor, "Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, (that is, professes my name, belongs to my church on earth) shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, (shall be saved); but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in

¹ Christliche Dogmengeschichte, vol. II, p. 359.

² *Hutterus*, Compendium Theologiæ, 1610. Schmidt's Dog. der Luth. Kirche, p. 482. *Reinhard* defines the invisible church: Cœtus eorum, qui per doctrinam Christianam vere emendantur. And *Quenstedt* Pt. IV, p. 493. "Respectu vocatorum dicitur ecclesia visibilis, respectu *electorum* invisibilis, quæ vero non extra visibilem quærenda, sed illi inclusa est." *Luther* himself thus discriminates between the *visible* and *invisible* church: "Darum um mehreres Verstandes und der Kürze willen, wollen wir die zwo Kirchen nennen mit unterschiedlichen Namen. Die erste, die natürlich, gründlich, wesentlich und wahrhaftig ist, wollen wir heissen eine *geistliche*, innerliche Christenheit. Die andere, die gemacht und *äusserlich* ist, wollen wir nennen eine *leibliche* äusserliche Christenheit; nicht dasz wir sie von einander scheiden wollen, sondern zugleich, als wenn ich von einem Menschen rede, und ihn nach der Seele einen geistlichen, nach dem Leibe einen leiblichen Menschen nenne, oder wie der Apostel pfeget, innerlichen und äusserlichen Menschen zu nennen." *Luther's Werke*, (Walch's ed.) Th. 18., S. 1214.

³ Matt. 23 : 24, 25, 28.

heaven!" Hence some members of the visible church will be excluded from heaven, which cannot be the case with any member of his mystical body, "the church,"¹ who are all united to him by a living faith. Was not Simon the sorcerer, admitted to the church visible by baptism, and yet an inspired apostle declared to him: "thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right with God."² To the Romans³ Paul declared that outward circumcision did not constitute the genuine Jew, but that "circumcision which is of the heart, in the spirit." The true worshippers, whom the Father seeketh, are those who worship in spirit and in truth,"⁴ and all the distinguishing qualifications of a true member of the church are spiritual, such as repentance, faith, union with Christ, and sanctification. Hence it must follow that the true church of the Redeemer, to which alone the promises of eternal life are given, must be distinguished from that outward church, within which the true church is indeed ordinarily found; but which also embraces many who merely cry Lord, Lord, and shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven. On the other hand, those who possess these moral characteristics of the children of God, and have not had an opportunity to be baptized, are doubtless to be regarded as true members of the spiritual or invisible church of the Redeemer, and will certainly be saved.⁵

From these considerations we think it must be evident, not only that the Romish doctrine of the church, as a merely visible body, is contrary to scripture, but also that it is an error naturally leading to most pernicious consequences, unfavorable to true spirituality in the church visible, and closely allied to

¹ Col. 1: 18. Ephes. 4: 16. ² Acts 8: 13, 21. ³ 2: 8. ⁴ John 4: 23.

⁵ This position is fully sustained by the distinguished Hollazius, from whose excellent system of Theology, first published in the year 1708, and now rarely accessible, the student will be pleased to see the following interesting extract:

Pars IV. De Ecclesia Synthetica, Cap. I., p. 813.

Quest. XV.—*Sunt catechumeni ante susceptum baptismum, vera ecclesiae membra?*

Catechumeni notitia Christianae religionis imbuti, etiam ante perceptum baptismum sunt vera et viva membra ecclesiae.

Prob. 1) Quia catechumeni doctrina Christiana informati, ex praedicatione evangelii fidem acceperunt. Rom. x, 17. Per fidem autem sunt filii Dei atque adeo etiam filii ecclesiae. Nam qui spiritualiter regenerantur, eorum Pater est Deus, ecclesia mater. Gal. iv, 26.

2) Item participes sunt bonorum ecclesiae, scil. remissionis peccatorum et renovationis Spiritus sancti.

3) Latro in cruce, Valentinianus Imperator, et martyres ante susceptum baptismum ad tormenta rapti, facti sunt cives ecclesiae triumphantis. Ergo etiam fuerunt cives ecclesiae militantis.

that soul-destroying system of lifeless formalism and corruption which characterizes Rome as the great Apostacy. The revival of the erroneous view of the church among the Puseyites of Europe and America, cannot be regarded in any other light than as one of those Romanizing tendencies, which are alike the grief and the reproach of the Protestant church.

3) Again, the Romish idea of the *infallibility of the church*, is alike destitute of foundation in reason and scripture, and is a vain attempt of sinful worms of the dust to arrogate to themselves an attribute of Jehovah. Romanists do not generally contend that the body of believers, the mass of the church, possesses this attribute ; they more commonly ascribe it to the hierarchy of popes, bishops and cardinals.¹ But the very conflicts which have raged amongst them, in regard to the location of this infallibility, proves the fallacy of the claim. The Transalpines contend that it is vested in the popes ; the Cisalpines denying this, find it in the bishops in general council assembled ; and others, proving both these opinions erroneous, profess to find it in the body of the church ; but independently of all other argument, the glaring contradictions, the gross immoralities and grievous doctrinal errors, recorded of them all on the pages of history, demonstrate that it belongs to neither. How can a body that is made up of fallible parts be itself infallible ? A clean thing cannot come out of an unclean one, nor can an infallible whole be made up of fallible parts. We know that the church never has been infallible in fact, either under the Old or New Testament dispensation. Did not the Israelites err when Aaron, the head of the church, made the golden calf ? Or when, after the death of Joshua, they forsook the Lord, and served Baalam ? Did not the Scribes and Pharisees, the heads of the Jewish church, err when they transgressed the commandment of God by their traditions ? As to the church of the New Testament, the apostle Paul ex-

¹ Their opinion on this subject is thus described by the distinguished Romish champion, Bellarmine : “Nostra sententia est, Ecclesiam absolute errare non posse, nec in rebus absolute necessariis, nec in aliis quæ credenda vel facienda nobis proponit. Et cum dicimus ecclesiam errare non posse, id intelligimus tam de universitate fidelium, quam de universitate episcoporum, ita ut sensus istius propositionis, “Ecclesia non potest errare,” sit, id quod omnes fideles tenentur credere, est verum et de fide, et similiter id quod omnes episcopi docent tanquam ad fidem pertinens, est verum et de fide.” “Totâ auctoritas ecclesiæ formaliter non est nisi in prælatis, sicut visus totius corporis formaliter est tantum in capite ; ergo idem est ecclesiam non posse errare in definiendis rebus fidei, et episcopos non posse errare. Nor does he affirm this infallibility of the bishops individually. “Sed hoc de illis congregatis in Concilio tantum intelligi, quia singuli seorsum errare possunt.” Liber de Ecclesia, cap. 14.

pressly predicted her "falling away," as the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple (or church) of God, showing himself (pretending) that he is God."¹ and the testimony of history, in unmistakable accents, proclaims the church of Rome as the original of the apostle's picture! Nor did our Savior ever pronounce his church infallible, or promise to make her so. He did indeed promise to be with his disciples always, "even until the end of the world," namely to bless them and prosper their labors for his cause; but not to confer infallibility upon them. His promise to send the Holy Spirit to his disciples "to lead them into all necessary truth," was primarily addressed to his inspired apostles, who doubtless were infallible guides of the church; but it involves no promise of infallibility to the church at large, or in after ages. And although he admonished the Jews to hear the Scribes and Pharisees when sitting in Moses' seat, it is only when they teach the doctrines of Moses, for he himself denounces in the strongest terms, their corruptions of that law. Since the word of God says not a word about any supposed infallibility of the church, since the Savior and his apostles denounced the Old Testament church as having grievously erred; since they predict the apostacy of the New, and urge to give heed to the sure word of prophecy or inspiration, saying, "If we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel, let him be anathema;" with what shadow of propriety can we concede to the church of Rome, or to any other church, a claim to infallibility, either in matters of doctrine or practice? No, the "Holy Scriptures" were intelligible to Timothy even as "a child," and "able to make him wise unto salvation;"² the things recorded in the New Testament also were "written that we might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing we might have life through his name;"³ and every man in every age, is bound indeed to hear the instructions of the ministers of the church; but then also to search the scriptures daily, like the faithful and noble Bereans, to see whether these instructions accord with the only infallible rule of faith and practice, which God has given to man, regardless of any interpretations of any pretended infallible church on earth.

4) The Romish doctrine of the *legislative power of the church*, especially in establishing *new doctrines and creeds as binding on the conscience*, is proof of her antisciptural char-

¹ 2 Thess. 2: 34. ² 2 Tim. 3: 15. ³ John 20: 31.

acter; whilst the principles of Protestantism concede to every man the right to *derive his doctrines from the word of God*, and to profess such creed as he believes accordant with it.

This pretended power, sometimes designated the *potestas νομοθετικη*, or *διατακτικη*, has been usurped by the Romish church in its most presumptuous forms, as binding the conscience *per se*, and as involving mortal sin in its transgression. But neither our time nor space will allow us to enter into specifications from history, or to present details from her voluminous Canon Law. The recent enactment of the old unscriptural, Franciscan notion of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, into a doctrine of the Romish church, amid the light of this nineteenth century, renders all argument superfluous to intelligent minds. We shall simply state the scriptural principles on this subject, which were avowed by Luther himself till his death, and, except in the matter of Zwingli, consistently adhered to in practice.

Even in the Old Testament, God explicitly commanded through Moses, "Ye shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it."¹ And in regard to one book of the New Testament, and by inference to all, he denounces a fearful judgment on "any man, who shall add unto these things, or take away from them."² Our blessed Savior himself denounces that "worship as vain, which teaches the commandments of men for doctrines of God."³ The ministers of Christ are commanded in his final commission, to teach only "whatsoever he had commanded them," and should ministers attempt to impose unauthorized requisitions, the apostle Paul exhorts the christians in general not "to be the servants of men," but "to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free."⁴ In view of these precepts, and the general principles of the New Testament, every minister desiring to keep a clear conscience before God, should approach the subject of church organizations and creeds with the utmost objectivity of mind. We should transfer ourselves in thought to the apostolic age, and inquire what are the principles on which the Savior and his apostles founded his church and desired it to be administered. What principles did they directly announce, and what did they inculcate by their example. Having thus acquired a distinct conception of the primitive, the *inspired ideal of a church*, we should examine every postapostolic practice and principle found in the church in which Providence has cast our lot. All that we find

¹ Deut. 4: 2. ² Rev. 22: 18. ³ Matt. 15: 9. ⁴ 1 Cor. 7: 23. Gal. 5: 1.

accordant with the primitive model, as delineated in our inspired directory, the New Testament, we should advocate and promote; but every rite, doctrine or principle, which, after deliberate examination, we judge contrary to the revealed will of God, or prejudicial to the interests of his kingdom, we are sacredly bound, regardless of human authority, to oppose by argument, to abstain from in practice, and to labor to reform. Thus shall we carry out the Protestant principle that the Bible is our only infallible rule of faith and practice; and on this recuperative principle alone, can the purity of the church be preserved in all ages, and her primitive lustre be restored when it has become obscured in the progress of her extension.¹

¹ Applying these principles to human creeds as tests of ecclesiastical communion, we must inquire, what inspired authority have we for them. And finding none at all, unless it be as an inference from the duty to exclude heretics, and to demand for admission a profession of the belief that "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God;" we should require only the fundamental doctrines, those without which no man can be regarded as a christian, and so many points of government and discipline, as are essential to harmonious coöperation. More doctrines than these we are forbidden to admit into our confession of faith as a test, by the command of Paul to "receive a brother that is weak in the faith, but not for doubtful disputation,"—less than this will not enable us to exclude fundamental errorists, nor to strive together harmoniously for the furtherance of the gospel. This sentiment pervaded the Christian church during the first five centuries of her history, during which no creeds were used as tests, other than the so called Apostle's creed, of about one page during three hundred years, the Nicene and Constantinopolitan, which contained only a few additional sentences, and the Athanasian creed, amounting to two or three pages. This amount of doctrinal requisition, with a few additions by subsequent councils, remained till the sixteenth century. But about a quarter of a century after Luther and Melanchthon had been translated to a better world, a new era and an entire change in the length of prescribed symbols was introduced, unheard of in the history of the church and alien to the spirit of these great Reformers. About this time some of the Protestant princes of Germany, instead of requiring assent to the above named brief creeds of the earlier centuries, which contained not one of the errors of Popery, and to the requisition of which no one would have objected, demanded the assent of pastors to half a dozen additional doctrinal publications, all except one emanating indeed from Luther and Melanchthon, but never designed by them to be binding on the church. Thus instead of a few pages of ancient creeds of fundamentals, with as many pages more of modern additions which might have been needed, rejecting the later errors, especially of Rome; these princes, with the connivance of many theologians, forced upon a large part of the church, a volume of uninspired faith, nearly as large as the bible itself. But the experience of more than two and a half centuries has, in the judgment of the great majority of the church, proved the operation of this system of colossal symbols to be unfavorable. In no kingdom of Europe are these symbols now required, and a very small portion of our church in Europe or America exacts more than the bible and the substance of the Augsburg Confession, as is done by our General Synod in this country. And why should Lutheran ministers rob themselves of the liberty wherewith Christ and Luther, and their American fathers made them free? Why should they not trust themselves with that amount of doctrinal liberty, which the entire church of Christ enjoyed for five hundred years? But we have no fears that they will prove recreant to themselves, and to the primitive church of the Redeemer.

3. That the Romish and Puseyite systems are not the system of the bible, and the Protestant is, appears further from their respective *views of the gospel ministry*.

1) The vaunted *apostolic succession*, as the channel of all ministerial authority and blessing, is a mere figment of the imagination. The idea contended for by Papists is, that there has been a regular uninterrupted succession of diocesan bishops and popes from the days of the apostles to the present time; that only in the line of this succession can there be any valid ministry and sacraments, and that all not receiving the ordinances from these hands, are without the pale of salvation. But is it not remarkable, if such succession be so important, that the scriptures are silent on the subject? The apostle Peter represents the whole body of believers as "a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people," that they "should show forth (ἐξαγγείλητε, announce, proclaim) the praises of him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."¹ In accordance with the spirit of this declaration, the Reformers regarded the gospel ministry, not as a separate order, but an office in the church. In the language of the appendix to the Smalcald Articles, "the office of the ministry is not restricted to any particular place or persons, as the Levitical office was restricted by the law; but it is scattered over the whole world, and is found in any place where God bestows his gifts, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, &c. Nor does the office or word, enjoined by Christ, at all depend on the person. Let preach and teach whoever will, wherever there are hearts that believe and adhere to the truth, they will receive what they hear and believe."² Yet, as there is a "diversity of gifts, and a diversity of operations"³ among the members of the church, each duty is not obligatory on every individual; but the church selects officers to preach, and others to attend to the distribution of alms, &c. Ministerial authority is therefore derived not by transmission from the apostles in lineal succession, but in every case from the church, although she may employ existing ministers as her agents in performing the ceremony.

¹ 1 Peter 2: 9.

² Nu ist je das Predigamt an kein gewis Ort noch Person gebunden, wie der Leviten Amt im Gesetz gebunden war, sondern es ist durch die ganze Welt ausgestreuet, und ist an dem Ort da Gott seine Gaben gibt, Aposteln, Propheten, Hirten, Lehrer, &c. Und thut die Person gar nichts zu solchem Wort und Amt, von Christo befohlen; es predige und lehre es wer da wölle, wo Herzen sind die es gläuben und sich daran halten, den widerfähret wie sie es hören und gläuben." Müller's Sym. Bücher p. 333, t. 26. See also t. 24.

³ 1 Cor. 12: 4, 6.

Again, if such apostolic succession were of any value, its reality could not be proved in regard to any church on earth. The records of antiquity afford us no reliable information at all in regard to hundreds of bishops; and within the sphere of history definitely known to us, the chain of succession has been repeatedly broken. On the Papal succession let it suffice to hear the testimony of the Romish historian, Baronius. Speaking of the tenth century, he says: "How exceedingly foul was then the (Romish) church, when most powerful and sordid harlots ruled at Rome, at whose will the sees were changed, bishops were presented, and what is horrid to hear, and indescribable, false pontiffs (pseudo-pontifices) their lovers, were introduced into the chair of Peter! For who can affirm that *men illegally introduced by wicked women of this sort, were Roman pontiffs?*" There never was any mention of the clergy electing or afterward approving. All the canons were closed in silence, the decrees of the pontiffs were suppressed, the ancient traditions were proscribed, and the ancient customs in electing the popes, and the sacred ceremonies and usages of former days *were wholly extinct.*"¹ When one of the very ablest of Romish historians so completely disproves the papal succession, it may be regarded as superfluous to subjoin much additional argument. Of course; if apostolic succession were essential, then, as sundry links in the chain are confessedly broken, the entire series of episcopal and ministerial links suspended on it, must fall to the ground, and there is verily no continuous apostolic succession either in the papal, episcopal, or any other church at the present day, and of consequence, not a valid minister to be found on earth!²

¹ Baronius' Eccles. Annal. A. D. 912.

² Touching the subject of apostolic succession in the Episcopal church of England and our own country, whose line of succession is traced through England, Dr. Pond, a highly respectable divine of New England, makes this remark: "Allowing that the church of Rome is capable of transmitting the succession, with all the mystical virtues supposed to be attached to it, can the English bishops prove incontestably that they are in the succession of the Romish church? It has been strenuously insisted that this cannot be proved. It has been said that in the year 668, the successors of Austin, the monk, being almost entirely extinct, by far the greatest part of the bishops were of Scottish ordination by Aidan and Finnan, who came out of the Culdee monastery of Columbanus, and were no more than presbyters."

The real merits of this apostolic succession are justly estimated by bishop Hoadley, of the Episcopal church of England: "I am fully satisfied," says he, "that until a consummate stupidity can be happily established, and universally spread over the land, there is nothing that tends so much to destroy all due respect to the clergy, as the demand of more than can be due to them; and nothing has so effectually thrown contempt upon a regular succession of the ministry, as the calling no succession regular but what is uninterrupted; and the making the eternal salvation of Christians to depend upon that uninterrupted succession, of which the most learned have the least assurance, and the unlearned can have no notion, but through ignorance and credulity."

But the absurdity of these consequences shows the fallacy of the position whence they flow. Apart from all this, the impossibility of either papal or episcopal succession, is demonstrated by the fact, proved in a former part of this discourse, that for the first century after the foundation of the Christian church, there was no such officer in existence as a diocesan bishop, and for several centuries more no pope! How could there be a succession of that which did not even exist. Finally, if such succession had really existed, and were fully ascertained, it would prove nothing as to the validity of any ministry. Were not Annas and Caiphas *successors* of Aaron, and yet, did they not aid in crucifying the Savior? No, the only succession of any value, is doctrinal and practical, is conformity to the Savior and his apostles in adoption of the glorious truths they taught, and in observance of the rules laid down by them for the government of the church. These regulations require, that ministers should be called and appointed, that is, ordained by the church of every age and period. The existing ministry, as divinely appointed agents of the church, should always perform the ceremonies of the occasion, as seen in the apostolic example, and that of the primitive eldership, or presbytery, or ministerium; but the immediate fountain of their authority is the church itself. "Thus, (say the Smalcald Articles) the council of Nice (in the fourth century) decreed that each church should elect a bishop for itself, in the presence of one or more neighboring bishops."¹ Again, "This is proved by the common practice of the churches. For formerly the people elected the ministers and bishops. Then came the bishop of the same place or the vicinity, and confirmed the bishop elect by the imposition of hands, and *at that time ordination was nothing else than such a confirmation*,"² (Latin copy *comprobatio*, approbation). "Hence we perceive, that *the church has the power to choose and ordain* her officers (Latin copy, *ministros*, her ministers). Therefore, if the bishops are either heretics, or will not ordain qualified persons, it is the sacred duty of the churches, by divine right, *to ordain ministers and church officers for themselves*."² And what idea Luther attached to the term church, he clearly informs us. "Wherever the preaching of the gospel is sustained, there is certainly the christian church and the kingdom of Christ, no matter how small be the cluster of its professors."³ That is, the reformers regarded any individual, local society of pro-

¹ Müller's Symb. Bücher, p. 331. Appendix to Smalc. Art.

² Idem. p. 342.

³ Luther's works, Walch's ed., vol. 5, p. 1413.

fessed believers, who stately worshipped together, as a valid church of Christ, possessing the inherent power of electing and ordaining ministers of the gospel.

Nor does the opinion of these distinguished men of God seem to be adverse to the word of inspiration. If it was the business of the entire church at Jerusalem to elect a minister of the highest order, even an apostle, in place of the fallen Iscariot,¹ if it was their province to elect the deacons,² if the apostles appointed, by *the lifting up of the hands of the people*, elders or ministers in every city (*χειροτονησαντες*);³ then there can be no doubt, that though ordained or acknowledged by the existing ministry as agents of the church, the authority and validity of ministers in every age, are derived from the church, by whose agents they are thus appointed, and not by any fabled succession from the apostles.

2) Again, the Romish and Puseyite idea, that ministers are channels of some indefinable, mystic influence, handed down from the apostles, and *possess power to forgive sins*, are evidently unscriptural. The former must necessarily fall to the ground with the figment of apostolic succession on which it is suspended. Faithful ministers are indeed an incalculable blessing to the church and the world. Their ministrations are doubtless a savour of life unto life, to all who yield them an attentive ear and an obedient heart; but there is nothing mysterious or mystic about it, nor anything hereditary or traditive, but it is the direct and immediate blessing of the Holy Spirit on the truth dispensed by him, which is able to make them wise unto salvation. As to the *power to forgive sin*, and *private confession* as preparatory to it, they are alike contrary to scripture⁴ and reason. There is not a single instance in scrip-

¹ Acts 1 : 23.

² Acts 6 : 3, 5, 6.

³ The term here rendered "ordained" is *χειροτονησαντες*, which is compounded of the words *χειρ* hand, and *τεινω* to stretch forth or extend, and signifies to stretch forth the hand; and also to vote in an assembly by raising the hand, which was the usual mode of voting in Greece. The word also sometimes signifies simply to elect, but in classic Greek rarely to appoint without an election. On the contrary, *χειροτονεῖσθαι* was contrasted to *λαγχάνειν* as election is to appointment by lot, as in *χείροτονηθεὶς ἢ λαχών*.

⁴ On this subject we annex the explicit acknowledgment of that distinguished Lutheran divine, Quenstedt, in his *Theologia Didactico Polemica*, published 1585, whilst at the same time he advocates the propriety of retaining the unscriptural, and according to himself, extrascriptural rite of private confession, as modified by the Augsburg Confession; "*Confessio peccatorum privata coram sacerdote ad remissionem peccatorum obtinendam, jure divino non est necessaria.*" And again, "*Nullum habet mandatum, nullam promissionem, nec in Vel. nec in Novo Testamento.*" Vol. III., p. 601, 603.

ture of private confession to an apostle or minister, or of absolution by either. The cases of confession recorded in the inspired volume, were evidently public and general, and the command, "confess your sins one to another," requires the minister to confess his sins to the laity, as much as the laity to the minister. It is moreover historically certain, that private or auricular confession did not exist, until the fifth century, when it was recommended by Leo, bishop of Rome. And it was not until the thirteenth century after Christ, that it was required as a matter of faith, at least once a year, by the notorious fourth council of the Lateran. The abominations of the confessional, in corrupting the morals of the community, in prying into the most sacred secrets of the domestic fireside, and in exerting an influence on the political destinies of a country, thus placing the whole Romish population at the feet of designing and monarchical priests, is a subject too well known, and too copious to require or admit of adequate elucidation on this occasion. That priestly absolution which is connected with confession, is a gross corruption of Christianity, must be admitted by all, who believe the sentiment which though uttered by the scribes and Pharisees, was acknowledged by the Savior; "Who can forgive sins but God alone?"¹ and who remember that in still asserting this divine power of forgiving sins, our Lord at once established his claim by a miracle, by demonstrating his control over the powers of nature, saying to the sick of the palsy, "arise, take up thy couch, and go unto thy house." Nay, the Savior himself, in his memorable prayer, teaches us to apply, not unto men, but to our Father in heaven alone for pardon: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." The apostle admonishes his Ephesian brethren at large, "be ye kind one to another, tender hearted and forgiving one another, even as *God*, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you."² But he does not intimate that a single one of them had received forgiveness from any minister. In short, that ministers should possess the power of judicially forgiving sin, is impossible on the principles of God's moral administration. Before sin can consistently be pardoned by God himself, he must know the sincere penitence of the sinner's heart, and what man is there who can search the heart and secret intents of the soul? Even in the Old Testament dispensation, the priesthood did not pretend to forgive sin; and

¹ Luke 5: 21. ² Eph. 4: 32.

that power was regarded as a prerogative of God alone. "Who, says the prophet Micah, is a God like unto thee, that *pardoneth iniquity*?"¹ In short, the essence of all sin, consists in its being committed *against God*. It was in reference to sins against his fellow-men, that David exclaims, "Against thee, thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight." Since then it is God, who is ultimately and chiefly the offended being, from him alone can pardon proceed, and even from him, only in those instances, where his omniscient eye beholds a suitable and penitent recognition of guilt, and purpose of reform. The minister of Christ is indeed authorized and enjoined to proclaim the divine promises of pardon, both publicly and privately, to the truly penitent; but he has no authority to apply these promises to any individual in an unconditional manner, because he cannot certainly know the genuineness of the repentance professed. As to a conditional absolution to an individual, it can be of no more service to him than the general and public proclamation of the promises of pardon, unless he ignorantly considers it unconditional, or regards the willingness of the minister to apply the promises to him as proof of his penitence, and thus he may be led into dangerous and soul-destroying error. From these considerations it would appear, that even the *conditional* and declarative form of private absolution, which was long retained by some of the Protestant churches, was well calculated to mislead the sinner, and as to the opportunity for private interview with the individual furnished by the confessional, it can be, and is enjoyed, fully as well without its dangerous concomitant. Moreover, the scriptures teach us, that no unconverted man can be pardoned of God. Further, that when we are converted and exercise faith in Christ, we are justified, that is, are pardoned; and being thus justified by faith, "we have *peace* with God," and *rejoice* in *hope* of the glory of God (Rom. 5: 1, 2), that is *the Holy Spirit produces a conviction of this pardon in our minds*, "the Spirit bearing witness with our spirits, that we are children of God" (Rom. 8: 16). Now when the priest pronounces absolution on one, in whom the Spirit has not yet produced this peace of mind, his testimony is contrary to that of the Holy Spirit, and the sinner either believes the priest or not. If he does, then he believes himself converted and pardoned on the testimony of the priest, when his heart furnishes evidence to the contrary. If he does not believe the priest, his absolution is of course also of no avail.

¹ Micah 7: 18.

In short, the fundamental character of the New Testament minister is, that he preaches the truths of the gospel to every creature, and baptises those who believe, teaching them to keep all things that Jesus has commanded. In connexion with these ministrations, the Holy Spirit bestows his influences of every grade and kind, wherever he sees a moral fitness for any of them, and bestows just such blessings as the sinner is prepared to receive.

4. *That the Romish or Puseyite system is not that of the gospel, whilst the Protestant is, appears evident on examination of the views of the sacraments in general, advanced by the former.*

When we consider the sacraments in general, and not any one of them in particular, the points of divergence between formal and spiritual religionists, between Protestants and Papists, are chiefly two, their number and influence. The former question resolves itself into logomachy. Its decision depends on the definition we adopt of the word sacrament, a word not found in scripture, and, of course, not there applied to any of the rites usually designated by it amongst christians.

Our theme is therefore sustained, when we show that the sacraments do not exert their influence (*ex opere operato*) merely by the intrinsic power of the outward act, regardless of the moral qualifications of the recipient. We say "*merely*," because, of course, these divinely appointed means possess a tendency and adaptation to accomplish the object of their institution. But the question is, were they designed to effect the great moral change, regardless of the blessing of the Holy Spirit and the coöperation of the free agent man; or rather, must not man be "a coworker with God," and even then implore the influence of the Holy Spirit to render effectual his faithful use of the appointed instrumentalities.¹ That the latter is the case appears evident, in the first place,

¹ On the necessity of the work of the Spirit in the heart, in order to give efficacy to baptism, Luther has expressed himself strongly in his very scarce and interesting letter to the Swiss churches, in 1537.

"Desgleichen der Tauf halben, im andern Artikel, spüre ich auch keine Ungleichheit. Denn gleich wie itzt vom mündlichen Wort geredt ist; so halten wir auch dasz Wasser und Wort, (welchs das fürnemst in der Tauf) *ohn den Heiligen Geist inwendig, nichts schaffe äusserlich*; doch solche Tauf Gottes äusserlich Zeichen, ja Gezeug und Werk sey dadurch Gott in uns wirke, &c., damit es nicht ein lauter Menschenzeichen oder Lösung sey." De Wettes' "Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe Sendschreiben und Bedenken," &c., vol. V. p. 85. Again, in his Larger Catechism he says:

"The great efficacy and utility of baptism being thus known, let us further see who is the person that receives such things as are offered by baptism. This also is most beautifully and clearly expressed in these words: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." That is, *faith alone makes a*

Because a previous moral qualification is distinctly required in scripture, for the reception of the sacraments. In the great commission of our Savior, *faith* is absolutely demanded, “he that *believeth*” and is baptized, &c. Nor did the apostles entertain a different view, or pursue a contrary practice. When at the memorable pentecostal scene,¹ their hearers, amid deep compunctions of heart, inquired, “Men and brethren, what shall we do,” did Peter say, as a papist would, become a member of the church by baptism, and then all your sins are forgiven? No, he required a moral preparation, he told them “repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins,” &c.; and then we are told, not that all were baptized, but that the rite was administered only to those who “gladly” received the word, that is, who received it with approbation, and yielded obedience to it. But let us examine the practice of the apostles still farther. When the Ethiopian eunuch solicited baptism² at the hands of Philip, what was his reply? Did he baptise him regardless of his state of moral preparation? Certainly not. Although he knew that the eunuch had come to the holy city as a devout “worshipper,” and although he had found him “reading the scriptures,” this amount of seriousness and external worship was not deemed sufficient, and he distinctly suspended his own willingness to administer the ordinance, on the fact of his *decided and cordial faith* in the Lord Jesus, “*If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest;*” and only after the applicant made the distinct profession, “I do believe,” was he baptized by him. So also in the case of Saul of Tarsus,³ before he was baptized, it is recorded that he surrendered his heart to God at the time of the Savior’s miraculous appearance, saying, “Lord, what wilt thou have me to do;” and further, the Lord himself bore witness that he was a praying man, “Behold he prayeth,” said he to Ananias in a vision. The great apostle to the Gentiles was, therefore, certainly a believer before his baptism.

The apostle Peter⁴ also suspends the blessing of baptism in adults,⁵ not on the outward performance of the rite, or, as he

person worthy to receive this salutary and divine water with advantage. “Without faith baptism is of no profit, although it cannot be denied, that it is in itself a celestial and inestimable treasure.” From the Latin. Müller’s Symb. books, p. 490.

¹ Acts 2 : 37, 38. ² Acts 8 : 37, &c. ³ Acts 9 : 11, &c. ⁴ 1 Peter 3 : 21.

⁵ We remark here, once for all, that as these passages all relate to adults, they are not applicable to infant baptism. Although the New Testament repeatedly speaks of the baptism of entire families, in which infants would naturally be contained, the inspired writers nowhere specify the prerequisites

terms it, "the putting away of the filth of the flesh," by the application of water; but on (ἐπερωτημα) "the answer of a good conscience towards God," that is, a conscience that bears "good" testimony, concerning our sincerity in making the external profession in baptism, and concerning the personal dedication of our souls and bodies to God for time and eternity.

Again, in regard to the Lord's Supper, Paul expressly demands previous moral qualification for its reception, when he enjoins self examination, and denounces the judgment of God on all who receive it unworthily; which he could not do, if the external reception of the sacraments of itself secured the intended blessing.

Again, the Scriptures denounce condemnation on all who are destitute of faith, regardless whether they have received the sacraments or not; which could not be done, if these rites effected the pardon of sin by their intrinsic power, independently of the moral character of the recipient. He that *believeth* and is baptized, says our great Redeemer, shall be saved; but he that *believeth not* shall be damned. That is, no matter what other qualifications an individual may possess, if he dies destitute of faith, he is lost for ever. He that *believeth not*, says the same divine personage, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.¹ "He that *believeth not* the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." Now in these and a multitude of similar passages, faith is represented as the essential condition of salvation, and the want of it the certain cause of condemnation, without any thing being said of baptism; which could not be the case if baptism were in the same sense necessary to salvation, and the want of it always involved the loss of the soul, as Romish and Puseyite authors maintain.

Further, if baptism or the eucharist were always the certain precursor of salvation, and the want of them invariably involved spiritual death, should we not naturally expect, that the Savior and his apostles would have made the administration of these ordinances, instead of preaching, the great business of

or the consequences of this rite in the case of infants. The inference of the baptists against the propriety of pedobaptism, is, however, utterly illogical, as is seen in the case of circumcision, which though requiring previous faith in adults, was specifically commanded to be applied to infants. Infant subjects of baptism doubtless receive a divine blessing at the time, the nature of which the scriptures do not specify, and they become partakers of the blessings of the believing adult subject, as far and as fast as they are intellectually and morally qualified to receive them.

¹ John 3: 18.

their public labors through life? Yet we find that "Jesus himself baptized not,"¹ and the illustrious apostle of the Gentiles, though certainly well acquainted with the plan of salvation, and with the relative importance of its different parts, could not have said, "I thank God that I baptized none of you (Corinthians) except Crispus and Gaius," and the household of Stephanas; besides I know not whether I baptized any other; for *Christ sent me, not to baptise, but to preach the gospel.*"²

Nor can the Romish and Puseyite view be correct, when we reflect that the Bible represents conversion as a *spiritual* and *intellectual*, but not a physical change. How can the application of water to the body, purify or convert the mind, unless it be through the mental exercises connected with it, unless it be performed as a prescribed act of obedience to God, with sincere aspirations for his blessing. But who can believe, that the mere outward act, if performed without the proper views and feelings, and if combined with hostility to God, and with the purpose of continuance in sin, could obtain the divine blessing, or exert a purifying, renovating influence on the soul, much less could secure the favor of that God, who denounces as hypocrites and vain worshippers, those that "draw nigh unto him with their mouth, and honor him with their lips, whilst their heart is far from him?"³ Finally, this doctrine cannot be of God, because of its perceptible tendency to promote a frigid formalism, and a rank hypocrisy. When the benefits of an ordinance are supposed to depend on the frame of mind attending its performance, there is an obvious and powerful motive for due attention to these requisites, and for effort to perform these rites with suitable frame of mind, in order to secure the desired blessing. But when the state of mind is regarded as unimportant, or, at least, as not essential, the natural tendency of the mind to wander is encouraged, and the rite degenerates into mere lip service, and often a mockery of God. If then this Romish view were correct, if the sacraments conferred pardon and salvation on men, regardless of their moral characters, they would unavoidably fill heaven with impenitent sinners, with hypocrites, with sabbath breakers, with profane swearers, with drunkards, and almost every other species of criminals; for it cannot be denied, that many of all these classes have, at different times, and in different countries and churches, been admitted to these holy sacraments. And, need we add, that such a rite cannot possibly

¹ John 4: 2.² 1 Cor. 1: 15, 16.³ Matt. 15: 7, 8.

belong to the religion of that Savior, who has taught us, that not every one who cries Lord, Lord, that is, professes his name, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but those only, "who also perform the will of his Father in heaven." In short, the idea that pardon of sin is necessarily consequent on the performance of any outward rite, is alike repugnant to reason and scripture, and inconsistent with the principles of God's moral administration, as well as with the philosophy of the gospel plan of salvation. Repentance and faith are the divinely established conditions of pardon, and they include a moral fitness in the subject for the blessing involved. But mere external rites can be performed by the impenitent, the unbelieving, and even the openly vicious, who are destitute of all moral preparedness for pardon, and cannot therefore be the condition of forgiveness in a plan of remedial influences, every part of which possesses a moral congruity and adaptation. In a church conducted on this formal system, the majority of hearers never acquire a clear idea of conversion, or of genuine spiritual religion. Such a congregation presents the strange spectacle of persons possessing no evidence of christian character, and yet statedly receiving the sacraments of the supper, and, as they suppose, the pardon of their sins, then as statedly returning to the world and crucifying afresh the Lord of Glory with their transgressions. Even the mind of the minister himself becomes confused, and has no distinct perception of the difference between the church and the world; whilst his preaching becomes equally indiscriminate and pointless, and unprofitable to the souls committed to his care.

5. *Finally, That the Romish and Puseyite system is not that of the gospel, whilst the Protestant is, appears manifest from their respective views of justification, and spiritual culture, or the pastoral charge.*

In regard to the justification of the sinner before God, the sacred volume has delineated its entire graciousness in such clear and striking colors, that all the reformers, when their minds became released from the delusion of their Romish education, settled down in its firm persuasion. Nor is it easy to conceive how this doctrine could be presented in clearer terms than those of the illustrious apostle of the Gentiles. "Being justified, says he, freely, or as the Greek (*δωρεάν*) signifies *gratuitously*, by his *grace*, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."¹ Again, "If by *grace*, then it (our salvation) is no more of work; otherwise grace is no more grace."²

¹ Rom. 3: 24.

² Rom. 11: 6.

Once more, "For *by grace* ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God: *Not of works* lest any man should boast."¹ But it is superfluous to accumulate proofs on this obvious and cardinal doctrine. Next to those truths received by all christians, some of which Luther would have pronounced still more important, such as the existence of God and divinity of Christ, he pronounced this the vital feature, the pillar of the church. It is the fundamental feature of Lutheranism, and far more important than any of the peculiarities in which she differs from her sister denominations, as even Dr. *Guericke*, of Halle, now happily believes, and has lately maintained with much propriety. The Romish and Puseyite doctrine of justification by inherent righteousness or works, such as attendance on mass, repetition of a number of prayers, Ave Marias, pecuniary donations to the priests for indulgences or alms, performing works of self-mortification, &c., is subversive of this vital doctrine of the gospel, and tends to cherish a spirit of self-righteousness and self-dependance. It generates spiritual pride and fosters ignorance of the plan of salvation through Christ. Especially does it obscure the glory of the Savior's great work of redemption, and of his mediatorial reign. Hence we do the *Puseyites* no injustice, by classing them in the same category with the *Romanists*, when they style the grand gospel truth of a gracious justification, "the hateful," "fundamental," "unchristian," "subtle" and "extensively poisonous," "Lutheran heresy."

Again, that feature of spiritual culture, which regards and treats as christians all baptized persons who yield a prevailing external obedience to the ordinances of the church, is decidedly antisciptural and injurious to the spirituality of religion. It ignores that division of the church into visible and invisible, established in a former part of this discussion, and conflicts with the rule of our Savior to judge of the tree by its fruits, and not to regard all as entitled to heaven, who merely cry "Lord, Lord," but only those who also "do the will of his heavenly Father."

Again, the indiscriminate or collective mode of admitting the entire rising generation to sacramental communion, at a certain age, practised by the Romish church, and by some Protestant churches of Europe, in obedience to the obtrusive and unauthorized enactments of civil government, is unscriptural, and in violation of the principles of christian discipline. Every man is naturally a sinner individually, he is required to repent

¹ Ephes. 2: 8.

individually, to believe individually, and perform all his religious obligations individually. These obligations cannot be performed by proxy, by parents for children, or children for parents; nor aggregately, by the mass of a congregation so as to include some delinquent members of it. Every soul is a unit, and all its obligations, privileges and destinies belong to it as a unit, though associated with others.

But the fallacy of these practices will further appear whilst we exhibit, in conclusion, the apostolic method of *Christian Evangelization* and *Church culture*, as apprehended by the Protestant churches. Five features particularly arrest our attention on an examination of the inspired narrative. *First*, the apostles "preached the word" in season and out of season, and with a view to present effect. *Secondly*, when they noticed the influence of the truth, or heard the inquiry, "men and brethren, what shall we do," they gave to such awakened souls specific instruction, as their case might require.² This can be done partly in the public discourse, and partly at special meetings for inquiring sinners. *Thirdly*, when they found that these awakened sinners believed in the Lord Jesus Christ with all their hearts,³ they introduced them, "together with their households,"⁴ into the visible church, into the society of believers, by the ordinance of baptism,⁵ thus adding to the church daily⁶ them that were saved,⁷ or rescued from the world and from sin, converted, (*τὰς σωζομενὰς*). *Fourthly*, the apostles, together with the brotherhood, continued to watch over, edify and direct their new converts,⁷ "confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith." And *fifthly*, having received the children of professed believ-

¹ Matt. 11 : 28. Acts 2 : 38. 40 : 42.

² Acts 2 : 38.

³ Acts 8 : 37. If thou believest (in the Lord Jesus Christ) with all thy heart, thou mayest (be baptized).

⁴ Acts 16 : 15. "Lydia and her household."—33. "The jailor and all his." 1 Cor. 1 : 16. Stephanas and his household.—Mark 10 : 14. Children belong to "the kingdom of God."—1 Cor. 7 : 14.

⁵ Acts 2 : 41.

⁶ Whilst this fact does not militate against the stated admission of the rising generation at one or several fixed times in the year, after a proper course of instruction, and satisfactory examination of each catechumen; it does clearly prove that the admission of adults of suitable qualifications, should not be limited to these intervals, but ought to occur at any time soon after their conversion. This practice doubtless confers special interest on the ordinary exercises of public worship, and tends greatly to keep alive the public interest in the subject of religion.

⁷ Heb. 13 : 17. Acts 14 : 22. Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith. Acts 20 : 31. By the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one, night and day, with tears.

ers into the church by baptism, they labored faithfully to "train them up in the *nurture and admonition of the Lord*."¹

Thus were the apostles, and thus should ministers now be employed as honored instruments of the Holy Spirit, as co-workers with God, conducting this all important work of *evangelization* and *christian culture*. They are to receive the truth at the mouth of God, and dispense it to dying men. Their's is the high and holy work of searching the scriptures from week to week, of studying the mode of applying its sacred truths to the hearts of sinners, and then actually thus making application of them in the cheering hope of saving immortal souls.

Like a faithful physician, who knows that his entire vicinity is suffering under a morbid predisposition to epidemic disease, the faithful minister of Christ dispenses the general truths of the gospel, and gives directions for their application to specific cases. But he is not satisfied with this. By pastoral visitation, he learns the peculiar condition of his individual hearers, and personally affords those specific directions suited to the peculiar circumstances of each case.

¹ *This Christian Nurture* consists in dedicating the child to God in baptism, and faithfully discharging the obligations towards it, assumed by the parent at the administration of this dedicatory rite. In vindication of this infant dedication, and early christian nurture, we append a few general positions.

There is nothing to prevent children from growing up "*in the Lord*." grace is as effectual for them as for adults.

As soon as a child is capable of doing wrong, it is also able to do right.

The child is born with a depraved nature; but the curse resting on the depravity, was removed by the death of Christ, and is, therefore, for Christ's sake, not imputed to the child. Rom. 5: 18, 20, 21. John 1: 29. 1 John 2: 2. This blessing is formally sealed to it by baptism, as a baptismal grace.

If the child be not trained from infancy to good, it will naturally grow up a voluntary sinner.

But if it receive proper christian nurture, it may, and probably will strive to resist the solicitations of its depraved nature from early childhood, and by a continuance in this effort of obedience, will, by divine grace, gain a preponderance of holy habits, and be converted. As soon as this preponderance is established, it affords evidence that conversion is effected. The experience of such a converted child will of course be less constant, and more variable than that of most adults; but it is essentially the same.

All christian parents ought to expect, as the result of their parental training, and of the privileges of church instruction, the Sabbath school, ministerial care of the lambs, &c., that all their children will grow up christians. But they ought not to regard any one of them as such, unless it presents the *scriptural evidences*.

Parents should at all ages give their children the instruction suited to their capacity, and at from fourteen to eighteen years of age, send them to the course of instruction for catechumens; but no one ought to be admitted to sacramental communion, unless he or she exhibits evidence of genuine repentance and surrender of the soul to God.

He draws the line of distinction clearly, in his public and private ministrations, between the church and the world, between the converted and the unconverted; and labors by the blessing of Heaven to add to the church daily such as are saved, as are converted to God, and rescued from the dominion of sin.

He labors in reliance on the blessing of the Spirit, and prays for the special outpouring of the Holy Ghost, that many souls may be born unto God, and be made heirs of eternal life.

Thus does he labor on, striving for the furtherance of the gospel at home and abroad over the world, until he is called by his Master to lay down his armor and enter on his eternal rest, with the pleasing conviction that he has faithfully labored to preach the gospel to every rational creature, and freely offered salvation to all "who believe and are baptized."

By this discussion, we are taught the following important practical positions, of which ministers of the gospel should never lose sight, in their studies and instructions.

We should faithfully guard and adhere to the primitive, apostolical, and inspired model of Christianity, and conscientiously discriminate between it and all uninspired reasonings, teachings and additions. All that we believe contained in scripture we must sacredly retain, and admit nothing from any other source, that is not in entire consistence with it.

We see that there is a strong tendency in the human breast to mere formalism in religious worship; to the neglect of that inward worship in spirit and in truth, which alone can be acceptable to God, who is a spirit. Outward acts and forms are more easily performed by persons of various religious character, than the worship of the heart, and ministers should faithfully preach and pray against resting in them alone, as ruinous to the soul.

We learn the incalculable importance of keeping constantly in view the doctrine of individual responsibility in all christians, and urging them to search the scriptures daily, and to think and act for themselves in view of their sacred obligations as detailed in God's word.

The church should guard against the tendency in ministers unduly to exalt their office. The pride of the human heart, from which ministers are also not wholly exempt, delights in pompous forms and robes and ceremonies; and sometimes leads the ministers of the meek and lowly Jesus, to attribute to their office mystic influences and powers alien from the gospel, and prejudicial to the spirituality and individual activity of church members.

We see that the errors of Popery and Puseyism are most grave corruptions of true Christianity, relating not only to matters of collateral nature, but affecting the cardinal doctrines of the gospel; converting the spiritual worship of God into a routine of outward forms and ceremonies, substituting implicit reliance on the priest or minister, in place of direct dependence on the Savior, and teaching for doctrines the traditions and commandments of men.

We learn that genuine Christianity is favorable to popular rights and republican government; whilst Popery and all other minor phases of imparity tend more or less to foster aristocracy, and support the throne.

Finally, we are taught by this discussion, that when the church of the Redeemer is assailed by such formidable foes as Popery and Puseyism, when important inroads are made on her territory in Europe, when her liberty of worship is destroyed, and her members are oppressed and persecuted in countries heretofore tolerant, wisdom dictates that Protestants should cease to contend about their minor differences, and concentrate all their energies against their common foes, striving for the furtherance of the gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, until it is preached to every creature, and all nations are made disciples.

ARTICLE III.

APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

By J. A. Brown, Reading.

THE last of the apostles fell asleep about A. D. 100. After the Acts of the apostles, there is little or nothing that can be properly called church history, for some centuries. In the latter half of the second century, there existed a class of christian writers, known as the apologists; men who by their pen recommended Christianity, and defended it against the attacks of its enemies. Of these, the first, whose writings have escaped the ravages of time, and descended to us, is Justin Martyr, who suffered death about A. D. 168. Nearly at the same time, or immediately following, were Tatian, Athenagoras, Irenaeus, and others. Between the apostles and these apologists, and in some degree filling up the chasm of half a cen-

ture, we have the so-called *apostolic fathers*. This name is applied only to those christian writers, who had seen and heard the apostles; and their writings possess the more interest and value as they contain all that we have of the early christians (besides the New Testament), previous to the middle of the second century. Of these men and their writings we propose giving a brief account to the readers of the Evangelical Review; and in doing so, will follow the order in which they stand in the most beautiful and convenient edition of the *apostolic fathers*, by Dr. C. J. Hefele, Tubingar, 1846.

I. BARNABAS.

There is an epistle, usually styled "*the Catholic epistle of Barnabas*," and very commonly ascribed to the distinguished fellow-laborer of the great apostle to the Gentiles. Some maintain that it was written for the use of Jewish, but others maintain for the use of Gentile, christians.

Its prominent design seems to be, to show that Judaism has been supplanted by christianity, that the former was typical, and only intended to continue, until the time for the latter had arrived. So far as the leading design of the epistle is concerned, there is nothing to object, as it is the same as that to the Hebrews, but the arguments and illustrations are not always the most apt and conclusive. It is divided into twenty-one sections; the first seventeen of which treat of the abrogation of the legal ceremonies, the last four contain some practical directions and exhortations, to leading a holy life. Two ways are presented, the one of light, the other of darkness; over the one are appointed the angels of God, conducting to a blissful immortality, over the other the angels of Satan, leading the blind to the "blackness of darkness." Some have been disposed to ascribe these parts to different authors, but for this there do not appear any sufficient reasons, either external or internal.

The exact date of this epistle cannot be determined, but of its early origin there can be no doubt. It is repeatedly quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, by Origen, and other succeeding writers. Celsus, about the middle of the second century, quotes it against christianity, where the writer (Sec. V.) speaks of the apostles as having been "very great sinners," (*ὅπερ πάντων ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους*). From the sixteenth section it might be inferred that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, which took place A. D. 70. The writer says: "It remains yet that I speak to you concerning the temple. . . .

For through their wars it is now destroyed." Perhaps it is as much as may safely be advanced, that it was written between A. D. 70 and 150.

The real author of this epistle is a question, about which the learned are by no means agreed. Though called the "*epistle of Barnabas*," the writer no where lays claim to such a distinction, and there are the very strongest reasons for suspecting its genuineness. Indeed were it not that it might seem presumptuous, in the face of many learned men defending it, we would say that Barnabas, the companion of Paul, could not possibly be the author. But on the side of its genuineness rank such names as Rosenmiller, Bleek, Henke, Rördam and Gieseler, whilst against it may be named Mosheim, Hug, Ullman, Winer, Twesten, Neander and Hefelev. It must be confessed that the historical testimony in favor of its genuineness is quite strong, and, were it not for insuperable internal difficulties, this ought to decide the question. But besides there being some reason for believing that Barnabas was dead before the date of this epistle, the writer manifests a spirit, and betrays an ignorance, that we cannot ascribe to a man so honorably mentioned in holy writ. Barnabas was a Jew, a Levite, of course skilled in the Jewish ceremonies, and like Paul, feeling a profound interest in "his brethren, his kindred according to the flesh." But the author of the epistle manifests no sympathy in their behalf, and exhibits a degree of ignorance in regard to their ceremonies, that would be surprising in any writer. He also represents Abraham as acquainted with the Greek alphabet, and finds in the three hundred and eighteen persons whom he says Abraham circumcised, a mystic reference to Christ and his cross; as (I) iota = 10, and (H) eta = 8 = 18, ΙΗϞοϞϞ, and (T) tau = 300, and is a cross, so the 318 mystically point to Jesus and the cross. Such puerilities surely do not belong to an apostolic man, much less to the intimate companion of Paul. Without dwelling at greater length, we quote the decisions of the two eminent Lutheran historians. Mosheim says, "The epistle of Barnabas, as it is called, was, in my judgment, the production of some Jewish christian, who lived in this century, who had no bad intentions, but possessed little genius and was infected with the fabulous opinions of the Jews. He was clearly a different person from Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul."¹ Much to the same purpose is Neander; "We cannot possibly recognize in this production the Barnabas, who was deemed worthy to take part as a com-

¹ Church Hist., Cent. 1, Murdock's translation.

panion in the apostolical labors of Paul, and who derived his name from the great power of his discourses in the churches. It breathes a spirit widely different from what might be expected of such an apostolic man."¹

II. CLEMENT.

One epistle and the fragment of a second, are ascribed to this ancient father. By general consent the fragment is admitted to be spurious, but there is no good reason for doubting the genuineness of the first epistle. Of all the uninspired writings that have come down from that remote age, this is most entitled to our confidence and esteem, both on account of the credit due to its genuineness, and also on account of its intrinsic value. It is an epistle truly worthy of one who had seen and conversed with the apostles. In so great esteem was it held by the early christians, that it was read in their churches along with the inspired scriptures.

Of the time and place of his birth, as well as of his parentage, nothing is known beyond conjecture. In the epistle to the Philippians (ch. iv: 3), mention is made of several "whose names are in the book of life." The only one distinctly named is Clement, whom the voice of antiquity affirms to have been afterwards bishop of Rome, and author of the epistle to the Corinthians bearing his name. The date of the epistle to the Philippians is about A. D. 62, and although we know not under what circumstances converted, from the manner in which he is spoken of, it is probable that he may have been a long time in the service of Christ. His death is placed in the third year of Trajan, A. D. 101, so that it is not at all improbable his ministry may have extended over half a century, embracing a most eventful period in the history of the church and the world. According to ancient writers, after the death of Peter and Paul, in the persecution of Nero, A. D. 66, Clement was settled at Rome, where he continued to occupy an important position until his death. During his life time, Rome was governed by a succession of human monsters, from Tiberius to Trajan. He may have been acquainted with some of the great men of that period; the Jewish historian, Josephus, the Roman historians Tacitus and Pliny, the moralists Seneca, Epictetus and Plutarch, with others known to fame. He was alive to see the fulfilment of prophecy, in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews; he saw disappearing from the stage of life one after another of the apostles,

¹ Neander's Church Hist., vol. 1, 657, Torrey's trans.

until all were gone ; and witnessed the church struggling thro' more than one bloody persecution. What a record might such a man have transmitted to us of the church and his times ! But this was not the age for writing church history ; it was the age for acting, the age of confessors and martyrs, and we must be thankful for the little he has transmitted.

The immediate occasion of writing the epistle, was to allay strife and dissension in the church at Corinth, and to right them on the doctrine of the resurrection. The evils which harassed this church during the life time of Paul, continued after his death. The spirit of party was rife among them, they were unruly, and not disposed to rest in the christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. It seems likely that the church of Rome had been written to, and its friendly counsel and aid invoked to heal their difficulties. The epistle in return is in the name of "*the church sojourning at Rome, to the church of God sojourning at Corinth, called, sanctified by the will of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.*" It was sent by Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Bito, and Fortunatus, who, it was hoped, would soon return with intelligence of the church's "peace and concord, so much prayed for and desired."

The date of this epistle is a matter of dispute. Some make it about the year A. D. 68, at the close of Nero's persecution ; but others refer it to a much later period—the close of the Dioclesian persecution—about the year A. D. 98. It is not possible at this day to determine the point with certainty, but we incline in favor of the later date.

The contents of the epistle correspond with the already expressed design. It contains perhaps nearly as much as both of Paul's epistles addressed to the same church, and is divided into fifty-nine sections. Our limits forbid any attempt at analysis, and we must be content with observing that it is a warm and affectionate address, abounding with illustrations and quotations from the Old and New Testaments. The writer shows a great familiarity with the inspired word, and a profound reverence for its authority. In this single piece, the Bible is referred to in more than one hundred and thirty places, and in some instances a whole chapter is quoted. There is an air of simplicity about it that reminds us of the apostolic writings, and is one of the strongest internal evidences that it belongs to that early period. No one can study it without improvement to the head and heart.

III. IGNATIUS.

The time and place of Ignatius' birth are points upon which we have no certain information. Some of his earlier biographers, without any proof, have averred that he was the little child taken into his arms by Christ, when he said to his disciples, "Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven." He was a hearer of John the apostle, and a fellow disciple with the celebrated Polycarp. According to Eusebius and Origen, he was the second bishop of the church in Antioch.

Of the writings of this father, it is difficult to say anything definite or satisfactory. One feels that he is all the while treading on uncertain ground. "The whole subject," says Mosheim, "of the Ignatian epistles in general, is involved in much obscurity and perplexity." It has been the lot of these epistles to occasion more discussion than almost any other subject in the early history of the church. The discussion of their genuineness has been mixed up with the question of episcopacy, and writers have decided for or against, in accordance with their views of church polity. There are some points that may be regarded as settled, whilst others, as prejudice is so strong, and there is so much room for its exercise, are likely to remain forever unsettled. The opinion of Calvin is expressed without much charity. "*Nihil naeniis illis, quae sub Ignatii nomine editae sunt, putidius. Quo minus tolerabilis est eorum impudentia, qui talibus larvis ad fallendum se instruunt.*" The judgment of Neander is not much more favorable. Of these epistles he says they "do not wear at all a stamp of a distinct individuality of character, and of a man of these times addressing his last words to the churches. A hierarchical purpose is not to be mistaken." It would be easy to fill a volume with the opinions of the learned on this question; but without any array of names, we will endeavor, in as few words as possible, to express what we think is the moderate and impartial view of the subject.

There are fifteen epistles bearing the name of Ignatius, of which eight are universally admitted to be spurious. Of the other seven, there is a longer and a shorter recension; the longer is pretty generally admitted to be unworthy of confidence, the shorter is held to be genuine, but not, however, without corruptions and interpolations. Hefele indeed opposes the idea of their corruption, and says at the close of a learned investigation, "*Epistolae Ignatii sint, ut sunt, aut non sint.*" But even the Oxford editor expresses a much less favorable verdict, who closes a long prolegomenon by saying: "*Ego*

quidem, ut quod sentio dicam, non sum is qui pro Recensionis brevioris integritate ita propugnem, ut nullas sententias perplexas, corruptas, interpolatas habere contendam."

To what extent the work of corruption and interpolation has been carried, it is not possible to determine with exactness, and hence the very great uncertainty that must attach to anything quoted on the authority of Ignatius; as no one can tell what he himself has said, from what others have made him say.

These epistles are addressed, one to each of the churches at Ephesus, Magnesia, Trallis, Rome, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and also one to Polycarp. Ignatius, by order of the emperor Trajan, had been apprehended at Antioch, and conducted as a prisoner to Smyrna, on his way to Rome. At Smyrna he met with Polycarp, and from this place wrote the letters addressed to the first four named churches. From Smyrna he was conducted to Troas, where he wrote the other three letters. On arriving at Rome he was cast to wild beasts, and immediately devoured. His bones were collected and carried back to Antioch, where his name was cherished with affection and esteem. Whether his death took place in the year of our Lord 107 or 116, is a question still debated by the learned.

Our limits and design will not admit of special attention to each of these epistles separately. Those who think that every thing in the church depends upon the bishop, or who adopt as their creed, "no church without a bishop," will find much to admire; but the sober and reflecting will not be much gratified with their style and spirit. The judgment of Gibbon may be too illiberal and severe. "The epistles breathe sentiments the most repugnant to the ordinary feelings of human nature;" but the fact that their advocates have found it necessary to apologize and make labored defences, is not much in their favor. That there are some parts of them which breathe a spirit of true piety, and commend the author to our favor, will not be denied by any candid reader, but it must be a matter of regret, that they contain so much which can only be read with unpleasant feelings, and the question continually recurring, can this be the language of Ignatius, the disciple of John, the companion of Polycarp, the bishop of Antioch, who was counted worthy to suffer at Rome for the name of Christ?

IV. POLYCARP.

The name of Polycarp is familiar to every reader of early church history, and is invested with unusual interest. The deeply affecting account of his martyrdom leaves an impression which no time will efface. We have more definite and

satisfactory accounts of his life and death, than of almost any other man of that period, so that he stands before our minds with unusual distinctness. He was a disciple of John the apostle, and placed by apostolic authority, over the church of Smyrna. Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, in a letter, thus refers to his revered teacher: "I can describe the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and spake; his going in and out; his manner of life, and the shape of his person; the discourses which he delivered to the congregation; how he told of his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord; how he reported their sayings, and what he had heard from them respecting the Lord, his miracles and his doctrines. As he had received all from the eye-witnesses of his life, he narrated it in accordance with scripture." There is good reason to believe that he is the person referred to in the message to the church at Smyrna. Rev. 11: 8.¹

Polycarp is said to have written a number of epistles to the neighboring churches, none of which, however, has come down to us, except the one addressed to the Philippians. This epistle was held in such high repute, that it was read in the churches, as late as in the times of Jerome. It is divided into fourteen sections, and like the apostolic epistles, combines important practical and doctrinal instruction. There is also, (though of course not belonging to Polycarp, yet associated with his name) a circular letter by the church of Smyrna, giving an account of his martyrdom.

Perhaps the annals of the church do not afford a finer illustration of true christian heroism, and the power of religion to sustain in the most trying circumstances, than is presented in the sufferings and death of this witness for the truth. He delivered himself into the hands of those who sought his life, saying, "the will of the Lord be done." All the efforts made to induce him to renounce his faith were vain. In vain did the proconsul urge him, saying, "reverence thy old age. . . . Swear, curse Christ, and I will release thee." "*Eighty and six years,*" replied Polycarp, "*have I served him, and he has done me no harm: how can I blaspheme my king and Savior?*" He was ordered to be executed. Assuring his executioners that there was no need of fastening him to the stake, "as he who has strengthened me to encounter the flames, will also enable me to stand firm," he uttered a prayer of surpassing power and sublimity, closing with the doxology. "For this and for all things else, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify

¹ See Hengstenberg on the Apoc. in loco.

thee, through the eternal high priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son; with whom to thee and the Holy Ghost be glory, both now and forever—Amen.” Thus closed the earthly career of this devoted servant of Christ, as is commonly supposed about A. D. 167.

V. TO DIOGNETUS.

Though not usually reckoned among the apostolic fathers, and perhaps not strictly belonging to that class of writers, yet in the edition of Dr. Hefele there is a very interesting anonymous letter to a heathen, named Diognetus. Who Diognetus was, and who the author of the letter was, are questions alike unanswered. Some have ascribed it to Justin Martyn, but without any good reason; and it has been shown to be wholly different in character from the genuine works of Justin. It has also been ascribed to Clement, and to Apollos, but perhaps for no other reason than an anxiety to have some one as author. It is more candid and safe to acknowledge our ignorance, and say we do not know who wrote it.

Its very early origin admits of little or no doubt. The writer speaks of christianity as a new religion, and claims to be a disciple of the apostles. He says “ἀλλὰ ἀποστόλων γενομενος μαθητης, γινομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν.” The whole spirit of the letter confirms its claim to this early origin; as there is nothing about it to betray a later date, and as is generally agreed, it has altogether an antique cast.

If the place were to be determined by merit, we should have no hesitation in putting it among the epistles of the apostolic fathers, as it would not be easy to find anything superior to it in the writings of that period. Neander repeatedly quotes it with marked approbation. Whilst the whole epistle, which is divided into twelve sections, is very interesting, we are particularly impressed with the beauty and moral excellence of the fifth and sixth sections, in which the writer describes the christian life, and institutes a somewhat long parallel between the soul in the body, and christians in the world. As we are not aware of any translation in English, we have no doubt that its entire publication in the Review, in a good English dress, would be quite as acceptable as many other translations.

VI. HERMAS.

This is the last of the fathers, to whom the appellation *apostolic* has been applied. There is a production called “The Shepherd,” or “*Pastor*,” (ὁ Ποιμην) bearing the name of Hermas, which some few, both of the ancients and moderns, have

thought to be the same with the Hermas mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Romans (ch. xvi. 14). But the external evidence in favor of such an origin is not strong, and the internal would lead us to a different conclusion. Mosheim and some others endeavor to prove, that it was written by Hermas, a brother of Pius, who was bishop of the church at Rome in the second century. This opinion Dr. Hefele advocates; but Neander thinks it entitled to no more regard than the opinion of its being the work of the Hermas referred to in the epistle to the Romans. Like the epistle ascribed to Barnabas, the real author must remain a secret, unless, what is not at all likely, some authorities should yet be discovered which may settle the question.

The Shepherd has been divided into three books, called *visions*, *commands*, and *similitudes*. It contains four visions, twelve commands, and ten similitudes. The composition was originally in Greek, but it has only been preserved in an ancient Latin version, except occasional passages gathered from writers, by whom it was quoted.

Whilst some have defended the excellency and usefulness of the work, and Origen even professes to think it divinely inspired, the general opinion places but a small estimate upon its value. Mosheim says, "The writer, if he was indeed sane, deemed it proper to forge dialogues held with God and angels, in order to insinuate what he regarded as salutary truths, more effectually into the minds of his readers. But his celestial spirits talk more insipidly than our scavengers and porters." We would wish to form a more favorable judgment, but our partialities must be in subjection to reason and candor.

After these brief, and by no means satisfactory notices of the apostolic fathers, we may sum up in a few words the conclusions to which we are conducted. The epistles of Clement and Polycarp may be admitted as the genuine productions of these authors. The epistles of Ignatius must be received with a good degree of allowance for corruptions and interpolations. The so-called epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, though productions of an early age, were not written by the Barnabas and Hermas of scripture, but are of uncertain authorship. The epistle to Diognetus, without a name, is of early date, and purports to have been written by one, who was an immediate disciple of the apostles. This leaves us three authors, with well known names, and these are all contained in the late Oxford edition, and three, about whose authorship we are uncertain. If any think the conclusions too broad for

the discussions, we can only say that the foregoing notices were necessarily brief, and contain but a tithe of what might be advanced.

In drawing this article to a close, it may be in place to offer a few remarks on the value and use of these authors. And in general, it may be observed that they are of service, both for what they are not, and for what they are.

1. They are not without their importance in what they are not. It must be sheer bigotry to decry the fathers, and deny all claim to merit: but they will be mistaken, who expect to find them superior to the writings of every other age, and especially are they in error, who think that they rival the inspired scriptures, and are of almost equal authority. In close proximity as these writers were to the apostles, and great as were their advantages from this circumstance, a wide chasm separates the inspired from the uninspired. The one wants the teeming thought, the warm, gushing utterance, which are to be found in the other. The transition is as great, as when the traveller exchanges the dazzling brightness and warmth of the sun, for the feeble light of the moon. "A phenomenon singular in its kind," says Neander, "is the striking difference between the writings of the apostles and the writings of the apostolic fathers, who were so nearly their contemporaries. In other cases, transitions are wont to be gradual; but in this instance we observe a sudden change. There are here no gentle gradations, but all at once an abrupt transition from one style to another; a phenomenon which should lead us to acknowledge the fact of a special agency of the Divine Spirit in the souls of the apostles." From this we may learn the immeasurable superiority of the scriptures over all other writings, however prominent may be the position of the authors in the church, or near the inspired apostles. The scriptures must forever remain the rule of faith and practice, and all other writings must stand or fall by their conformity or non-conformity to the only perfect standards. We must not go to the fathers to find more of religious truth than the Bible contains. The development theory will find but little to support it, at least, during the age immediately succeeding the apostles. The word of God contains not only the germ, but the mature development of all the church needs, to guide her through her entire history. Confessions of faith are good, essential to the church; tradition may have its value; but confessions and tradition must be tried by the "sure word." There is nothing in the age next to the apostles to impress us

with the idea, that they left their work incomplete, but everything to inspire us with profound and increased respect for the men, who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

And yet we do not think lightly of the fathers. They have their place, and we would not be without them. Every student of the church's early history should be possessed of these writings. They should be in the hands of theological students, and read by the candidates for the ministry. It is not well that these men, who guided the church, when first launching upon the stream of time, receive so little attention, and that their writings are so little known. Does any one say, "if the Bible contains all that is essential, why trouble ourselves with the fathers? Are not Luke, and John, and Paul, better than Clement, and Polycarp, and Ignatius?" The question is about as wise, as if one were to ask "why eat anything but the best meat, or wear anything but broadcloth or silk? Or why read any poets except Homer, and Virgil, and Shakespeare, and Milton; or study any orations except those of Demosthenes, and Cicero, and Webster?" To those who read in poetry and oratory only the authors named, we say in religion read only the Bible; but to those who choose to go beyond these, we say read the fathers. If they are not as wise as the apostles, they may be wiser than their readers; at least on some things pertaining to the church and religion in their own times. But,

2. The fathers possess a value not only for what they are not; they are valuable for what they are. And without dwelling upon their importance as a connecting link in the history of the church, enabling us to trace it up to its beginning, and the light they throw upon many questions of their times, we may add a few other advantages to be derived from their study.

a.) It will tend to confirm us in our interpretation of the Bible, on all the great doctrines of the christian faith. Had nothing come down to us from these men, we could indeed rest in the Bible, and the doctrines interpreted by the mass of great and good men; but no one who does not incline to his own understanding, will despise the confirmation of his faith to be derived from this quarter. It is a matter of interest to know how the men, who heard the inspired apostles expound the doctrines of salvation, understood them. And whilst we think the Bible a plain book, so far as the way of life is concerned, it is to us a source of pleasure and gratitude, to find our understanding of the lively oracles confirmed by that of the men, who conversed with the apostles of Jesus. The divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, the doctrines of the atonement and mediation of Christ, justification by faith, the neces-

sity of repentance, and regeneration by the Spirit, the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, the retributions of eternity, and associated truths, find support in the writings of these holy men. If we do not go to them to learn what to believe, we can go to have our faith confirmed, and to be assured that the doctrines we embrace, reposing on them our hopes of immortality, are the doctrines of God—"the faith once delivered to the saints."

b.) The study of these writers, unless we are mistaken, will impress us with the simplicity of primitive christianity. Omitting what is suspicious in Ignatius, there will be found little or nothing to favor the arrogant assumptions of ecclesiastics in subsequent ages. There is nothing about the various orders of ministers, apostolic succession, in the modern sense, episcopal ordination, or anything that created such distinctions among the servants of Christ, or separated so widely between clergy and laity. A new order of things has supplanted the old system of Judaism, and all are priests to God. Christians are "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people." There is a ministry, honorable indeed, and divinely appointed, but differing very widely, in its character and offices, from the ancient priesthood. Those who find all the hierarchical features which characterized the church in after times, and maintain that the church as committed by the apostles into the hands of their successors, and governed by them, agrees with the church in the times of Constantine, must view it through a most delusive medium. The distinguished writer, who has been laboring to show the harmony of primitive christianity with the monstrous corruptions of Romanism, cannot have received his impressions of early christianity from the New Testament and the apostolic fathers. The church came from the hands of the apostles chaste, beautiful and,

"Majestic in its own simplicity."

c.) The ardent piety, the devotion to Christ, the martyr-spirit, that characterize the lives and writings of these men, are worthy of our study. They knew little of the cool, calculating policy that is too common. A holy ardor and zeal for Christ carried them forward, and like their great predecessors they counted not their lives dear unto themselves. Not the least precious legacy, left to us from other days, is the example of a noble spirit. The fire of patriotism has been kindled and kept burning in many a heart, by reading the records of what others have done for their country; and the fire of christian zeal may find fuel in the doings and sufferings of primitive

saints. We look upon the apostles and prophets, as men entirely above us, and are perhaps not so likely to be influenced by their example, as that of the men who succeeded them, and who were less highly favored. The christian, who can read of Polycarp, and not feel a more intense glow of love to Christ, is indeed to be pitied. They all lived very near to Christ, and the tendency of an acquaintance with them should be to lead to a more intimate acquaintance with him, who is above fathers, apostles and prophets—the Son of God, “*the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.*”

ARTICLE IV.

NOTES ON PROPHECY.

Notes on the kingdom referred to in verse fifth of Daniel, seventh chapter.

By Rev. J. Oswald, A. M., York, Pa.

II. WHEN the first empire, which had stood so long, so many ages and centuries even, was at the zenith of its greatness and its glory, under Nebuchadnezzar, who could have imagined, known, or foretold its speedy fall? None but he who is the Omniscient, by whom kings rule, and to whomsoever he revealed it. To do this, was utterly beyond the reach and range of unassisted human reason, and human foresight, (especially too, as the world then lacked the many lessons on the instability of earthly kingdoms, which have since been so abundantly taught) and required the interposition of God as much as with a word to open the eyes of the blind, to heal the sick, or to raise the dead. Who could have truly predicted what monarchy should succeed the first, mention it by name, as also Cyrus, and what interesting act he would do in reference to the Jews, or the church? None evidently, but he who sets up kings, and dethrones them, and giveth the kingdom to whomsoever he will, and those to whom he made it known. Hence Daniel, who left some of these things on record, was a prophet of the Most High God, and hence too, every passage in his book is deserving of our most serious, solemn and prayerful attention; for like all scripture, it must

be "profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

1. *The symbol here employed, and what is intended by it.* The symbol is a beast like unto a bear, and the thing signified is a government, viz: the second universal monarchy that existed after, or since the deluge, from the days of Nimrod, or rather Nebuchadnezzar, to the present time, and also the nature or character, and comparative dignity of this government. "It raised up itself on our side." The Medes and Persians carried their conquering arms, almost wholly to *one side* of their own countries, viz. to the westward; or Media and Persia, before separate, now united, formed *one* government, or the Persians, who were the inferior people, acquired the *chief* dominion. "It had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it," which may signify how various kingdoms, especially Babylon, and Lydia, and Egypt, were ground down and oppressed by this beast, though as ribs, which give strength to the body, these were a powerful support to their conquerors and spoilers. "And they said thus unto it, arise, devour much flesh." This has been explained, as referring to the providential dispensations, which excited the Medes and Persians to attempt extensive conquests; or to the cruelty of the Persian kings, which has hardly ever been exceeded, or even equalled.

2. As respects the nature or character of this government, it was like its predecessor, a beast, or beastly; i. e. rapacious, cruel, sanguinary, ferocious and oppressive. It resembled the preceding in extent of dominion. Like the former, it was universal. In the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, the Lord stirred up his spirit, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, "Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth;" Ezra 1:2. Cyrus at this time reigned over the Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians, Arabians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Lydians, Phœnicians, Babylonians, Bactrians, Indians, Saci, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, &c., &c. His dominion extended to the Red sea, eastward, to the Euxine, north, to the island of Cyprus and Egypt, west, and on the south, to Ethiopia. All things, all creatures, beings and events, are subject to and under the control of God. Little children, or young men, revile his prophet, and bears are sent to slay them; ravens feed Elijah at the brook of Cherith, and a fish is directed to the hook of an apostle, with a sufficiency of money in its mouth to pay the tribute of both Master and disciple. As the fowls of the

air, the beasts of the field, and the denizens of the deep, so are the hearts of all men, and of kings also, in the hands of the Almighty, to be directed whither, and as he pleases. Cyrus was the servant of the Most High, the executioner of his designs and purposes, whether always consciously and voluntarily such, it is not our object now to inquire. Again, this government was inferior to the Babylonian, more ignoble, only "like to a bear," whilst that was "like a lion;" the former was symbolized by the king of beasts, this only by an inferior animal. Finally, the bear is most voracious and cruel, and has been denominated an all devouring animal, and hence the government thus represented, must have been a great robber and spoiler, and accordingly, ancient authors stigmatize the Medes and Persians, as signalized in this respect, beyond all people that ever oppressed the nations.

3. The empire intended in this verse, is the same as that signified by the breast and arms of silver, in Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the great image, (chap. 2.) in which also its inferiority to the preceding is manifest, inasmuch as that is symbolized by a head of "fine gold," and this, as we have seen, by an inferior metal only. This same kingdom or government, we have once more represented to us in chap. 8: 3, 4. "Then I lifted up mine eyes and saw, and behold there stood before the river a ram, which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beast might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will and became great." A ram was the symbol of the Persians, and a ram's head with two horns, one higher than the other appears as such, in the ruins of Persepolis. The ram had two horns, i. e., two kingdoms, viz: the Medes and the Persians. The one horn was higher than the other, "and the higher came up last." Persia was the higher horn, and came up last; was of little historical or political importance before Cyrus. Media, signified by the shorter horn, was the more ancient of the two kingdoms. The ram pushed "westward, and northward and southward," i. e., toward Greece Sythia and Egypt. "He did according to his will;" no nation, people or power could at that time stand before this monarchy, or stay the victorious progress of the Persian arms, for the Medo-Persian is the empire intended, as we are certified by the angel Gabriel himself, who in explanation to Daniel declared, "the ram which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia." Dan. 8: 20.

4. The relation of this government to the people of God, and the condition of the church under it, is, in this place, a legitimate subject for inquiry. This succession of human governments, as we have seen, is symbolized by a succession of beasts. The church is represented in the sacred scriptures as a flock, the members constituting the church, as sheep. The flock, it is worthy of note, has dwelt with ravenous beasts from Nebuchadnezzar to the present time. These beasts when glutted with ravin elsewhere, have left the flock unmolested, and then again have made havoc of the sheep. This I apprehend to be the true idea of the reciprocal relations of these governments and the church. I do not discard human governments, far from it, for they are God's ordination or permission, the only governments deserved by, and suitable for apostates. I do not discard human governments, but what I mean to say is, that the God who ordained or permitted them, has represented them as beasts, and we may be sure not without a good and sufficient cause. But to proceed, the Jews (among whom also we look for the church, in these olden times) after seventy years captivity, were permitted to return to their own land, according to an edict of Cyrus, who had overturned the Chaldean empire. The prophets foretold the exploits of this king. Isaiah declared, or mentioned his name, even above a century before he was born. Is. 44: 28. Josephus says, that the Jews of Babylon showed this passage to Cyrus; and that in the edict which he granted for their return, he acknowledged that he received the empire of the world from the God of Israel. The peculiar designation by name, which Cyrus received, must be regarded as one of the most remarkable circumstances in the prophetic writings. He was heir of a monarch who ruled over one of the poorest and most inconsiderable kingdoms of Asia, and the providential circumstances, in which he was placed, precluded him from all knowledge of this oracular declaration in his favor. He did not become acquainted with the sacred Book in which it was contained, nor with the singular people in whose possession it was found, until he had accomplished all the purposes for which he had been raised up, except that of saying to Jerusalem, as the anointed vicegerent of heaven, "Thou shalt be inhabited," and to the cities of Judah, "ye shall be built, and I will raise up their ruins."

The Jews (or the church) received various marks of favor from this monarchy, nevertheless the church and people of God, *were in subjection to the Gentiles*, and hence exposed to vexatious and dangerous heathen influences, for after the death

of Nehemiah, who succeeded Ezra, Judea had no longer a governor of its own, but was united to Syria, the rulers of which committed the administration of both civil and ecclesiastical affairs to the High Priest, and by this means, the High priesthood became an office under the heathen. Again, they were exposed also to entire extermination. Haman had obtained a decree to this effect from Ahasuerus the king, but it was graciously overruled, for the preservation of the Jews, and the destruction and confusion of their enemies. This decree, shows the absolute power of these kings, who could, with the stroke of a pen, as it were, exterminate a nation. We regard with a just contempt and abhorrence, the imbecility, ignorance or bigotry which could suffer itself to be thus imposed upon, and persuaded to such wholesale butchery, murder and bloodshed, as was contemplated, and authorized, and commanded by this decree. The time and age also, in which such enormities could be perpetrated, we look upon with aversion. But similar outrages (we might blush to write it,) have happened, and been contemplated in nominally christian countries. In the year 1572, at midnight, not only was the signal given to massacre all the Huguenots who were found in Paris, but orders were moreover issued, to extend the slaughter, throughout the whole kingdom; in consequence of which, in the space of thirty days, upwards of thirty thousand victims, it is estimated, were slain. Father La Chaise, confessor to Louis the XIV, obtained a commission from the king to murder all the Huguenots in one day, in which, however, he was providentially foiled, by the intervention of the Prince of Conde, as was Haman by Mordecia, the Jew. In 1688, this same individual, in a letter to Father Peters, confessor to James II, of England, in answer to the question which the latter put to him—"what is the best course to be taken to root out all heretics?" recommended the following: "and lastly, take the short, and the best way, which is, to surprise the heretics on a sudden; and to encourage the zealous catholics, *let them sacrifice all, and wash their hands in their blood, which will be an acceptable offering to God.*"

The ancient church (I have used the terms Jews, church, and people of God synonymously, not that the Jews were all righteous, but still among them, under the old covenant, was found the true church—all called by the name of Christ, are not christians, truly members of Christ's mystic body, the church, yet is this church to be sought and found, only among those professing christianity, and not with the unbelieving and

unconverted Jews, Mohammedans and heathen,) suffered less from this government, than from the preceding, and less than from some of the kings that followed, yet still, they at times, during the continuance of this monarchy, were far from sitting under their own vine and fig tree, with none to molest them, or to make them afraid. But that the "bear" should have had his attention directed to the flock, and not devoured the sheep, but manifested forbearance, nay generosity and kindness even, or in other words, that the Medo-Persian government, was at any time favorable to the church at all, is wonderful indeed, as much so as if a bear literally should spare a flock, which might be in its power, as much so as that Daniel was unharmed in a den of lions. It was the same power, which restrained in each case; both were the result of the divine interposition.

Thank God for the rest and quiet which the church sometimes enjoyed, in her pilgrimage state, on the one hand; and on the other, for the glorious hope, the certain assurance, that the captivity of Zion is destined ultimately to cease, inasmuch as the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away the dominion of the last of these persecuting powers, "to consume it, and to destroy it unto the end." Her rest, partial and interrupted here, shall be glorious indeed, when her tribulations are ended; when her children shall stand "before the throne of God," "arrayed in white robes," "serve him day and night in his temple," and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them, and "they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more," and the sun shall not light on them nor any heat; when "the lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

The church will not always be indebted for favors to ferocious governments, for the day is approaching, in the morning of which, the righteous shall have the dominion. The church shall not always be indebted for quiet to the forbearance of those *who exercise gentile rule over her children*, for "the kingdom and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven," will be given unto them. Let us, let as many as have this faith, and this hope, earnestly labor for the coming of that kingdom, by cheerfully dividing our heavenly bread with those who are famishing with hunger, and giving the water of life to those who are dying with thirst. The fervent prayer of the disciples, in accordance with the teachings of the great Master, should always be, "Thy kingdom come." Their preparation to meet their king should be constant, that when he comes, they may shout with ecstasy, this is our God,

we have waited for him; that when the ransomed of the Lord shall have come to the heavenly Zion, they may be found among the kings who shall peaceably, and securely, and eternally possess the kingdom, and stand among the priests who minister in the temple of God forever.

Notes on the kingdom, &c., referred to in verse six, of Daniel, chapter seven.

III. *Part 1st.* The Babylonian empire, in the prophetic vision, having fallen, the Medo-Persian also having passed away, another arose. "After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it." I will at once say that this passage under the symbol of a beast, &c., signifies a government and governments, viz: the Macedonian and its divisions.

This monarchy is represented in the scripture under consideration, thus: it was a beast, "like a leopard." It has justly been remarked, that Alexander and his subjects are fitly compared to this animal, because the leopard is remarkable for its swiftness, and Alexander and his Macedonians were most rapid in their movements and conquests; *because* the leopard is a spotted beast, and therefore a proper emblem of the various nations, Macedonians, Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Medes, Persians and Egyptians, with their various customs and languages; *and because* the leopard, though small, is very courageous, and is said not to be afraid to attack the lion, and Alexander, tho' king of a comparatively small country, with small resources, yet resolutely entered the contest with the power which then swayed the world. As moreover, the leopard is not of one color, so the first king, who is here chiefly intended, did not always exhibit the same character. Sometimes, as every student of history knows, he was mild, and at others cruel, sober and drunken, continent and licentious, exhibiting great power of self-control, and again the abject slave of passion. This beast "had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl." The Babylonian empire, or rather the animal representing it, had two wings, (and it would seem but two) signifying the rapidity of Nebuchadnezzar's conquests, but this had four, twice as many as the preceding, and accordingly the annals of the world record no military movements, and conquests, so rapid, overwhelming and universal, as those of Alexander. When about twenty years of age, he commenced his wars, and at about thirty-two or thirty-three, he was master of the world. In

a few years, he ran through all the countries from Illyricum and the Adriatic sea, to the Indian ocean and the river Ganges.

In the second chapter of this book, this empire of which we are writing, is represented, by the brazen part, or portion of the image, which was constituted of gold, silver, brass, iron and clay; and in the eighth chapter, it is symbolized by the "he goat." "And as I was considering, behold, an he goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand." Dan. 8: 5, 6, 7. He "came from the west," i. e., from Greece, which lay west from Persia. He came "on the face of the whole earth;" he swept over an immense territory, with his victorious army; over many nations, cities and countries, as e. g., Asia Minor, Tyre, Palestine, Egypt, Bythinia, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia. He "touched not the ground;" i. e., he advanced with great celerity, moved with incredible swiftness. He "had a notable horn between his eyes." This "notable horn," doubtless had reference to, or signified the first king of this monarchy, viz. Alexander, whose name still lives in history, as one of the most celebrated commanders, or military chieftains, the world ever knew. He "came to the ram that had the two horns." Alexander with his victorious army, consisting only of between thirty and forty thousand horse and foot, attacked the king, and kingdom of the Medes and Persians, "and smote the ram," as in the great victories at Granicus, Issus and Arbela, "and brake his two horns," i. e., the Medes and Persians, and "cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him," became absolute master of the Medo-Persian empire, nor had Darius any friends or allies, to help or save him, his land or his people, from subjection to the power of the Macedonian king.

2. The character of this government may, I apprehend, be best understood by considering the character of its almost only king, Alexander, whose will was law, whose power was supreme. It is indeed true, that his natural brother, and his two sons, kept up the show of the Macedonian monarchy for a short time after his death, but it was only a show, so that Alexander's character is, after all, the only thing that need be

considered, rightly to understand the nature of this government. He was a bold, enterprising spirit, more full of fire than discretion. His actions, though successful, were furious, and extravagantly rash. It was then, a bold, energetic, successful, but furious government. His virtues were but few, and these were obscured by greater vices. Vainglory was his predominant passion, and the fables of the ancient Grecian heroes, the only chart by which he steered his course, the only rule which regulated his conduct. His dragging Balis around Gaza, his expedition into India, his drunken procession through Carmania, and taking to himself the name of the son of Jupiter, are so many vouchers for the truth of these assertions. Alexander was the great cut-throat of his age, for except in a righteous cause, or a just defence of a man's country, victory and conquest are no better than robbery and murder. These nevertheless, are the men whom the world delights to honor, whose names stand emblazoned on the page of history; but infinitely better live and die in obscurity and unknown, and have our names recorded in the "lamb's book of life," for the names of all wicked men, however distinguished in the annals of time, are destined to "rot," and their memorial utterly to perish. Such as we have described it, was the character of the chief of the Macedonian monarchy, and as he was supreme, his word law, his will paramount, such also was the character of the government under consideration.

3. As respects the duration of this empire, suffice it to say, that in its first phase, it was short. If we reckon from the beginning of Alexander's wars, until the murder of all his successors, viz., his natural brother Philip Arideus, and his sons, Alexander Aegus and Hercules, it will be only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, until the division occurred, predicted in the verse under consideration, and which we shall presently notice. The continuance of this monarchy, as we have seen, was brief; its first king's career was brilliant indeed, as the meteor's flash athwart the midnight heavens, but was also suddenly extinguished; set in everlasting darkness. He "was broken," in the expressive language of prophecy. He was not killed in war. He fell not in battle. He died not on the bed of honor, but of a drunken surfeit, a monument of the vanity of mere human greatness, of earthly pomp and power, and their insufficiency to make man happy, for it is recorded of him, that when the world lay prostrate at his feet, he was affected even unto tears; he wept, *because* there was not another to conquer.

4. In regard to the relation of the church to this government, I remark, that the church was still in subjection to this, as to the preceding monarchies; Zion's captivity in this particular was still continued. The Jewish nation was exposed to destruction, from an enraged and furious conqueror, who hastened to avenge himself on them, and would have brought ruin upon them, but for the divine interposition; but for the God of Israel, who overruled the king's wrath, and made him the benefactor of his people. Whilst Alexander besieged Tyre, he demanded the submission of the neighboring provinces of Galilee, Samaria and Judea. The two former submitted to him, but Judea would not renounce its allegiance to Darius, so long as he lived. This brought upon the Jews the wrath of the conqueror, who having taken Tyre, and burned it to the ground—barbarously slain its inhabitants, both in the sackage of the city, and afterwards in cold blood, then marched to Jerusalem, to wreak his vengeance upon that place and people. Upon his approach, and the report of his having crucified two thousand Tyrian prisoners, the High priest, Jaddua, and all the city, were under dreadful apprehensions. They fasted and prayed, and God in a vision directed the High priest to go in his pontifical robes, attended by the priests in their proper habits, and by all the people clothed in white garments, and meet Alexander out of the city. As soon as he saw this procession moving towards him, and the High priest in front, he was overawed, drew near, bowed down, and saluted him in a religious manner, alleging that he did so in regard to that God whose priest he was; adding moreover, that the High priest so habited, had appeared to him in a dream, at Dio in Macedonia, assuring him of success against the Persians. Jaddua conducted him into the city, and having offered sacrifices in the temple, showed him the prophecies of Daniel, concerning the overthrow of the Persian empire, by a Grecian king. Alexander was so well satisfied with his reception at Jerusalem, that at his departure from that city, he not only granted the Jews a toleration of their religion, but also an exemption from tribute, every seventh year. How fully are the hearts of kings in the hands of God! How easily can he cause the wrath of man to praise him! How effectual is earnest, united, importunate, faithful *prayer*! It is indeed invincible, stronger than adamantine walls, mightier than the crushing thunderbolt. All earthly powers, and might and dominion, sink before it, and brazen bolts, and iron bars, melt in its lightning breath. With this wonder-working rod, in their hands, the people of God are lords of the world, controlling the treasures of both

heaven and earth. Stretched out, the waters of the Red sea recede and advance, for their own deliverance, and for the overthrow of their enemies; lifted up, the Amalakite is smitten before them, and struck upon the rock, living waters gush forth, that they may drink and live.

The Macedonian government, like those which we have already had under consideration, was ordained by, or permitted of God; the one best suited to the then state or condition of human society; the best the nations were capable of, and infinitely better than the deserts of an apostate world, for though scourging, overwhelming and desolating, yet was it exactly calculated to overturn and overturn, preparatory to the introduction of a better state of things, which God intends for the human race. It was such a government as was best adapted to advance the divine purposes of grace, and mercy, and glory, in reference to the fallen sons and daughters of Adam.

The first king of this monarchy, though successful to an unparalleled extent, as signified in prophecy, was nevertheless dissatisfied with his possessions, though a world was at his feet. Because he was destitute of the true riches, *because* he was "not rich towards God," he felt unhappy and poor, and he *was* poor indeed. Mere earthly, transitory things, are in their very nature unsatisfying to an immortal spirit, and can profit those nothing, who lose their souls, and who have not the Lord, as the patriarch Abraham had, for their "shield and exceeding great reward." Alexander lost his kingdom, his crown and his life, through gross sensuality, it is the part of wisdom, to beware, lest through earthly-mindedness, or carnality, we forfeit a higher life, a brighter crown, a more enduring kingdom, the "eternal life" which is "the gift of God," "through Jesus Christ our Lord;" the "crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge," will give to all who "love his appearing," and that kingdom which shall never be overturned, the kingdom of the ever blessed God.

Notes on the division of the Macedonian empire, referred to in the sixth verse of the seventh chapter of Daniel.

III. *Part 2d.* The Rabbins, it is said, have endeavored to degrade Daniel, and have placed his prophecies among the hagiographa, books which they conceive to possess a minor degree of inspiration, and it is probable that he meets with this treatment at their hands, because his prophecies are proofs too evident, that Jesus Christ is the true Messiah, and that he came at the very time that Daniel said the Prince Messiah should come. But the sayings of such men are infinitely overbal-

anced by the testimony of Ezekiel, and still more by the testimony of our Lord, who gives him the title of Prophet, Matt. 24: 15, without the slightest intimation that he was not such in the highest, fullest, and best sense of the word.

We admire the prophet's circumstantial precision, when we look at his predictions, and compare with them the history of the world, as handed down to us in the annals of time. He not only foretold the fall of the Medo-Persian monarchy, and that a universal empire should follow or succeed it, but also what monarchy, viz., the Grecian; noticed especially its first king; the division of this kingdom on the death of its first monarch, and also the precise number of parts into which it should fall. Verily Daniel was in communion and communication with the Omniscient; the God of heaven made known to him the things that were yet future.

1. "The beast had also four heads." This language signified the division of this empire, viz., the Macedonian, into four parts. We have the same thing represented to us, in chapter 8: 8, wherein it is said that when the "great horn," representing the first king, "was broken," "four notable ones" came up for it, "toward the four winds of heaven." What does history teach us on this subject? the very thing here predicted. After the death of Alexander, his empire was so divided, between four of his generals, viz., Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemy and Cassander. Seleucus took Syria, and from him the Seleucidæ, famous in history, sprang. Lysimachus obtained Asia Minor. Ptolemy secured Egypt, and Cassander, Greece and the neighboring countries. These four held dominion toward the four winds of heaven; Seleucus east, Cassander west, Lysimachus north, and Ptolemy south.

2. "And dominion was given to it." This is said in reference to the leopard, or the government thus symbolized *generally*. "Dominion was given unto it." It was not owing to the skill, courage, valor and conduct of Alexander and his troops, that he made those wonderful conquests. The nations were *given* unto him. Without divine interposition, rule, order and purpose, he could not, with his handful of men, have obtained the victory over upwards of half a million; he could not, in so short a time, have brought the countries and nations from Greece to India, into subjection. Rulers, kings, kingdoms, governments, nations, communities and individuals, are all controlled by a higher power, and whether they are conscious of it or not, whether they intend it or otherwise, all labor for the accomplishment of the divine purposes, under the superintending, overruling providence of God. This we have

admirably illustrated in the case of the heathen monarch and conqueror, Nebuchadnezzar, who fought long and terribly before the walls of Tyre, until in the expressive language of scripture, "every shoulder was peeled, and every head was bald," but in the light of revelation we see that (though he neither knew nor intended it) it was Jehovah who set him to work; he worked for God, and because he labored faithfully and well, he promised to give him Egypt in recompense. Happy they, who are the voluntary, conscious, cheerful co-workers with God, in promoting his great purposes of grace and glory; they shall have for their reward, not Egypt indeed, but heaven; not a base kingdom, but the kingdom of God.

3. In the division of the Macedonian empire, predicted in this passage, the descendants of Ptolemy, and the Seleucidæ, are the most important, from their relation to the Jews, or the ancient church, and hence in this connection, are deserving of a more special notice.

Ptolemy Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, began the new kingdom of Egypt B. C. 312, which continued through a long line of sovereigns until B. C. 30, when A. Cæsar took Alexandria, having the year preceding, defeated Anthony and Cleopatra at Actium, thus Egypt became a Roman province, after the kingdom of the Lagidæ had lasted 282 years.

Seleucus Nicator, another of the generals of Alexander, began the new kingdom of Syria B. C. 312, which continued through a long race, or succession of monarchs, until B. C. 65, when Pompey dethroned Antiochus Asiaticus, and Syria, after the lapse of 247 years, was annexed to the Roman empire.

4. As respects the condition of the ancient church, during this kingdom in its divided state, I remark, that the Jews had many privileges conferred on them; they enjoyed many favors, during long ages, from the sovereigns of Syria and Egypt, under whose dominion they alternately were, but they also endured many sufferings, disquietudes, fears, persecutions, slaughter and wars. No sooner was Alexander dead, than Ptolemy seized upon Egypt, invaded and took possession of Phœnicia, &c., but Judea refusing to yield, felt the weight of the conqueror's arm. Having understood that the Jews would not defend themselves on the Sabbath, he stormed Jerusalem, and took it on that day, without resistance, and carried above one hundred thousand captive into Egypt. Again, in the fifth year of his reign, Ptolemy Philopater, having defeated Antiochus the great, made the tour to Jerusalem, while visiting his conquests. But this was unfortunate for the Jews. Being led

by a vain curiosity to enter the Holy of Holies, on the great day of expiation, where none could enter but the High priest once a year, he was met and opposed by the deprecations and lamentations of the people. When he would still advance, beyond the *inner court*, he was seized with such terror and consternation, that he was obliged to be carried back, in a manner half dead, as we are informed by the history of those times. He recovered, however, but when he left the city, he vowed vengeance. Accordingly, as soon as he had returned to Alexandria, he deprived the Jews of all their rights and privileges, ordered them to be stigmatized with a burn, representing an *ivy leaf*, under pain of death, in honor of his God Bacchus, and excluded all persons from his presence, who would not sacrifice to the God he worshipped. He moreover commanded as many Jews as he could seize in Egypt, to be brought and shut up in the Hippodrome, or place for horse races at Alexandria, to be destroyed by elephants. But the wild beasts turned upon those who came to witness the dreadful massacre, by which, numbers of the spectators were slain, and so terrified were the king and his subjects, with other tokens of the divine displeasure and power, that Philopater immediately, not only released the Jews from the Hippodrome, but restored the whole nation to their privileges; reversed every decree against them, and even put those Jews to death, who from fear of persecution, had apostatized from their religion. God is the father of his people. He sometimes here already, wondrously interposes in their behalf. They are never forgotten, and though their enemies have the mastery for a season, yet, is their triumph short, and at last, when they shall have waited his time, for his salvation, he will interpose in behalf of *all* his elect, and save them from every clime, and from among all people, in spite of every foe, and to the everlasting confusion of every adversary.

5. But it was from another quarter, especially from the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes, that the church suffered most. Being engaged in a war with Egypt, a false report of his death was spread abroad, and hearing on his way to Jerusalem, (whither he was proceeding to quell an insurrection or revolt) that the inhabitants of that city made great rejoicings at his death, he was so enraged, that having taken that place by storm, he slew forty thousand of the inhabitants, and sold as many more as slaves into the neighboring countries. He entered into the Holy of Holies, sacrificed a swine upon the altar of burnt offering, and caused the broth or liquor to be sprinkled all over the temple, and plundered it moreover, of as

much gold, as amounted to eight thousand talents of gold. Having returned to Antioch, he made a most barbarous and cruel man, named Philip, governor of Judea, and continued Menelaus, a still worse, in the High priesthood. Not long afterwards, he sent an army of twenty-two thousand men, under Appolonius, to put all the men of Jerusalem to death, and to make slaves of the women and children; all which was rigorously executed on a Sabbath day, so that none escaped, except such as succeeded in hiding themselves in caves, or reaching the mountains by flight.

This cruelty, it is recorded, soon after pursued the Jews, wherever dispersed. By a general decree, to oblige all people in his dominions to conform to the religion of the king, a certain man named Atheneus, a Grecian idolater, was designated, to receive and instruct all the Jews, who would turn idolaters, and to punish with the most cruel deaths, those who refused. It was at this time that the temple was dedicated to Jupiter Olympus, the book of the law burned, and women accused of having their children circumcised, were lead about the streets, with those children tied about their necks, and then both together, cast headlong over the steepest part of the wall. Many of the Jews chose rather to die than apostatize, as the holy zeal and religious fortitude of the very aged and pious Eleazar, (a chief doctor of the law) and of the heroic mother and her seven sons, testify, whom neither the instruments of death could terrify, nor the allurements of the tyrant persuade to forfeit their hopes, or to deny the God of Israel, either by idolatry or dissimulation.

6. Two circumstances especially, were instrumental in the hands of God, in delivering his people from this great strait; this deep calamity. First, by the zeal, the piety, the patriotism, the valor and conduct of Matthias and his sons, who overthrew the Syrians in many great and bloody battles, broke down the idols, and the altars of the heathen, and restored the temple to the worship of the true God. And *secondly*, God delivered his people and church, by the death of the execrable tyrant himself. In his expedition into Persia, hearing of the revolt and success of the Jews, he threatened utterly to destroy the whole nation, and to make Jerusalem the common place of burial, for all the Jews. But he was in the hands of Him, before whom kings are as other men, "and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing." God visited him with a sudden and sore disease. At first he was afflicted with grievous torments in his bowels; he was filled with vermin, and the stench was so offensive and great, that he became

nauseous to himself, and to all around him. Then his mind was grievously tormented, with direful spectres, and apparitions of evil spirits; the remorse on account of his wicked life and profanations, so gnawed him, that he at last acknowledged the justice of God, in his punishment, and offered up many vows and promises of a full reparation, in case of his recovery. But God would not hear him; therefore, when he was half consumed with abominable ulcers, he miserably died, under the most horrid torments of body and mind, in the twelfth year of his reign, and thus the church on earth had one persecutor less, but hell (it is to be feared) one victim more.

The Jews, providentially delivered from their most pressing and distressing calamity, with alternate wars and peace, disquietudes and repose, descended the stream of time, until the fourth universal empire swallowed up these kingdoms of the east; until the "fourth beast," "diverse from all the beasts that were before it," "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly," "devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it."

The *gentiles* during this, as in the preceding governments, held possession of the Jerusalem on earth. It will not be so with the Jerusalem above—the "New Jerusalem"—the "city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God," for which Abraham looked, when sojourning "in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob." When "that great city, the holy Jerusalem," descends out of heaven from God, Rev. 21: 10, a great voice out of heaven will be heard saying: "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away." Rev. 21: 3, 4. No gentile tyrant will walk in the light of this city, exercise dominion over the church, or oppress and persecute the children of God. These things were on earth, but *there*, they are of those which have "passed away."

The heathen polluted and desecrated the temple, dedicated to the living God. But the wicked excluded forever, will not profane *that* in which the general assembly and church of the first born minister, serving God day and night. During the dominion of this (third) beast, they trod down the church; war disquieted God's people; desolations were, as too often before, round about Zion. But as respects the people—the

saints of the Most High, the iron rod of oppression is destined to be broken forever, the trumpet to sound its last call to the contest, the last shout of battle to expire, and destructions come to a perpetual end, and the church, the whole church, all saints, after the resurrection on the "new earth," enjoying the "new heaven," shall spend the years of the "*Millenium*" together, secure of an *endless* career of peace, of virtue and of glory. But "the times of the gentiles" are not yet fulfilled. The gentile still rules, and ere that day of glory comes, of which we have spoken, the church may have many sorrows; the saints many tribulations and fiery trials. Very confident I am, that long and dark as has been the night, the church's *darkest* hour has not yet arrived, but when *present*, it will be near the *morning*.

ARTICLE V.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE CHURCH.

From the German of Doct. G. Thomasius.

ARTICLE I—CONTINUED.

PART II.

The Dogma in the Lutheran Church.

ACCORDING to the statements hitherto considered, it is only the *Person* of the Redeemer, in which the two natures combine in the production of unity: they do not yet, in a strict sense, mutually interpenetrate each other. John Damascenus already attempted to remedy this defect, and to this end he not only designated the relation of the natures in Christ as *περιχώρησις* ("intervolution"), but taught also a communication of the divine to the human, and vice versâ (*τρόπος ἀντιδόσεως* [the manner of reciprocal bestowment or communication]). Yet he never attained a thorough and complete view of the subject. In the middle ages also the dogma received no further development. But it was reserved for the Lutheran church to accomplish that great progress, toward which the whole preceding development pressed with the force of necessity, and

which was indicated already in its earlier stadia.¹ She endeavors, in the first instance in her founder, in a manner no less genial than bold, and then in a more scholastic form, the real pith of which is here the one proper subject of inquiry—she endeavors to place the two natures in Christ in reciprocal connexion, and to exhibit them both as interpenetrating each other as intimately *as it can be done without abrogating the reality* [*Wahrheit*] *and peculiarity of each*. Her aim is, to conceive of the relation of the two natures as of a living unity, effected in a manner strictly consistent with truth, and with the peculiar character of each. She strives to realize the complete idea of the Godman, i. e. of a God who is truly man, and of a man who is truly God. And she regards herself as possessing this Godman, only when the divine and the human nature not merely coalesce in the unity of one Hypostasis, but when they actually *communicate themselves* to each other. In this she proceeds from the consciousness of reconciliation—from the practical interest. For her immediate object is not at all the setting up of a new theory, but it is, above all things, this, to show, 1, how that Christ suffered not merely as man, but as Godman, because upon this depends the world-reconciling efficacy of redemption,² and 2, how that in the Eucharist he is present, and received not only as to the divinity, but also as to the humanity of his being [*Wesens: nature*].³

¹ In accordance with our design, we here exhibit the doctrine, not according to its genetic development, but in that complete form which it received in the Form. Conc., and confine ourselves, in our further exposition, to the apologetic writings which relate to the Form. Conc. The mode of representation that prevailed among the theologians of the following century, we leave unnoticed, because it presents nothing new.

² Cf. Luther. Confession respecting the Holy Supper of the Lord, A. D. 1528. "If I believe this, that the human nature only has suffered for me, then is Christ for me an insufficient Savior; nay, he even needs a Savior himself." Form. Conc. Epit. 607. Credimus, quod non nudus homo tantum pro nobis passus est, sed talis homo, cujus humana natura cum filio Dei tam arctam ineffabilemque unionem et communicationem habet, ut cum eo una sit facta persona. [We believe that not a mere man only suffered for us, but (such) a man whose human nature has with the Son of God so intimate and inexpressible a union and communion, that it has become one person with him.] Cf. p. 584.—Solida Decl. 696, 767, 771. Haec admiranda opera (victory over sin and death) humana natura nequaquam praestare potuisset, nisi cum divina natura personaliter unita fuisset, et realem cum ea communicationem habuisset. [These wonderful works human nature could not, by any means, have accomplished, unless it had been personally united with the divine nature, and had *with this had a real communion*]. Cf. Chemnitz de duab. nat. p. 225.

³ It is true that this latter consideration gave rise to the doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum, whence also this aims preëminently to demonstrate the ubiquity, and this circumstance it is important to bear in mind. Nevertheless, modern writers are in error, when, copying after Planck (Protest. Lehrbegriff, VI. 797) they assert, that the purpose to maintain the bodily

This is the tendency of her doctrine respecting the real communication of properties.

But in order justly to appreciate the doctrinal definitions which she has established on this subject, we must more particularly specify the opposite views [die Gegensätze] upon which she here had her eye, and which she intended to exclude.

These opposite views and statements have their origin in a common error—in a *one* sided conception of the relation sustained by the divine to the human, by the spiritual to the corporeal. Instead of regarding this as a living interpenetration, in which neither the difference nor the oneness of both constituents is abrogated, hence as a mediately and perfectly adjusted unity [eine vermittelte Einheit], the German mystics, as e. g. Schwenkfeld, represented the human element as absorbed and annihilated by the divine [das Menschliche im Göttlichen auf-und untergehen lassen], whilst the Swiss reformers regarded the connexion of the two as merely nominal, or, at least, as only external. Accordingly, not only Zwinglians, but most of the Calvinists, among whom we may specify Beza, and that entire group of successive theologians, whose views found their proper expression in the Admonitio Neostadtiensis, taught, that to the person of the Godman, divine and human predicates did indeed belong; because in this person God and man are united, but that the properties of the one nature were

presence of Christ in the Eucharist, was the sole foundation of the Lutheran dogma respecting his person. It belonged, on the contrary, to the whole character of our church, that she carried the correct and profound conception of a true unio, of which she had possessed herself, through all her dogmas (Cf. also her doctrine concerning the means of grace, the word, the sacraments, and the order of salvation). It belonged, moreover, to her living faith in the Redeemer, that to this she felt herself impelled by necessity. Christ, the Godman, was to her One and All. Upon the indivisible union of the divine and human in him, she regards the perpetual communion of the redeemed with God as depending; in the doctrine that also according to his humanity he is every where present with us, intercedes for us, and aids us, she finds her comfort. Cf. Form. Conc. p. 786. with the declaration of the Würtemberg Theologians in the “Beständiger und gründlicher Bericht über das vermeinte christliche Bedenken des Herrn Ernst Friedrich Markgrafen zu Baden” (das sogenannte Staffortsche Buch) Tübingen 1601. In this it is said, on p. 53: “For several years past the Calvinists have assailed our doctrine concerning the person of Christ, under the pretence that they were chiefly contending against the ubiquity. The same artifice is practised by the deviser of the Staffort Book. But they entirely misrepresent our meaning; for what we really have in view, is the entire glory, majesty, exaltation and endowment [Begabung: this use of the word is obsolete.] of the man Christ. That is to say, our object is, that it may be known what manner of Lord our Brother and Savior, Christ, is, and what as man also, he has the power to do, because and on account of his having become a single and indivisible person with the Son of God.”

transferred to the other only in an improper or unreal sense, *per phrasin loquendi* (Zwingli says *Alloeosis*), because such a transfer cannot take place in an objective manner, but that each nature retains its essential properties by itself, and is active according to its own way and mode, although in personal oneness with the other. The *communio naturarum* is, therefore, truly, according to this view, merely nominal. Although connected within the person, they communicate to each other nothing but the title. In other words: "The *communicatio idiomatum* can be predicated not of the *abstract*, but only of the concrete subjects."¹

¹ In this formula the Reformed liked best to express their opposite opinion, in order to soften it down. Thus the *Admonitio Neost.* says, p. 66: "We deny that to the separate *natures* in the person of Christ, the essential properties of either one or the other nature can be really communicated—but we assert that the names, properties and operations of either nature are most really communicated to the *person* of Christ. For to the *person*, because it really comprehends both in its substance, whatsoever pertains either to both of the two natures, or to either, is, on account of the union of the two natures, really and most truly competent. *But that which is proper to the one nature is by no means common to the other*, because of the essential distinction of the natures. This is what is stated by the perpetual consent of the church: that the predicates or attributes of Christ are interchanged only as respects the concrete but not the abstract subjects;" and then, p. 68, defines the point of distinction thus: The question is not whether to God, but whether to the Deity, human attributes really belong, nor whether to man, but whether to humanity, divine attributes really belong? [*Naturis singulis in persona Christi realiter communicari essentialia proprietates alterius naturae negamus; personae autem Christi utriusque naturae nomina proprietates et operationes communicari realissime, asserimus. Etenim personae, quia realiter utramque naturam in sua substantia complectitur, realiter et verissime competit quidquid sive utriusque sive alterutrius est naturae, propter naturarum unionem. At naturae uni nequaquam est commune, quod alterius est proprium, propter naturarum essentielle atque aeternum discrimen. Hoc est illud, quod dicitur perpetuo Ecclesiae consensu: permutari praedicata seu attributa Christi de subjectis concretis tantum, non autem de abstractis.*" "Non est quaestio, an Deo, sed an Deitati realiter humana competant, neque an homini sed an humanitati realiter divina competant?"] But to this "the Apologia, or the defence of the christian Book of Concord," already makes reply: Magdeb. 1583, p. 8: "That the adversarii, under the plausible covering of these phrases, *either* apply everything that the Sacred Scriptures say and testify was given to Christ, according to the assumed human nature during his sojourn upon earth, to the entire person, and *under this phraseology* deny to the human nature everything, rob it of everything, or, on the other hand, intend to have this [the testimony of Scripture] understood only respecting finite and created gifts." It is precisely this latter observation which places the status controversiae in the clearest light. For this the Reformed themselves admit, that to the human nature of Christ *dona coelestia* [heavenly gifts] are, by virtue of the personal union, communicated. Cf. *Admon. Neostadt.* p. 65. But by these they mean such only as do not transcend the sphere of created nature, *dona creata et finita*, natural properties of humanity, which differ in Christ merely in degree from that which is proper to all saints. But that, on the other hand, the *divine properties are communicated* [pass over] to humanity, this they deny. They allege that where the Scriptures express themselves in that manner, it is nothing more than a manner of expression [Redensart]. *Admon. Neost.* p. 70. *Communicationem idiomatum res-*

In these opposite statements, now, the Lutheran church perceived a renewal of the ancient Eutychian and Nestorian heresies (Cf. Art. I.—Evangel. Review, Vol. IV., p. 103), and therefore excluded both from her doctrinal system.¹ The former is excluded by the distinct statement, that the incarnation [Menschwerdung] does not give rise to a confusio or an exaequatio naturarum; the latter by the declaration, that with it is given not a *nominal*, but a *real communion* [Gemeinschaft]. This is the positive definition which she opposes to these extremes. In order to establish upon a true basis this notion [Begriff, idea] of a *real communion*, the authors of the Form. Conc. revert, in the first place, to the unio hypostatica, and endeavor to exhibit and explain it more particularly. They distinguish it, on the one hand, from the manner in which God is essentially, in the Trinity, one with himself; on the other, from the manner in which he dwells in his creatures, in the believing, the saints, the blessed in heaven. The former would lead to an abrogation of the peculiarity of the natures, and thus throw us back into Eutychianism; the latter would endanger the specific distinction of the Godman from all creatures. For neither do the saints and the blessed in heaven become one person with the divine Logos, as is the case with Christ, nor does the Deity communicate himself to them in his entire fulness, but never otherwise than in that limited *measure*, in which, in general, the finite can receive the infi-

pectu naturarum non inexistentiam sed praedicationem, hoc est non *realem sed verbalem* communicationem esse profiteamur. [We hold that the communication of properties in respect of the natures is not an indwelling within them, but a mode of expression, that is not a *real but a verbal* communication.] Cf. Heidegger Syst. theol. christ. II., p. 23. Communicatio idiomatum respectu personae realis—respectu vero naturarum *non realis sed verbalis est*. [The communication of properties is, in respect of the person, real—but in respect of the natures it is *not real but only* in word.] In the same manner Beza, in the Colloquium Montisbelligartense, p. 247; Justly therefore the Formula Conc., p. 773, and its Apology, 64 and 125, determine the point of controversy to stand thus: “that the subject under consideration is not the communication of those *dona naturalia et particularia*, but that of the divine attributa, without which the Redeemer would not be specifically distinguished from his brethren after the flesh.” To the same effect the “Gründliche Bericht” of the Württembergers, p. 55. From all this it becomes perfectly obvious, what is to be thought of the twofold declaration of Planck (in the passage already referred to, VI. 786), who says, that the whole is mere logomachy, and accuses the authors of the Form. Conc. of injustice, because they designate the Reformed commun. naturarum as one merely nominal.

¹ Cf. Form. Conc. p. 764. Its Apology: Bl. 62, 65. 67. Beständiger Bericht. p. 65, Dorner's Critique of the Reformed Christology, at the place already referred to: p. 167.

nite, and only in that *manner* in which the latter communicates to the creature its gifts, namely as qualities (*dona creata*), and that of grace. And here must also be taken into account that, at least in this life, the communion of believers with God may be dissolved and entirely broken up. Hence this analogy, however important it may be, is inadequate to furnish a just designation of the *unio hypostatica*. With this [the hypostatic union], on the contrary, a relation must be regarded as established, which stands in the middle between those two modes of communion, a *tertium*, which forms the basis of a connexion or union, in the most proper sense *indivisible* as well as *perfect*, of the divine and human in one person, without, however, mixing up the two.¹ We see here completely the formulas of the ancient church, but understood in all their depth and precision. And especially as regards the terms ἀχωρίζως, ἀδιασπάρτως ἀδιασπατώς [inseparably, indivisibly, without intervening space, or undivided], their full and proper sense is now most strenuously and solemnly insisted upon. For only then is the inseparableness or indivisibility a true or genuine one, when both constituents [beide Seiten] are not only indissolubly connected as respects continuance of time, but at *no time* or *place* without each other and separate from each other. If the Logos became flesh in his totality, he must also be within the human nature in his totality, and cannot therefore be regarded as existing or acting at any time or place outside of that nature (*nec λόγος extra carnem nec caro extra λόγον*). At every point of their conjunction into unity [ihres Einsgewordenseyns] both must be present to each other most intimately and immediately. If place and space separate the natures from each other; if the Logos is any where active without the humanity which he has assumed, then is the *unio* not an *inseparable* one; the human nature is not united *indistanter* [without intervening space] with the divine, but is only joined to the latter as it were at a point.² But the other definition [Bestimmung] is

¹ Form. Conc. Art. VIII. *unio longe sublimior, arctissima, intima, vera, realis, participatio*. Defence of the Book of Conc. Bl. 88; *differentia specifica unionis personalis*. 75, 90, especially 124 and 125. Cf. also the precise exhibition of the church's doctrine in Calov. *synopsis controversiarum*, p. 251.

² It is well known that to Luther belongs the merit of having developed this point with triumphant clearness, in his so called great Confession respecting the Lord's Supper. "Wherever," says he, "Christ is, there he is a natural person, and there he is naturally and personally. And if, wherever he is, he is naturally and personally, he must be there also as man. For there are not two divided persons, but one single person. And where thou canst say, here is God! there thou must also say: then Christ the man is also here. And if thou couldst any where point out a place where he was present as God and not as man, there would the person be already divided, because I could

also exhibited with the same emphasis. *Perfect* the personal union is not, if neither nature communicates aught to the other; if the divine merely inhabits the human, and the latter is to the former as a mere instrument (as was Moses' rod to the divine power of him who wielded it); it is, on the contrary, only then *perfect*, when a living interpenetration, a mutual *participation* has taken place; when one is in the other, is active *with* and through the other. Without this it is only in an improper sense that we can call Christ Godman, and the unio personalis can never be more than an empty form of speech. Cf. Form. Conc., 607, 764. Its Defence, 70. It is true the innermost being [or nature] is not yet explained; nor can this be explained, because it is a mystery (plane ineffabilis unio); but at all events there results from this a mutual *real communication* of the one nature to the other, by virtue [vermöge] of which each transfers what is proper and peculiar to itself, not merely to the person in which both are joined into one, but to the nature of the other. Quia divinitas et humanitas in Christo unam personam constituunt, scriptura propter hypostaticam illam unionem etiam divinitati omnia illa tribuit, quae humanitati accedunt et vicissim humanitati, quae Deitatis sunt. [Since the divinity and the humanity constitute in Christ one person, the word of God attributes, on account of that hypostatic union, also to the divinity all those properties which pertain to humanity, and on the other hand, to the humanity those which belong to the Deity]. This communication has therefore its ground [or basis, Grund] solely in that

then say with truth: here is God who is not man, and has never become man. But this is not the God whom I desire. For from this it would follow, that space and place did separate the two natures from each other, whereas, in truth, neither death nor all devils can separate them or rend them from each other. And he would always be to me an insufficient Christ, who would not be at more than one single place a divine and, at the same time a human person, and would have to be, at all other places, merely a separate God and divine person without humanity. No, friend: Where you tell me that God is, there you must also say that the humanity is: they cannot be separated and rent asunder: the union has effected one person, and does not admit of the humanity being separated from that person; because Christ is God and man, and his humanity has become One person with the Deity, and has therefore been drawn entirely into God, above every creature, how can it be possible that God can be any where, where he is not man? To sum up: if we would be christians, and think justly of Christ, we must often so think of him, that the Deity is exterior to and above all creatures. And again, we must consider that the humanity [i. e. Christ's], although it is also a creature, but because it alone and no other, is so connected with God as to be one person with the Deity, must therefore also be higher above and exterior to all creatures, and only inferior to God." As regards the limitation of this view, in respect of the state of humiliation, as we find it e. g. with Chemnitz, vide the conclusion of this article.

personal union (766), so that without this, or exterior to this, it cannot exist at all, or be even so much as conceived of; but within this sphere it effects not only a mutual transfer of the names, but of the activities and properties. It is, in fact, by virtue of this communicatio realis that, *on the one hand*, the divine nature participates in the conditions [Zuständen] and sufferings of the human; and, *on the other hand*, the human nature receives, beyond and above its *natural* finite and, as such, limited properties, also the *essential idiomata* of the divine; i. e. the supernatural and infinite prerogatives and properties which constitute the essential nature [Wesen] of Divinity; the idiomata majestatis divinae. The entire fulness of the divine glory communicates itself, indeed and in truth, to the human nature (Col. 2: 9.), illuminates and pervades it with its power, majesty and efficient energy, and thus renders it the living and free organ of its divine efficacy.¹ Hence Christ partakes, ever since that unio has been effectuated, not only according to his divinity, but also according to his *humanity*, of that absolute fulness, and consequently he is also as man almighty, omnipresent, omniscient; his flesh living and making alive (John 6: 40, sqq.); his blood reconciling and cleansing (1 John, 1: 7.); he is as man, in possession of the divine power and authority; as man, appointed to be the head of the church, and the judge of the world; as man, the object of divine adoration (Phil. 2: 10.); *so that*, therefore, all that the Scriptures declare respecting his presence, power and majesty, has reference not to the one-half of Christ, or only to one phase [Seite] of his being [nature], but to the whole person, to which the *two* natures belong, to the *one* undivided Godman.²

In this communicatio, however, there is no complete reciprocity;³ for although, as regards the entire work of redemption, the person does not act and accomplish according to one nature only, but in, cum, secundum atque per utramque naturam [in, with, according to and through both natures], so that Christ's suffering and activity constitute a common work, per-

¹ Cf. Form. Conc. 766, 769, 778.

² Form Conc. 608, 570. Itaque jam non tantum ut Deus, verum etiam ut homo omnia novit, omnia potest, omnibus creaturis praesens est et omnia, quae in coelis et in terra sunt, in manu sua habet. [Now therefore, not only as God, but as man also, he knows all things, is present to all creatures, and has in his hand all things that are in heaven and on earth.]

³ On this point the reader will please await the author's further exhibitions and explanations infra.—TR.

taining to both constituents of his being,¹ on which, indeed, the efficaciousness of redemption depends (*vide supra*); yet, as respects the communication of properties, the divine nature neither receives any thing from the human, nor does it give up any thing of its own prerogatives and properties; for by so doing it would cease to be the divine, of which infiniteness is the very essence [*Wesen*]; but the divine is alone the one that communicates, and remains in this communication, what it is, without realiter participating in the lowliness and suffering of the human.² Moreover, a most note-worthy distinction obtains here between the state in which the Redeemer found himself during his earthly life, and that to which he was exalted after the resurrection. For, during the first stadium, he did indeed, as man, already possess the fulness of the Godhead in its totality, but laid aside its *exercise* [*Gebrauch*] (*Phil. 2: 7.*) so that he permitted it to become manifest only in particular instances, when it pleased him (*Miracles*), whilst at other times he concealed it under the form of a servant (*secreto habuit*). With the exaltation, however, he entered also as man upon its complete possession and its perfect exercise (*ad plenam possessionem et divinae majestatis usurpationem secundum assumptam humanam naturam evectus est. 767*); so that therefore those divine idiomata did not, in the human nature, altho' it possessed them potentially (*potentia*) already from the moment of the conception, attain to proper active exercise [*Actuosität*] until the glorified state had arrived. And it is this point which is of paramount importance to the dogma. These are the fundamental characteristics [*Grundzüge*] of the Lutheran doctrine. In order to avoid repetition, we pass over the more minute illustrative [or explanatory] specifications, and address

¹ Epit. 608. Solid. Decl. 766. Filius Dei vero pro nobis passus est, secundum tamen naturam humanam assumptam, vere mortuus: etsi divina natura neque pati neque mori potest: and ibid: Re vera filius Dei pro nobis est crucifixus, hoc est, persona quae Deus est. [The Son of God truly suffered for us, according however to the human nature which he assumed, he verily died: although the divine nature can neither suffer nor die. The Son of God was truly crucified for us, i. e., that person which is God.] Luther (concerning the councils) says: "God, in his nature, cannot die; but now that God and man are united in one person, it is a proper expression to say, God's death, when the man dies who is one person with God."

² Form. Conc. 773. Divinae Christi naturae per incarnationem nihil quoad essentiam et proprietates vel accessit, vel decessit, et per eam in se, vel per se neque diminuta neque aucta est. [The divine nature of Christ has not, through the incarnation, either gained or lost any thing, as respects its essence and properties; through the incarnation nothing has been either taken from it or added to it.] Cf. Epit. 612, where the assumption that Christ had, according to his divinity, laid aside, through the incarnation and during the state of humiliation, the power (*potestas*) over heaven and earth, is repudiated as an error leading to Arianism.

ourselves at once to the objections which have been raised against our doctrine.¹

There is scarcely another dogma that has been, and constantly continues to be, so much assailed. The very first replication of importance, the Neustädter Admonition, contains fifty-two counter-reasons [antagonistic propositions], the Anhalt. Bedenken thirteen, Beza in the Colloquium Montisbell. not less, to say nothing of the Socinians and the later rationalists. To these add the most recent replications by Strauss, Baur and others. In short, we can truly say: our dogma is a sign that is spoken against; and that which excites against itself so much contradiction, is surely freighted with an important part [Moment] of the truth.

Upon a closer inspection, however, the number of those objections becomes considerably reduced. For, most of the earlier ones are in part based upon a misrepresentation of the real status controversiae, and in part they consist in mere repetitions: e. g. the Admonitio Neost., under the superscription, antilogiarum monstratio, says, in forty-one propositions, the same things which it had, in the preceding chapter, expressed in ten; and even these are again reduced to half that number. But as respects the more recent objections, I have, if we except some remarks of Baur (which are connected with his fundamental pantheistic view), scarcely found one which had not already been advanced by the earlier opponents, and answered, although not always in a satisfactory manner, by the defenders of the doctrinal system of the church. We may, therefore, the more justly confine ourselves to an examination of the more recent objections, which, at all events, comprehend and concentrate the more ancient within themselves.

But here, at the very outset, we encounter the circumstance, that just as different opponents occupy different stand-points, so also do they differ in their general view of the subject. Baur (III. 559 sqq.) can scarcely find words to express his indignation at a theory, which so entirely contradicts his presumptions. For, the man who proceeds, as he does, from the presumption "that the essence of the spirit is in itself [per se] the oneness of the infinite and the finite;" the man who, like him, can, in the whole history of dogmas, discover nothing but the process of this oneness adjusting and harmonizing itself with itself [den Prozess der sich mit sich selbst vermittelnden Ein-

¹ For our opponents mostly assume the appearance, as though they knew nothing of these; at all events they take, in their attacks, no notice of them, so that the Lutheran theologians find themselves compelled time and again to bring to remembrance, and to vindicate these explanatory definitions.

heit], he, indeed, must reject, a priori, the Lutheran Christology, which assumes the essential difference of the finite and the infinite, i. e. of God and the creature. But for this very reason the arguments deduced from those premises must cease to have for us, who cannot assent to them, any importance or meaning. Dorner, on the other hand, designates the *communicatio idiomatum* as a jewel precious to science," and declares on page 171, that the course taken by the Lutheran church was the only one, and the last, by which we could hope to realize a relation between the two natures, of a character truly intimate and vital. He regards the *communicatio idiomatum* as forming, as it were, the keystone of the structure erected by the ancient church; in fact, he does the highest justice, in general, to the church's definitions in connexion with the entire history of the dogma.

So much the greater has, therefore, been our surprise, to hear him, nevertheless, condemn the entire dogma as a failure, and that too, with Baur, on account of the assumption on which it rests. For, repeating here also the objection raised against the doctrine of the ancient church, he says, that "the Lutheran Christology had, of necessity, to turn out a failure, because it proceeds from the assumption of two absolutely different natures in Christ." Pp. 172, 183. The question here arises, how is this objection to be understood? Is the stress laid upon the duality of the natures in general [*auf die Zweiheit der Naturen überhaupt*], or upon the *absolute difference* between the two? If the former be intended, then I acknowledge that I do not understand Dorner. For, though it be granted that there is something inconvenient in the term "nature," yet the thing itself which it is intended to denote, the difference between the divine and human, between the absolute and the finite, that which belongs to the creature, must surely be held fast here, as well as throughout the whole christian theology, if this theology is not to lapse into pantheism. How, indeed, can we any longer even think of a biblical christology, of a historical Christ; how of religion, of communion between God and man, when once that difference has been done away with? But so far is Dorner from assenting to that false doctrine, that he is, in fact, employed in combating it. And hence his objection can only mean, that not the duality in itself [*die Zweiheit*], or the difference in itself, but the manner in which the difference is conceived of, renders it impossible for the dogma to maintain its ground [*das Gelingen des Dogma unmöglich mache*]. That this is really what he means is quite obvious from his designating (p. 183 sqq.) the assump-

tion of two natures, *which are never otherwise related to each other than as absolutely differing from each other* [welche gegen einander immer absolut different seyen], as that obstacle: and here precisely it is found also by Baur, who, however, goes a step further, and directly accuses the Lutheran doctrine of materialism. "It proceeds," so he alleges, "from a human nature, of which, after it has been reduced to a predicate without a subject (i. e. through the anypostasy; vide supra, Art. I), the substantial notion could be placed only in the body [deren substantiellen Begriff man nur in den Leib setzen koonte: i. e. of which no substantial notion could be formed, except by regarding it as consisting in body only]." Similar language is used also by Gaupp (*die Union der Deutschen Kirchen*, p. 102.), who refers us to p. 763 of the *Form. Conc.*, where are named as essential and inalienable properties, "to be a corporeal creature, to be flesh and blood, to be finite and circumscribed, to suffer, to die, to ascend and descend, to move from one place to another, to feel hunger, thirst, cold, heat, pain and the like." This, it is alleged, furnishes proof that it [the Lutheran doctrine] has made the human nature [of Christ] to consist in corporeality [in die Leiblichkeit gesetzt habe], and that it represents its relation to the divine as one of irreconcilable contrariety.

These allegations, however, are fraught with injustice towards the authors of the *Formula Concordiae*.

For, if we consider, in the first instance, the assertions of Baur, it is well known that the reason why the *Form. Conc.*, in enumerating the predicates of the human nature, mentions more particularly such as concern its corporeal part, is this, that its [the *Form. Conc.*'s.] object preëminently was to demonstrate the ubiquity; but that it represented the Redeemer's humanity as consisting merely in corporeality, and therefore denied that it possessed intelligence, reason and will, is a pure figment, of which a man so well informed as Baur ought never to have been guilty. For, what else are then those *finitae qualitates*, with which, according to pp. 701, 705, the saints are adorned, than the gifts of wisdom and love the *χαρίσματα* of the Holy Spirit, the reception of which surely, beyond all doubt, presupposes a rational nature? What, then, is the meaning of language like this, "that Christ had, as man (*quatenus homo*, p. 707) not only known, and been capable of several things, as other saints, through God's Spirit, know and have capability," &c.; and again: "that he had increased, according to his humanity, in age and in wisdom;" what is the meaning of such language, unless it be that, according to the

*spiritual part*¹ [der geistigen Seite] of his human nature [Wesens] he was like unto us? Or can it be intended to charge upon the church's doctrine the absurdity that, although it has represented understanding and will as essential, and even as the principal constituents of man *in general* (Form. Conc. Art. I. vires superiores; essentia hominis, hoc est ipsius corpus et anima), it yet has denied that the Redeemer possesses them; that thus it has adopted the Apollinarism which it has itself *condemned*, whilst it has abrogated *its own confession*, "that Christ is perfect man with a rational soul and a human body?" In this fundamental presupposition Lutherans and Reformed were agreed. In order not only to be convinced of the groundlessness of Baur's hypothesis, but to discover at once that the reason why the spiritual² [geistige: rational] nature of the Redeemer is not more fully treated of, is, that on this subject the contestants were at all events agreed,³ it is only necessary to read what the Admonitio Neost. pp. 32, 66, says, and to consult the rejoinder of the Apologia [Defence: Verantwortung] Bl. 5 and 64, viz: "that this is not the point here under discussion, seeing that there is no controversy on this subject;" and to read all the treatises on the human and the divine knowledge in Christ: Ibid. pp. 21, 81, 85. Also, Apologiae Bl. 77, 260.

¹ The word *spiritual* is no translation of the German *geistig*, no more than intellectual or rational would be: Geist and geistig denote all of man that is not corporeal or sensuous: so neither is *nature* an adequate translation of *Wesen*, which denotes the whole of what man is: the comparative poverty of the English language constitutes one of the greatest difficulties encountered in translating works like this.—TR.

² For the purpose of demonstrating the utter groundlessness of such assertions [as Baur's], numberless vouchers could be adduced from the symbol. books, and from the works of those who wrote them. I shall make only one quotation. Chemnitz de duab. nat., p. 224, speaking of the work of redemption, says: "Divina natura Christi, in officiis Messiae, utitur tanquam organo naturalibus operationibus assumtae humanitatis. Consistit autem humana natura in corpore et anima. Ratione corporis coöperatur, vel verbo vel applicatione corporis; animae vero ratione coöperatur, quod scilicet humana mens intelligit, agnoscit et videt. Voluntas humana in Christo desiderat, expetit, vult et approbat, quod Christus divina sua potentia in officiis illis agit. Atque ita anima, conscia mente et conformi voluntate coöperatur." [The divine nature of Christ, in the offices of Messiah, employs as its organ the natural operations of the assumed humanity. But the human nature consists in a body and a soul. It coöperates through the agency of the body, either by word, or by the physical action of the body. But it coöperates by the agency of the soul, because it is clear that the human mind understands, observes, perceives. The human will in Christ desires, strives after, determines and approves, what Christ by his divine power performs in those offices. And thus the soul coöperates, consciously and of free will.] And this it is that is spoken of as a human nature, "the substantial notion of which has been placed only in the body:" [i. e. which is represented as consisting in nothing but body].

As respects, however, Dorner's notion, that the Lutheran doctrine proceeds from two *absolutely different natures* (according to Gaupp, "from an irreconcilable opposition of the two") this was, in fact, the presupposition of the Reformed. It is well-known that their chief objection to the doctrine of the communicatio is set forth in this sentence: *natura finita non recepit infinita*: [a finite nature does not receive things infinite] (Admon Neost. pp. 76, 82, sqq. Colloq. Montisbell. p. 204¹). But to this declaration the Lutherans boldly opposed the following: *Natura humana in Christo capax est divinae* (Form. Conc. pp. 611, 775.) [The human nature in Christ is capable of receiving the divine]: and this not only Dorner himself (p. 167, and elsewhere) acknowledges to be true, but even Baur is compelled to confess, "That the human nature, even admitting that it cannot be carried [extended] beyond the boundaries of finiteness, has yet, at the same time, the capacity within itself of being the bearer [Trägerinn] of superhuman, divine, and absolute properties, will ever remain the assertion which is characteristic of the formula." And this assertion is by no means as isolated here as is supposed. It finds a *punctum nexionis* [Anschliessungspunkt, point of connexion] in the doctrine of our church concerning man's original state, i. e. concerning the pure, original human nature. For the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, p. 74, says: "That man was created after God's image, what else does this mean, than that divine wisdom, and righteousness that is of God, image themselves [are reflected, relucet] in man, whereby we know God, and through which the brightness of God is mirrored in us:" and *ibid*: "That which was greatest in this creature was a clear light in the heart, that he might thereby know, love, &c., God and his work." Confer Conf. Saxon. p. 53: *Justitia originalis non tantum fuit acceptatio generis humani coram Deo, sed etiam in ipsa natura lux in mente.*² [Original righteousness was not only the acceptance of the human race with God, but also, in man's very nature, the light in the mind].

¹ Beza: Stat ergo illa regula universalis, neque naturam de natura, neque proprietates unius naturae posse alteri attribui. To which the editor affixes the marginal note: *regula falsissima*.

² Cf. Luther on Genesis 1: 26. (Erlangen Edition, vol. 33, p. 54.) "The heavenly image after which Adam was made, is Christ. He [i. e. Christ] was a man full of love, mercy, grace, humility, wisdom, light, and of whatsoever is good; this image we also must bear, and become conformed to him. We may then sum up what is said here: that man was, in the beginning, created an image that was similar to God, full of wisdom, virtue, love; in short, like unto God, so that *he was full of God*." *Ibid*. p. 67. "For that is God's image, which is minded even as God is, has such understanding and light as God has, does such works as God does, and constantly patterns after him."

Thus then it is not a relation of absolute difference, which is presupposed by our dogma, but a living communion of the divine and human, founded upon man's being in the image or likeness of God.

And when, accordingly, the Form. Conc., in order to elucidate the mystery of the *communicatio naturarum*, refers us to this communion as it has been restored in believers; when it reminds us that we also, in whom Christ dwells by grace, have been adorned with many supernatural gifts: that we also are temples and organs of his spirit (pp. 697, 705), and then adds: *Quantam existimabimus eam esse communicationem divinae naturae, de qua apostolus loquitur, dicens, in Christo tota divinitatis plenitudo inhabitat corporaliter* [How great shall we esteem that communication of the divine nature to be, concerning which the apostle speaks, saying, in Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily], what right can any one have to charge it with the assumption of an absolute contrariety [or oppositeness] between human and divine nature? That the important points here spoken of have been only slightly indicated, and not carried out, is by no means to be regarded as a defect; for it is not the office of the symbol to make the dogma plain to the understanding: to do this, is the business of theology.

The earlier Lutheran theologians made repeated attempts thus to explain the dogma, but they never carried them out to a satisfactory extent. For instance, in the article, entirely overlooked by the more recent writers, *de unione mystica*, they direct attention to the consideration, that man, entirely apart from redemption, stands, as regards his being, in connexion with God [in *wesenhafter* Verbindung mit Gott stehe], which they directly designate as *περιχώρησις* [intervolution], as *essentiae divinae propinquitas* [approximation to the divine essence] indeed, as *unio*, qua Deus se et substantiam suam omnibus hominibus communicat [a union by which God communicates himself and his substance to all human beings], and base these statements upon Acts 17: 28;¹ from this *unio* they then distinguish, as one still more intimate and essential, that indwelling of the divine in man,² which is conferred upon the believer in consequence of justification (*vera, realis, intrinseca, et arctissima conjunctio substantiae hominis fidelis cum substantia ss. Trinitatis et carnis Christi* [a true, real, inward and most

¹ Quenstedt Syst. theol. pp. 80, 886, 899. Hollaz. Examen, p. 933. Buddeus Instit. th. d. p. 1077.

² Cf. Quenst. in the work referred to, p. 807.

intimate (closest) conjunction of the substance of the true believer with the substance of the most Holy Trinity and of the flesh of Christ], a unio, which is neither a mere moral communion (*harmonia et contemperantia affectuum* [a harmony and agreement of dispositions]), nor a mere operation of the Holy Spirit (*operatio gratiosa*), but a *real* uniting of the divine substance with man, and which has its analogy in the personal union of the divine and human natures in the Godman.

On the other hand, again, they explain this union, unique in its kind, partly from that general conjunction [or connexion] of [man's] being or essence [with God's] [*Wesenszusammenhang*], partly from the fellowship of the Holy Spirit with believers: cf. the passage from Chemnitz in the note;¹ never-

¹ De duab. nat. in Chr.: Ex verbo Dei certum est, quando Deus in credentibus et sanctis per gratiam inhabitat, quod non otiosus aut per essentiam tantum ἀνεὶ ἐνεργείας ipsis adsit, relinquens eos in puris naturalibus, sed quod divina sua operatione et efficacia in iis operetur et efficiat multa et varia supernaturalia—gratuita spiritualia, coelestia et divina dona, quae usitate appellantur vel qualitates vel habitus vel virtutes, vel sicut vulgo dicitur Spiritum Sanctum efficere in credentibus tales motus, qualis ipse est. Atque adeo illam inhabitationem per gratiam in sanctis, scriptura vocat κοινωνίαν Spiritus Sancti et credentes ideo dicuntur θείας φύσεως κοινωνοί, 2 Pet. 1. Cum igitur divina natura τοῦ λόγου non tantum per inhabitationis gratiam sed tota plenitudine inhabitet in assumpta sua humana natura, impium profecto foret cogitare, humanam naturam Christi ex personali illa unione nihil accepisse aut habere, praeter essentialia sua idiomata, nihil ultra physicas suas vires, facultates, operationes, sed secundum scripturam statuendum, divinam naturam in assumptam humanam contulisse et effudisse spiritualia, coelestia ac divina dona, non tantum particularia quaedam certa mensura sicut in sanctis limitata, sed omnia divina dona, tota plenitudine, superabundanti copia, summa et absolutissima perfectione, quae substantiae creatae in sese conferri possunt. Si enim divinitas in sanctis inhabitans per gratiam, tanquam lumen verum virtutum suarum radios spargit et diffundit in sanctos, et tanquam vivus fons bonorum suorum rivos influit et effundit in credentes, multo plenius et longe perfectius illa in ea carne fieri statuendum est, in qua tota plenitudo Deitatis inhabitat corporaliter. [Concerning the two natures in Christ: From the word of God it is certain that, when God dwells by grace in believers and saints, he is not merely present with them in a state of rest, or by his essence only, without activity, leaving them just as they are by nature, but that by his divine agency and efficacy he works and effects many and various supernatural things; free, spiritual, celestial and divine gifts, which are usually called qualities, or dispositions, or virtues; or, as it is commonly expressed, that the Holy Spirit effects [produces] in believers such feelings [affections] as are proper to his own nature. And therefore the word of God styles that indwelling in the saints by grace, κοινωνίαν [the fellowship or communion] of the Holy Spirit, and for this reason believers are called θείας φύσεως κοινωνοί [Partakers of the divine nature] 2 Pet. 1: 4. Since then the divine nature of the Logos dwells in his assumed human nature not merely by the grace of indwelling, but in its entire fulness, it would surely be impious to think, that the human nature of Christ had received nothing, and possessed nothing, in consequence of that personal union, except its own essential properties, nothing over and above its physical energies, faculties and operations; on the contrary, it must, according to the scriptures, be held as certain, that the divine nature has conferred upon and freely imparted to the assumed human

theless it is indeed true, that of those intimations of their views of this subject they do not make a searching application to the dogma. In the just endeavor to hold fast the specific difference of the Godman [from all other men], they omit a more profound discussion of the natural relationship of the human spirit to the divine, and of the analogy, which is afforded by the relation of the regenerated; in general the anthropological phase is left by them too much in the background; a defect which cleaves to the entire state of theology at that period, and which might be remedied by means of a mode of representation, exhibiting a further and progressive unfolding of the dogma; but in their christological representations they are just as far from having proceeded from "an irreconcilable contrariety [state of opposition] between Deity and humanity," as is the doctrine of the church; and I really do not know how, in the face of the evidences which I have adduced, I am to designate the assertion which is, of late, so often made, to wit, that "the earlier school of theology had represented God and the world as opposed to each other in absolute separateness, and had considered their mutual relation only as one of transcendence, and not as one also of immanence."¹

nature spiritual, celestial and divine gifts, and that not only some particular ones, limited, as in the saints, according to a fixed measure, but all divine gifts in their complete fulness, in superabundant copiousness, in the highest and most absolute perfection, which can upon a created substance be conferred in itself. For, if the divinity, dwelling in the saints by grace, as the true light spreads abroad and diffuses upon the saints the rays of its own virtues, and as a living fountain flows into and sends forth upon believers the streams of its own blessings, it must be held as certain that these things are done in much greater fulness, and in far greater perfection in that flesh, in which dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily.]—Chemnitz however proceeds to say that these are indeed only gratuita et creata dona [gratuitous, i. e. free, and created gifts], operations of the Deity upon human nature, which is by them qualified to become the organ of the Holy Spirit, and are not yet ipsa essentialia idiomata Deitatis [those very essential properties of the Deity] which, beyond and above those gifts, must be ascribed to the Godman.—Cf. pp. 257, 267.

¹ Immanence, from the adj. immanent, denotes the continuance or indwelling in an object, and stands opposed to that activity which is transeunt (an adj. which the Germans have formed from the participle of transeo) or transcendent, i. e. not abiding within, but going beyond an object, beyond the limits which circumscribe that object; or, as it is defined by the school of Kant, exceeding, passing beyond, in a word, transcending the bounds of human perception and experience. In modern philosophy the term immanence (Immanenz) denotes the doctrine itself in respect of its meaning, i. e. the doctrine, that God is, dwells, in the world; but as this idea conveys only a limited or partial view of the relation of God to his creation, it has its complement in the doctrine, that God is not confined within the bounds of his creation, that his active presence transcends the limits of what we call the world, and this doctrine is designated by the term Transcendence (Transcendenz), from the adj. transcendent. Other uses and applications of these philosophical terms it is not necessary to specify in this place.—TR.

Let us now proceed at once to consider the *objections separately*:

The first is, "that the notion of a communication of divine properties, whilst the essence [Wesen] is not at the same time communicated, is one in itself untenable, because [as our opponents allege] it implies, that the properties are transferred to humanity, *severed* from the divine nature which is their subject; but that such a severance is a pure impossibility, because in God essence [Wesen] and properties are one." In this "offensive severance" Dorner (p. 172) and Baur (p. 457) discover a principal mistake of the dogma, a mistake which; amidst the light of modern philosophy, cannot any longer be upheld; but even the authors of the Admon. Neost., starting from the position, *Deitatis attributa nihil aliud quam Deitas sunt, omnipotentia est ipse Deus*,¹ (Admon. pp. 81, 255) already raise the same objection, and from it draw the conclusion that the Form. Conc. teaches a twofold Deity, an essential omnipotence, and one communicated to human nature; one that has been produced, created (*creatam Deitatem, creatam et accidentalem omnipotentiam*, Admon. p. 253). To the same effect the Anhalt Apology, and Danaeus (*Exam. cent. Chem.*)

But this objection is utterly groundless. For that the divine attributes are neither severed nor separable from the divine essence [Wesen], is as strenuously maintained by the Lutheran theologians, as by their opponents; they also proceed from the presumption that substance and idioma [property: attribute.] are identical,² and this alone ought to have excited doubts as to the correctness of that allegation, even though the Formula Concordiae had not expressly provided against it. *But this it has most earnestly done.* It holds the following language: "Propria non egrediuntur sua subjecta;" this means, that each nature [this may also mean, any nature whatsoever, without limiting the proposition to the case more particularly under consideration.—TR.] retains its essential properties, and that these are not severed from the one nature, and poured out into the other:" p. 769: it takes, on p. 781, most decided ground against such an effusion of the divine properties, *qua divinae*

¹ The attributes of Deity are nothing else than Deity; omnipotence is God himself.

² Cf. Apologia Bl. 87 sqq. We also say, that the Deity possesses almighty power essentially, and indeed, *is omnipotence itself*; we do not, when speaking of a communication of properties, understand an essential communication [i. e. a communication of the divine essence itself], or an effusion and *separation* of the divine attributes or created omnipotence etc. Cf. *ibid.* chap. 4. Bl. 134.

naturae aliquid decedat, aut, ut de sua alii ita largiatur aliquid, quod hac ratione sibi ipsa non in se retineat [by which any thing is separated from the divine nature, or, so that anything belonging to it is in such a manner bestowed upon another, that for this reason it does not retain the properties in itself for its own purposes], and it repeatedly adds: "There is, therefore, and remains in Christ but *one sole* divine omnipotence, power, and glory, which is proper to the divine nature alone; this, however, shines forth, demonstrates and manifests itself fully, but of free determination [freiwillig] (vim suam plene, liberrime tamen, exserit) in, with and through the assumed and exalted human nature in Christ;" p. 779.¹ Its meaning, therefore, is, that the properties of the Deity do indeed vitally pervade the humanity of the Redeemer by virtue of the personal union, and constitute it the free and freely acting organ of its energy; that the relation of his human nature to the divinity is not that of a channel, through which the divine merely passes, or that of Moses' rod, which obeys the hand without will or consciousness: (Cf. Apol. II. 24); but that this just as little involves a separation of the divine *idiomata* from the divine essence, as that the properties of the human soul are, through the act of moving and animating the body, severed from their subject.² And thus we see that the doctrine of our church thoroughly enough defends itself against that accusation, and it is certainly not taxing their candor too severely, when we call upon its opponents, to examine more carefully before they make charges, lest it should appear that their attacks are based upon ignorance or malicious misapprehension, "for, whosoever will, can clearly and rightly understand the true meaning of the book" (Apol. 86). We might add, in general the whole influence of the Holy Spirit in man depends upon a *communicatio idiomatum*; believers possess

¹ Chemnitz in the work already referred to, 281. "Nequaquam duplicem ponimus Divinitatem in Christo incarnato, non duas omniscientias, non duas vitas vivificantes, non duas virtutes et operationes divinas, quarum altera divinae naturae sit essentialis et naturaliter propria, altera vero a Divinitate separata et extra ipsam transfusa, ac humanae naturae per accidentiam propria. Sed una est Divinitas in Christo, una vita, una virtus et operatio divina, etc. [We by no means assume a double Divinity in the incarnate Christ, not a double omniscience (lit. two omnisciences), not two life-giving lives, not two divine powers and operations, of which the one would be essential and naturally proper to the divine nature, whilst the other would be separated from the Divinity and transfused out of it, and accidentally (i. e. not essentially) proper to the human nature. But there is in Christ one Divinity, one life, one divine power and operation, etc.]

² See this subject treated in full, Chemnitz in the work already referred to, p. 314.

a true life only through the life of the Redeemer being realiter communicated to them ; his life becomes their life ; his strength their strength ; his love shed abroad in their hearts pervades and actuates their human spirit ; but who infers from this, that this communicated life is severed from its fountain-head ?¹

¹ I can, therefore, not comprehend how Dorner (at p. 176 of his History of the Doctrine concerning the person of Christ, in the note) can designate the assertion made (in the Dorpat Contributions) by Sartorius, "that the divine properties [attributes] cannot be separated from the divine substance, as they are, in fact, themselves this [the divine] nature," as one *directly opposed to the Lutheran system*. Does not Chemnitz, who assisted in drawing up the Form. Conc. declare, in his Locis (I. 68) : *Attributa divina non sunt accidentia, sed ipsa divina essentia. Quae praedicantur de Deo, non sunt distincta ab ipsa essentia, sed ipsa Dei substantia* [The divine attributes are not accidents, but the divine essence itself. What things are predicated of God, are not distinct from his essence itself, but are the very substance of God] ; and in specially applying this principle to our dogma : *Cum divinitatis idiomata non sint accidentia in subjecto, sed simpliciter sint ipsa Dei essentia, cum qua convertuntur, quia cum ea unum et idem sunt, et λόγος non est sapiens sapientia, tamquam qualitate aliqua, nec est potens potentia aliqua tamquam accidente vel qualitate haerente in divina essentia, sed potentia, sapientia λόγος est ipsa ejus essentia : idiomata igitur divinitatis non possunt essentialiter alicui communicari, nisi simul ipsa essentia Divinitatis communicetur. Si ergo attributa Deitatis propria humanitati essentialiter communicarentur, naturae non amplius essent in persona Christi distinctae et diversae. Nec vero divina natura λόγος idiomata sua a se separavit aut illis se exiit, atque ea in assumptam humanam naturam essentialiter transfudit ; ita enim facta esset vel abolitio vel imminutio divinae naturae et conversio humanitatis in Deitatem. Et quia idiomata Divinitatis sunt ipsa essentia divina, separari ab ea non possunt.*" (De duab. nat. 280.) Ibid. p. 349 : *Nostae ecclesiae docent, majestatem divinam non ita communicatam naturae assumptae, ut illa eam a Divinitate separatam ; in se ipsa inhaerentem habeat. [Since the idiomata of divinity are not accidents in their subject, but are simply the very essence of God, with which they are convertible, because they are one and the same with it, and as the Logos is not wise by wisdom, as by some quality, nor powerful through power, as by some accident, or by some quality connected with the divine essence, but the power and wisdom of the Logos are his very essence ; therefore the idiomata of divinity cannot be communicated essentially to any one, unless at the same time the very essence of divinity be communicated. If therefore the proper attributes of the Deity were essentially communicated to humanity, the natures in the person of Christ would no longer be distinct and diverse. But neither has the divine nature of the Logos severed from itself its properties, or divested [denuded] itself of them, and transfused them essentially into the assumed human nature ; for thus an abolition or a diminution of the divine nature, and a conversion of humanity into Deity would have taken place. And because the properties [attributes] of Divinity are the divine essence itself, therefore they cannot be separated from it.] Concerning the two natures in Chr. 280. Ibid. p. 349. [Our churches teach, that the divine majesty is not in such a manner communicated to the assumed nature, that the latter possesses it separate from the Divinity ; inherent within itself.] It is precisely in these premises that we have the basis of the further definitions of the Form. Conc. respecting the *modus* [manner] of communication. What is it, then, that entitles Dorner to assert the opposite of all this, and to say of the modern philosophy, "it regards, *certainly more justly*, the properties as the vitality [the very life] of the nature or substance itself ;" as though *this were not precisely the view ta-**

Let us therefore look after the other objections.

The second is as follows: "*Supposing even that such a real communication of properties be possible on the part of God, yet the human nature of the Redeemer, in its essential peculiarity, is thereby annihilated, and transmuted into the divine.* For, as the properties [attributes] of God are not distinct from his essence, therefore the *communicatio idiomatum* is nothing else than a communication of his essence. Both, however, the divine, of which the essence is infinity, and the human, of which the essence is finiteness, mutually exclude each other, or abrogate [nullify] each other. *Nulla natura in se ipsam recipit contradictoria.* [Not any nature receives into itself contradictory properties]. (Admon. Neost. 256.) Omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence are the negation of finiteness, and therefore, at the same time, of humanity. An omnipotent human nature has ceased to be a nature truly human: it has become the divine. But the assumption that the former can be both, divine and human, infinite and finite, at one and the same time, involves a palpable contradiction; and thus then we should here have nothing else than a return to the ancient Eutychian heresy respecting a *confusio* and *exaequatio naturarum* [a confusion and equalization of natures]." This is, doubtless, the most important objection that has been advanced; and accordingly, ever since it was first raised by the Neost. Admonition,¹ we hear it repeated by every oppo-

ken by the Lutheran theory? We do not, however, ourselves agree entirely with this view: we regard it as constituting an obstacle in the way of the clear development of our dogma. Necessary characteristics of essence or nature [Wesensbestimmungen], and attributes [or properties] are not directly one and the same. For, the latter by no means declare what the being [essence] is in itself, but denote the manner in which it manifests and reveals itself. Thus God, according to his essence [Wesen: nature] is the absolute life, the absolute personality, but not the omnipotent or omnipresent. If this were a fixed form or mode of his being [or nature] the world and space would be absolutely necessary for God. He would need the world as it exists in space [der räumlichen Welt], in order to be what he is; for there can be no omnipresence, except in relation to space. Furthermore, if his punitive justice is a necessary characteristic [Wesenbestimmung] of God's nature, then sin is also necessary, because the former cannot attain reality [zur Wirklichkeit gelangen] without the latter. Upon the whole, we make God dependent upon the world, when we represent his attributes in a general way, as essential characteristics of his nature. If, on the contrary, we consider them as those active relations [die realen Beziehungen] by which God manifests himself outwardly, and by which his relation to the world is mediately effected, those difficulties disappear. Chemnitz himself once comes quite near this mode of viewing the subject. p. 329.

¹ Adm. Neost. pp. 61, 76, 83. *Immensitas vel exaequatio creaturae cum Deo non est ejus perfectio, sed destructio.* [Immeasurableness, or rendering a creature equal to God, is not perfecting that creature, but destroying it.]

ment, as a conclusive refutation. Not only Strauss, but also Baur, (in the work named *supra*, p. 424) accords with it, as a just objection, and even Dorner admits that it is well founded, but only in respect of the state of humiliation (in the work before mentioned, p. 175). It comprises, when closely examined, two particulars: on the one hand, the allegation that our dogma involves a confusion [i. e. an indiscriminate mixing together] of the natures, and on the other, the assertion that the human, as the finite nature, cannot receive into itself that which is divine, as being infinite, without becoming annihilated as far as its reality [or genuineness] is concerned.

Now, as regards the former allegation, this has been, as is well known, repudiated from the very beginning by the church's Confession; and its defenders had therefore, in the first instance, nothing more to do than to appeal to its own clear testimonies. They not only accept the premises of that objection, (*vide supra* pp. 88–89), but they also admit, that a communication of divine properties to the human nature, *in such wise as to become its essential properties*, would necessarily result in the annihilation of the peculiarity of the latter (Apology B. 120, b.) Against a communicatio of *this* kind, however, the Form. Conc. has, with sufficient clearness, recorded its protest. For it teaches, “that the essential properties of the one nature never become *essential* properties of the other, and that, in general, the *real* communication does not designate a physical communication or essential transfusion, but that it is to be conceived of according to the *analogy of the personal union* (*secundum rationem unionis hypostaticae*), of which it is the necessary consequence. Pp. 763, 766, 769. That there exists here that peculiar relation, which occupies middle ground between a merely nominal and an actual [wahrhaften] mixture, that tertium which constitutes the specific distinctness of the Redeemer from all other creatures; that only a personal possession and use of divine idiomata is asserted; and that accordingly it is the highest injustice to burden the confession with a doctrine which it distinctly repudiates.¹

Desinit enim creatura esse creatura etc. Cf. pp. 256, 266. To the same effect Heidegger, Corp. doct. chr. loc. 17, § 60. Also: the fifth Anhalt argument (p. 112 sqq. of the necessary vindication of the year 1584); but also Bellarmine in Dispp. de Controv. Christ. fidei (Ingol. 1601.) L. III. c. 10: Si divina natura recipit humanas proprietates, cogitur amittere suas, et si humana recipit divinas, cogitur amittere suas [If the divine nature receives human properties, it is compelled to lose its own, and if the human nature receives divine properties, it must of necessity lose its own].

¹ Apology. B. 120. “And there are two entirely distinct things, idioma fieri et idiomata communicari, i. e. to become an essential property, and that

When, however, the opponents, not satisfied with this, persist in their objection; when they proceed to rejoin, "that there is not any such medium at all, that the communicatio is either an essential, or a merely nominal one; that a personal possession of divine properties, which is not a natural one at the same time, is a pure impossibility; seeing that no one can be personally divine, without, at the same time, being so essentially and by nature, because a divine person presupposes divine essence, and the latter is inseparable from the former;¹ the defenders of the dogma very justly appeal, before all things, to the Scriptures. And they reason thus: that it is not by such arguments of human wisdom, that the church's doctrine respecting Christ will stand or fall, but that this is founded upon God's word. But this word testifies, that divine omnipotence was given to the Redeemer (Matth. 28.), which declaration can only relate to the human part [Seite] of his nature [Wesens], because as God he is, at all events, in the possession of omnipotence; this word assures us, that his *flesh*, therefore certainly his human nature, liveth and maketh alive; that his blood cleanses from all sin; that as man he has received the power of judging the world (John 5 and 6.) &c.; that therefore it teaches *both* these things, a communication of divine glory to the humanity of the Redeemer, and the continued subsistence of this in its essential peculiarity.² Now if both these are equally insisted upon, it follows of itself that this communicatio can be *neither* essential, because thereby that which is human in Christ would be annihilated, *nor* merely nominal, because this would abrogate the real possession; but that it holds intermediate ground between the two, i. e. is to be conceived of according to the analogy of the personal union. This (the defenders contend) is the necessary and consistent consequence of the declarations of Scripture; and this consequence they now oppose, as a principal argument, to the other objection, that the human nature cannot be a recipient of divine glory, without being itself nullified. The fact, the word of God, demonstrate the contrary. But from the reality [or

an essential property is communicated according to the analogy of the personal union. If we taught, that the divine omnipotence, the production of life, the power of holding judgment, and the like divine attributes, were in such a manner communicated to the human nature of Christ, that they became its essential properties, then would their allegation have a semblance of truth. But now, as the Book of Concord expressly declares, *quod propria non egrediantur sua subjecta* [that essential properties do not pass out of their subjects], this cannot be conceded," &c.

¹ Cf. Strauss, in the work before named, 132. Anhalt Vindication, p. 143.

² Form. Conc. 776. Cf. Apology, 12, 26, 121 and 130.

the fact] follows, eo ipso, the possibility; and any incomprehensibility or seeming contradiction that may be perceived there, cannot prejudice the truth of Scripture. It is an article of faith, which is to be estimated according to the *Word* of the Lord, and not judged according to human reason.¹

The present age, indeed, is wont to pronounce such an appeal to the Scriptures to be evidence of a contracted mind.—We, however, regard as commendable that reverence for the divine word, which is bold enough to render due honor to its testimonies, even where they present a seeming contradiction, or a mystery incomprehensible to the understanding, convinced that the contradiction will be found to pertain to the defectiveness of human knowledge. However, the defenders of the dogma are not by any means under any embarrassment in meeting these attacks. They reply in the first place: if *such* a oneness of the divine and human in Christ, without annulling the latter as to its genuineness [*Wahrheit*], were indeed impossible, then every such thing as an incarnation [*Menschenwerdung*] of God, and a personal union and communion of natures, would be entirely out of the question, because the *communicatio idiomatum* is the simple consequence of the doctrine of the hypostatic union [*Einigung*: unification].”² And the reply is just; for the former stands and falls with the latter; and if, as has been shown above, the more strictly definite Lutheran mode of viewing and expressing this idea [*Begriff*: notion] is a necessary one, if the oneness of the person of the Redeemer, in contradistinction from the dualistic view of the Reformed, can only thus be maintained, then its further unfolding into the *communicatio idiomatum* must also appear perfectly authorized and just. And supposing even that theology had not been successful in presenting it in a satisfactory form, the only consequence of this would be, that theology has still the duty to perform, of attempting a more satisfactory exhibition. The truth of the dogma remains un-

¹ Form. Conc. VIII. 53. Apol. B. 62, 102, 134. Especially Chemnitz, in the work already cited: 302, 328. *Simplici fidei obedientia credentes, quae scriptura tradit, etiamsi modum, quomodo absque confusione illud fieri possit non intelligamus.*

² Apol. Bl. 65. If the human nature is not annulled by the personal union, how then should it be annulled through a communication of [divine] majesty. The personal union is just as incredible as the communication of the [divine] majesty, if we are to be governed by the principle: *finitum non est capax infiniti* [the finite has no capacity for the infinite]; and if we could, according to this, deny the communication of the [divine] majesty, we could in like manner, and according to the same principle, deny the incarnation itself; for it is as conclusive in the one case as in the other.

impeached. Hence also it will suffice to merely glance at other considerations urged by its defenders. Here also they again insist, that there is a great difference between *idioma fieri* and *communicari*; between an essential possession, and a communication which makes a vital [*lebendige*] interpenetration possible; that the point contended for is not an absorption, but a glorification [*Verklärung*] of the human nature; its elevation and exaltation; they refer us to the analogy of iron heated and rendered luminous [*durchglimmt*] by fire;¹ to the relation between the body and the soul, the essential properties of which remain distinct, although the latter communicates its *potentias* [powers: energies] to the body, and thus constitutes it the living, self-acting organ of its efficacy: a comparison which Beza regarded as saying too much, Andreae, however, and justly so, as saying too little;² lastly they distinguish between affirmative and negative, between active and quiescent properties in God, and regard the former as immediately, the latter as mediately communicated to the humanity of Christ. The opponents, indeed, combated this distinction also (Cf. Strauss 133. Heidegger in the work already referred to, 17, § 60); and we are not ourselves inclined to advocate it, in the form in which it was at that time propounded: nevertheless it was perfectly adapted to explain the peculiar *modus* of the *communicatio* that was under discussion. For, whilst they did not ascribe the so-called negative attributes, by which were designated the seclusion of God from the world, his infinity, his eternity, immediately to the humanity, their design was thereby to preserve intact its createdness and finiteness; and, in ascribing the positive, operative properties immediately to the humanity, they designed thereby prominently to set forth the living union [*Verbindung*; conjunction] and energetic interpenetration. The design was, to express the thought that the twofold relation, the relation of the distinctness and the seclusion on the one hand, and of the immanence [*vide ante, note*] on the other, as it exists generally [*überhaupt*] between God and the creature, and determines itself mediately through the attributes [or properties], is here also to be regarded as taking effect, yet, as it were, in the highest possible power [*Potenz*: mathematical term], and in a degree and manner found nowhere else.³ But this peculiar *modus habendi*, it was con-

¹ Apol, 86, 88, 119. Where they, at the same time, admit, that this analogy, like all others, affords no strict correspondence.

² Apol. Bl. 87, b. Colloq. Montisbelligartense, p. 244.

³ This is, at least, the idea that lies at the foundation of the discussions in the work of Chemnitz already referred to; p. 327 sqq. Cf. Collo. Mont. p. 271.

tended, had its basis precisely in the personal union. Yet, in what the nature of this union consisted, this, the defenders maintained, had no more been stated in words, on the part of the Lutherans than on that of the Reformed. It was declared to be a mystery. And here the matter had properly been brought to a conclusion. For, although the opponents now went on to maintain that the transfer also of the operative attributes annulled the finiteness of the human nature, the defenders of the dogma could, with the same right, continue to deny this, and repudiate that inference, because it results neither from the notion of the *unio hypostatica*, nor from its further development. At all events, the meaning and tendency of the *church's* doctrine can, after all that has been said, be no longer doubtful; but it is just as little open to question, that the *theological* exhibition of it, or manner of stating it, requires to be more fully carried out and more clearly unfolded; and if, as Baur, although not quite correctly, remarks, the entire theme [*Aufgabe*] which we here have in view reduces itself ultimately to the question, how the divine attributes are related to the essential nature [*zum Wesen*] of God, then a renewed attempt to do justice to the subject must necessarily enter more particularly into a discussion of this relation, as well as of that which God sustains toward his personal creatures [*zur persönlichen Creatur*], for, on neither of these points are our older authorities satisfactory.

A third charge brought against the dogma is that of *inconsistency* [or *inconsequence*]. "If," say the Reformed, "the communication of divine idioms to the human nature follows from the personal union, consistency requires, that a transfer of human properties to the divine nature be also maintained, and that, accordingly, finiteness, restrictedness, and mortality must be predicated of the latter, just as omnipotence and infiniteness are of the former; or, if the one does not follow, neither does the other. At all events, therefore, the Form. Conc. does not go more than half way." Thus already the Neustädter Admon., pp. 69, 70, 252, 257.¹ Heidegger in the work already referred to: Strauss 134. With this objection Dorner also agrees: p. 177; and precisely in this coming short of a full and complete exhibition [*unvollständigen Durch-*

¹ Admon. Neost. p. 252. Argumentum trepidantis conscientiae est, quod, fingunt humanitati quidem Deitatis, sed non vicissim Deitati humanitatis proprietates esse communicatas. [It is an argument of an uneasy conscience, that they pretend that to the humanity the properties of the Deity were indeed communicated, but not in like manner the properties of humanity to the Deity.]

führung] he finds the defectiveness of the Dogma. Thus also Baur, who moreover deduces from that "onesidedness" the inference, and burdens the Lutheran doctrine with it, "that according to it [the Lutheran doctrine] there is interposed between the two natures an intermedium of a quite peculiar sort: a human nature with divine attributes, which is, within the personal oneness, to be distinguished as well from the concrete person, as from the human nature *in itself* (i. e. as it is to be conceived of by itself), p. 458. To take up at once the first position assumed against us, we reply, that this objection also is not new. It is found already in the Anhalt Bedenken, only that this goes even a step further, and adds to Mr. Baur's *third* nature yet a *fourth*. "Instead of two natures," says this, "The Form. Conc. ascribes four different natures to Christ." Here then the affair becomes quite comical. And therefore, we do not sympathize at all with the vehement indignation of the Apologia, which briefly and sharply replies to the Anhalt writers: "that the very devil himself, who is the father of lies, had dictated this to those masters:" Bl. 120; but we must give our unqualified assent to what the Apologia here adds: "it is an invention of our opponents, which requires no refutation." We may indeed conceive of the human nature of the Redeemer as it is in itself, abstractly from its union with the divine; but after all, this seems to amount to nothing, simply because his human nature subsists, at no time or place, in such an abstract state. Least of all, however, is it possible, thus to grasp the true meaning of the church's doctrine, which so often declares, that the natures are to be conceived of and considered only *in ipsa unione*. In this form, therefore, we hold ourselves at liberty to regard that objection as merely a sportive display of polemical acumen; in the form, however, in which it is presented by Dorner and Strauss, it seems to me to be not without foundation. It is true that the authors of the Formula Concordiae and its apology, utterly repudiate it. They say that such a reciprocity cannot be assumed, for this reason alone, that in the union [Vereinigung] the two natures are not on an equal footing, the divine being active, whilst the human remains passive; and that, moreover, nothing can be communicated to the divine, as being perfect and immutable; that to ascribe to it human properties, would be nothing else than drawing it down into the limits of finiteness, and divesting it of its dignity. Apol. Bl. 83, 86. However, a vital interpenetration of the two natures, which certainly is the idea that lies at the foundation of the dogma, includes of itself a *reciprocity*, and this, [as Strauss, p. 127, quite correctly observes] is

positively demanded by the church's doctrine of the redemption [Versöhnung: reconciliation], the entire validity and significance of which depends upon its being a divino-human act [eine gottmenschliche That]. Nay, it not only demands this, but it directly lays it down as a capital proposition: *Quod ad rationes officii Christi attinet, persona non agit et operatur in seu cum vel per unam naturam tantum; sed potius in, cum et secundum atque per utramque naturam.*" Form. Conc. 773, cf. supra p. 30.¹ [As respects the performance of the duties of Christ's office, the person does not act and operate in, or with, or through one nature only, but, on the contrary, in, with, according to, and through both natures]; but what is this else than a real participation of the divine in the states and sufferings of the human nature, what else than an assumption [Aneignung: appropriation] of its limited condition and its lowliness, what but a letting of itself down to humanity [eine Descendez], a participation of the Deity in the sufferings of the humanity? And thus then we have here that genus *ταπεινωτικόν*, of which Dorner and Strauss maintain that it is wanting in the church's dogma, and which want they designate as inconsistency, and as a defect.² It is, indeed, true that in the system this thought is not fully carried out; on the contrary, the consequences which consistently follow from it, i. e. a limitation of the divine in the Redeemer, are decidedly rejected (F. C. 612); and, *so far as this is concerned*, we do not hesitate to say that the objection above specified is just. It is not the thing that is wanting, but only the consistent unfolding, [or, the unfolding of the necessary consequences]. The scruples of the Form. Conc. do not appear to me of much account.

¹ Chemnitz, in the work already quoted, 363.

² Sartorius, in the Dorpat Contributions, p. 373 sqq., has already very properly directed attention to this, and has therefore opposed to what is, by the older systematic divines, called *κοινωνία τῶν θείων*, which he identifies with the genus *majestaticum*, the *ἰδιοποιήσις*, by [virtue of] which the divine nature appropriates to itself the properties of the human. In so doing, these definitions employed in a sense deviating somewhat from that in which they are employed by the later Lutheran systematic divines; for with them they all belong to the principal class, the genus *idiomaticum*, which is distinct from the genus *auchematicum* or *majestaticum*—and to decline making use of these divisions, especially of their strict, scholastic, application, can only redound to the advantage of systematic theology; for they make it impossible to attain to a just and vital conception of the person of the Redeemer. That Sartorius nevertheless did not here succeed in perfectly overcoming the difficulty, is only to be ascribed to his not having gone yet one step farther, to do which, however, he at least makes a start in his work, d. Heilige Liebe.—We may add, that it is very well remarked by Dorner, that the expression, "transfer of human properties to the divine," is a very clumsy one.—

For if, through the *communicatio idiomatum*, the properties of the divine do not become essential properties of the human nature, the same would be true when the case is inverted. But the real reason why the Form. Conc. did not draw this inference, lies deeper, i. e. in the doctrine of the *state of humiliation*. Here, where those general definitions are to be applied to the earthly life of the Redeemer, the real difficulties of our dogma only begin; and this, accordingly, is *the fourth point*, against which they direct their attacks.

ARTICLE VI.

THE CHURCH AND HER MINISTRY.

Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt. Eine Sammlung von Zeugnissen über diese Frage aus den Bekenntniss-Schriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche, und aus den Privat-Schriften rechtgläubiger Lehrer derselben. Von der deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, als ein Zeugniß ihres Glaubens, zur Abwehr der Angriffe des Herrn P. Grabau, in Buffalo, N. Y., vorgelegt durch C. F. W. Walther, Professor der Theologie an dem Concordien-Collegium zu St. Louis, und Pfarrer der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinde daselbst. [The Voice of our Church in the question of the Church and Ministry. A collection of testimonies upon this question from the confessions, &c., &c., by Rev. C. F. W. Walther, Professor of Theology in Concordia College, St. Louis, &c.] Erlangen 1852. Verlag von Andreas Deichert.

THE nature of the church and the relations of the ministry to it, are subjects that have frequently occupied the attention of christendom, or at least of its writers. Already in the middle of the third century, Cyprian wrote his celebrated work "On the Unity of the Church," which, together with his letters, laid a broad foundation for the hierarchical principles of subsequent times. And what a system Rome thus built up, how fully she identified both the visible and the invisible church with herself, denying all possibility of salvation to those not in her communion, putting all the power of the church into

the hands of the priests, and making the pope the arch of the whole edifice of tyranny, and unchecked despot over the people of Christ, whom he had ransomed with his own blood and introduced into "the glorious liberty of the children of God," is well known to all who have seen anything of the workings of this "mystery of iniquity." Of course, those who sought to reform christianity, and to restore it to its primitive simplicity, had to examine these dogmas of Rome in regard to the church and her ministry. Hence the sixth of Luther's "ninety-five Theses" with which the Reformation is generally regarded as being formally opened, maintains, that "*The pope cannot forgive any sin, except in so far as to declare and confirm what has been forgiven by God, unless he do so in cases where he himself has imposed the penalty. If he go beyond this the sin remains just as it was.*"¹ This was an assault upon the whole system which the Papacy had been so carefully and successfully building up for centuries, and would alone have sufficed to bring upon Luther the anathemas of the papal party. It was taking from them all that they valued in "the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and making them mere ministers, servants of God and of his church, with powers simply declarative and not independent, bound to the word of God as its expositors, not lords of it with the right of cursing whom God had blessed, and blessing whom God had cursed.

This discussion, as was to have been expected, soon extended itself from the power of the minister and the nature of his office, to that of the church. Even as early as 1520, Luther wrote his two tracts, which, perhaps, produced a greater sensation than any of his writings, namely: The "*Appeal to the christian nobles of Germany on the Reformation of Christianity,*" and that entitled "*The Babylonish Captivity.*" In these, but more particularly in his "*Reasons and proof from scripture, that a christian congregation or church, has full power and right to judge all doctrines, and to call, instal and depose ministers,*" and in his letter to the council of Prague "*On the appointment of Ministers of the Church,*" both written in 1523, he fully sets forth his views of the nature of

¹ It is astonishing that those who charge upon Lutheranism the maintenance of "auricular confession," and the power of the priest to forgive sin, should overlook this starting point of the Reformation and its utter inconsistency therewith. Nor are they less inconsistent who insist upon retaining in our formularies, expressions which seem to favor this doctrine, and which should be either struck out or modified, because they have been abused and misinterpreted alike by the friends and the foes of Lutheranism. We refer especially to such expressions in our formulas for Absolution, as seem to give the minister any thing more than a *declarative* power.

the church and of the power of its ministers. Our limits will not permit us to exhibit and illustrate these in detail, but we may say, in general, that we believe that they were very fairly summed up in the Augsburg Confession and Smalkald Articles. The seventh article of the former is only a condensation of his definition of the church: "They also teach that one holy church will continue forever. But the church is a congregation of saints in which the gospel is rightly taught, and the sacraments rightly administered. And it is sufficient for the true unity of the church to agree in regard to the doctrine of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments." The fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the A. C. speak with great reserve in regard to "Ecclesiastical Order" and "The Rites of the Church," under the influence, in all probability, of Melancthon's hierarchical or Romish sympathies, as well as of his timidity. But in the Smalkald Articles, (Part I, IV and Pt. II, X) and especially in the Appendix on "the Power and Primacy of the Pope," the free and fearless spirit of Luther speaks out, and not only papal assumptions, but all hierarchical principles are completely swept away by the declaration, "For wherever the church is, there is also the right to administer the gospel. Hence the church necessarily retains the right of calling, choosing and ordaining ministers. And this right is a gift peculiarly bestowed upon the church, which no human authority can take away from the church, as St. Paul also testifies in his Epistle to the Ephes." (4: 8). And that this power of creating the ministry is ascribed to the *laity*, is evident not only from the whole of the argument, but especially from the specifications." This is confirmed by the declaration of St. Peter, (1 Pet. 2: 9.) "*Ye are a royal priesthood*;" which words relate to the true church, which, as it alone has the priesthood, must certainly also have the right of choosing and ordaining ministers. This also is proved by the most common custom of the church. For formerly the people elected the pastors and bishops." Art. Smalc. pp. 341, 342, Mueller's Ed.

The language just quoted is not indeed Luther's, but it fairly gives the spirit of his writings up to that time (1537). In fact, it is little more than a condensation of his argument in the first part of his "Address to the christian nobles," &c., where he says, "The pope, bishops and priests are called the *spiritual orders* (clergy), whilst princes, lords, mechanics and farmers are called the *worldly orders* (laity). But all christians are really of the spiritual order, and there is no difference between them except that of office. We are all consecrated as

priests in baptism, as St. Peter says, "*Ye are a royal priesthood, a holy nation.*" So Rev. 5: 10; "*Thou hast made us kings and priests by thy blood.*" The bishop's consecration is nothing else than as though he, as the representative, and in the place of the whole congregation, were to take one from the common body of christians, all of whom have equal rights, directing him to exercise this power in behalf of the rest. And that I may be still plainer, if a band of pious christian laymen were taken prisoners, and placed in a wilderness where they had with them no priest consecrated (ordained) by a bishop, and were to agree and elect one of their own number, whether married or unmarried, committing to him the office of baptizing, administering the Lord's Supper, and absolution and preaching, he would just as truly be a priest as though all the bishops and popes in the world had ordained him."

This is the Lutheran *theory* of the church and its ministry. It is well known, however, that the practice under this theory has been exceedingly diversified. As a general thing, in Europe, the government usurped the functions of the laity alike in church and in state, and the ministry thus became its servants rather than the servants of the congregation. As government officials in absolute governments, they speedily took rank above the people whom they were to rule as well as teach. So universally was this the case, that Wiggers is fully borne out by the facts, in giving the following account of the constitution of the Lutheran church: "In the Lutheran church the clergy have a position of precedence, and a predominant influence. They are related to the congregation, not as its ministers, but as the ministers of the church. As regards church government, a number of pastors are always united into a collective body, under a Provost, Inspector, Archdeacon, or Dean, and a general superintendent or bishop presides over a wider circle. Yearly conventions of the clergy, under the supervision of their immediate superiors, supply the means for the preservation and promotion of brotherly love and unity, and for a lively interchange of ideas in regard to practical and scientific questions, and the visitations by the Superintendents or Bishops secure watchfulness over doctrine, and the preservation of order and discipline among the clergy. A very decided prominence in the church organism, is thus given to the clergy, and it is only through them, as representatives, but not by immediate or arbitrarily chosen representatives, that the congregations are united with the body of the church, and with each other. Even the right of congregations to elect their pastors is greatly circumscribed, even in the few countries where it is

the general rule, partly by the right of patronage, and also by other peculiar arrangements. In addition to this, the magistrate, or civil authority, takes part in the government of the church, in so far as this is connected with the state." *Kirchliche Statistik*, Vol. I., pp. 120, 121.

Very different from this is the form of government established in the Lutheran church in this country. Here, from the very first organization of the church, by the formation of the Synod of Pennsylvania and adjacent States, in 1748, the laity were fully represented in the government of the church, both by the right to elect their own pastor and other officers in the congregation, and also by an equal representation in Synodical conventions, where the Tennessee Synod even gave the laity the predominance, by admitting one lay-delegate from every congregation. The only checks upon this increased power of the laity were, first, the provisions by which most Synods denied a vote to the lay-representative of a congregation whose pastor was not present, and, secondly, the independent organization of the *Ministerium*, from whose deliberations in reference to the licensure and ordination of ministers, and the decision of all points of doctrine, the laity were almost universally excluded. Of course, the American Revolution, and the Constitution of the United States, utterly precluded the idea of any thing like a union between church and State.

With the exception of the discussions growing out of the formation of the General Synod in 1821, and the agitation of the question of union with it in some of the Synods which had either withdrawn or stood aloof from that body, the subject of church government has not until recently excited any great or general interest in the Lutheran Church in America, and even now the agitation of the matter is confined almost entirely to two of the least known fractions of the Lutheran church in America—the Synod of Missouri and that of Buffalo. In these, however, the excitement has continued steadily to increase for several years past, and other parts of the church, at least the ministry, are beginning to feel considerable interest in the questions here discussed—in some instances without any knowledge of the agitation of the same subjects by the bodies just mentioned. But an examination of the points at issue between these two bodies, will direct our attention to the most interesting aspects of the subject.

The Missouri and Buffalo Synods are formed almost exclusively of members of the Lutheran church who have immigrated to this country since the year 1838. The first elements of the former came from Saxony with the unfortunate pastor Stephan,

whose terrible fall is one of the saddest incidents in the history of Lutheranism. He was accompanied by several ministers who, though at first almost overpowered by the blow dealt them by one in whom they had placed such unlimited confidence, gradually recovered from the shock, and applied themselves to the pastoral care of the congregations which had immigrated with them to the State of Missouri, and to remedying the evils which Stephan's conduct had inflicted upon the church. Nearly at the same time with them, pastor Grabau and his flock of persecuted Silesians, together with some others of similar sentiments, from other parts of Germany, likewise immigrated and settled chiefly in the neighborhood of Buffalo, in New York; others, however, being scattered over Wisconsin, Michigan and Canada. Although they had had no connection with each other in Germany, similarity of doctrinal views, and common trials in the fiery furnace of persecution, naturally brought these two parties, who were alike strangers in a strange land, into friendly intercourse with each other. In consequence of this pastor Grabau, shortly after its publication in 1840, asked the Saxon preachers, Loeber, Gruber, Keyl and Walther, their views in regard to the "Pastoral Letter" (*Hirtenbrief*) which he had in that year addressed to his "*brethren, the members of the Evangelical Lutheran church in Buffalo, New York, Milwaukee, Eden and Kl. Hamburg, Albany, Portage and Canada,*" intimating at the same time, his desire that they might mutually coöperate in promoting the interests of the church in this country. But the Saxons were not fully satisfied with the tone and contents of this Pastoral Letter, expressed their doubts as to the tenableness of some positions taken in it, and delayed a formal answer to it. For this pastor Grabau finally became very urgent, but it was only in 1843, that they finally announced the conclusions to which they had come upon the several points there presented. This answer, written by the lamented Prof. G. H. Loeber, displays very considerable ability, and we regret that our limits do not permit us to give it, as well as that to which it is a reply, entire. The whole of the correspondence between these two parties is published in an 8 vo. pamphlet, of over one hundred pages, by H. Ludwig, of N. York, for the Synod of Missouri, under the title of "*Hirtenbrief,*" &c., and the "*Zweiter Synodalbrief*" of pastor Grabau, published in 1850, forms a similar pamphlet of 158 pp. But the chief points of difference here developed, are the following:

1. Pastor Grabau insisted that the affairs of the congregations to which he wrote, and the same thing would be applicable to

all others, should be regulated entirely by the more ancient regulations of the Lutheran church, especially that of Saxe Coburg, prepared in 1626, and the Pomeranian of 1690. The Missourians thought that too much prominence was given to these systems, and that christian liberty was thus unnecessarily abridged.

2. They regarded him as, on the one hand, giving too much power to the ministerial office, and, on the other, overlooking the spiritual priesthood of all believers, and trenching too much upon the rights of the laity or collective body of christians in the congregation.

3. They objected to his views of the *call* and *ordination* to the ministry. He interpreted the phrase "*rite vocatus*" (regularly called) in the 14th Art. of the Augsburg Confession, to mean "ritually called" according to the ancient church regulations; they believed that whilst the divine directions upon this subject were always to be observed, the merely human might change according to circumstances. He made the essence of *ordination* to consist in the imposition of hands by the ministers of the church: they regarded this as a very becoming and praiseworthy ceremony, but by no means indispensable.

4. They objected to pastor Grabau's demand that *the congregation should be obedient to its minister in all things that were not contrary to God's word*, maintaining that the congregation was bound to this obedience only in so far as the minister proclaimed God's word.

5. He denied all right either in the congregation or in the individual christian, to judge of a pastor's doctrines, ascribing this power to ministers alone, or to the whole church in her symbols, decrees and Synods: they declared this to be alike the right and the duty of all christians, and of each individual in particular.

These were the main points upon which the discussion turned, but various other topics were introduced and examined with considerable care.

Pastor Grabau was by no means satisfied with the opinion thus pronounced in regard to the positions taken in his Pastoral Letter, and in the course of the next year replied at great length, and with no little severity, to the strictures of his Saxon brethren, summing up all that he had to say, in a formal charge of no less than *seventeen* serious errors, into which he believed them to have fallen! He also appended a letter to Rev. Mr. Brohm, of New York, upon the subject of ordination, the whole covering some 27 pp. 8 vo., concluding his re-

view of the positions which he supposed to be taken by those who objected to his views, with this declaration: "Finally, I inform you that I cannot recognize you as Lutheran pastors who earnestly adhere to God's word and to the symbolical books of the church, and confess the same, and that the spirit which pervades your criticism of my Pastoral Letter, is a lax and unchurchly spirit. May the Lord again have mercy upon you, as he did at the first, when he delivered you from Stephanism; for it is not to be concealed that you are now sunk in an unchurchly, compromising liberalism, which is one of the extremes of Stephanism; and this is the reason that your unchurchly criticism is so greatly approved by our sectaries. For the injury which you are thus doing, you will have to answer, if you do not again, in sincere penitence, acknowledge your errors. I must, therefore, as it appears, have to repeat in a public contest with you, much that was established in our conflict with the unchurchly liberalism of the Union in Prussia."

As was to have been expected, this severe assault provoked a reply scarcely less caustic. And here we are bound to express our judgment, that Mr. Grabau's mode of reference to their former connection with Stephan, was not only unkind, but equally unjust and impolitic. There was no connection between the views which they maintained and those of Stephanism, except that of diametrical opposition. It might, indeed, have been well to warn them not to rush from one extreme to another, but to charge them with the errors of a system which they so utterly repudiated, and upbraid them with a connection into which they had entered with the purest motives, and renounced as soon as Stephan's hypocrisy was apparent, was justifiable by no law of christian charity, and could only tend to alienate men who had anything like an intelligent self-respect. Messrs. Loeber, Walther, Keyl and Gruber replied at once, partly denying that they had maintained some of the errors thus charged upon them, explaining where they supposed themselves to be misapprehended, and fortifying the main positions that they had taken, with additional arguments.

It is curious as well as instructive, to find that the first error with which Mr. Grabau had charged them was, that of "*treating Luther's writings*" (which, however, he maintained that they perverted) "*as a rule of faith (norma fidei)*, and calling them a source of church doctrine." This charge they, of course, indignantly repelled, but still expressed their surprise that he, of all men, should have made it. Their language

here is worth repeating ; “Dear brethren in the ministry! what shall we say to such a charge? If this had been said to us by one of our modern Rationalists, or by an adherent of the Union, we should not have been surprised, but to hear this objection from *you*, has indeed astonished us not a little. And is it to *you* first that we are to justify ourselves for confessing with our fathers :

“God’s word and that which Luther taught,
Shall never fail nor come to naught.”

Is it you whom we are first to tell, that we do certainly regard God’s word as the *only* source of saving truth, but still esteem our blessed Luther as one sent by God, and a highly enlightened prophet, through whom, in these last times, the pure doctrines of the divine word have been again restored to us, more clearly and brightly than by any one else?” This is instructive, and proves at least two things ; First, that no party in the Lutheran church (which all the world ought by this time to know) has ever proposed to set up Luther’s writings or any other human productions (not even creeds or symbols) as either superior or equal in authority to the word of God. If these martyrs of “Old Lutheranism” from Saxony and Silesia do not, who will ? But, secondly, we think that we have also the proof here that pastor Grabau felt himself very hard pressed by the authority of Luther. Had he not, he would scarcely have converted the appeal to his writings into a heresy. We certainly can see no indication in Prof. Loeber’s letter of a disposition to put Luther’s writings in the place of God’s word. They are only cited as “church authority,” evidence for their views of Lutheran theory and practice.

At the same time, we cannot but feel with pastor Löhe of Bavaria (“Unsere kirchliche Lage,” p. 105) that there is some ground for Mr. Grabau’s charge of “too strong an adherence to the words of Luther.” But we are led to this remark, not by what they say in their first criticisms upon the “Pastoral Letter,” but by their defence (p. 65) where in the passage from which we have just cited, they say, “can you convict him (Luther) *of a single error* which he did not a hundred times honestly acknowledge and forsake before his departure from this world ? Who has so faithfully taught us the *proper understanding* of the scriptures as Luther?” This we think, goes entirely too far, and makes Luther infallible ; an idea utterly inconsistent with his own acknowledgment, and with their own statement that he had “a hundred times” confessed his former errors. When, we might ask, did he cease to err

and teach unmingled truth? No! he was a great and good man, of profound learning, of astonishing acuteness, wonderfully successful in receiving and expressing the true and undoubted sense of God's word; a very prince of theologians, if you will: but he was, with all this, and with much more besides, only a human and uninspired interpreter of God's word, and he, therefore, doubtless erred just as other wise and pious men, both before and since him have done. But to return to our more immediate object.

The reply to pastor Grabau's "Antikritik," as he called his strictures upon their first judgment of his "Pastoral Letter," was written with a great deal of spirit, firmly maintained the grounds first taken, and refused to make anything like a recantation. But the discussion extended beyond this. The Saxons had, in 1841, drawn up a system of discipline and church government for their congregations, in which they undertook to define the mutual rights and duties of congregations, church members and ministers. This they had communicated to pastor Grabau, and this he made the sventeenth of the errors with which he charged them, as follows: "*It is erroneous and sinful*, that you have not revoked your new church discipline of 1841, in which it is said: To the congregation belongs the decision of cases of conscience, when the application of the word of God to certain cases and circumstances is doubtful. To the congregation also belongs, in disputed cases, the decision as to the use of the keys of the kingdom of heaven (*Löse- u. Bindeschlüssel*), and it has a right to set up public confessions of faith, and to prescribe the rule of doctrine and the order of divine service." To this they reply that they had modified the first draft of this plan of congregational government, and that they were prepared to submit it to his inspection as soon as he "withdrew his virulent charge of their being licentious (*ungebundene*) *Independents, with whom every one has a right to make and ordain his own whims (Sonderliches) only to show his freedom.*" It is true that their system was one of pure congregationalism or independency, but it admitted no such consequences. Its fourth article expressly declared that "Rights common to all in an association, can be arrogated to himself by no individual, without trenching upon the rights of others." And from this, as Luther had done before them, they drew the corollary contained in the fifth and sixth articles. "God has, therefore, ordained the sacred ministry, and commanded the church to commit the exercise of this right, or the stewardship of God's mysteries to one or more persons regularly called thereto. 5. Without a regular call,

therefore, no one can publicly teach or administer the sacraments.”

The discussion now assumed a more serious form by passing into the hands of a Synod of pastor Grabau's friends, which met at Freistatt and Milwaukee (Wisconsin) towards the close of June, 1845. This body, which styled itself "*The Lutheran Synod of the church which emigrated from Prussia*," was indeed small in numbers, being composed of pastors Krause, Kindermann, von Rohr and Grabau, and half a dozen deputies of congregations. But it spoke with as much authority as if it had been the council of Nice or of Trent, or the Synod of Dort. In some twelve decisions they strongly condemned the doctrines and procedure, and sundry acts of the Saxon preachers, and "admonished" them to renounce their views and change their course without delay. The following may serve as samples: "1. We admonish you to revoke your discipline for churches or congregations. 4. We admonish you to give up your lax doctrine of a call to the holy ministry." To this point, however, it was with singular inconsistency added: "But if you will not do this, you may retain it; for it is indeed true that all the teachers of the church have not been equally decided in regard to this." Had all other points been treated with equal candor and liberality, the dispute would have soon been terminated. The eighth decree is not the least curious: "We admonish you no longer to contend against God's word with Luther's letter to the Bohemians." Mr. Grabau had, in his *Antikritik*, labored to show that this work did not bear upon the question in dispute.

The attempt of Pastor Grabau to apply his ideas of church government to practice, as was to have been expected, produced great opposition upon the part of the laity, as well as of the clergy. The dissentients naturally applied for advice and countenance to the Saxons, by whom some of them were sustained in their position, received into brotherly fellowship, and supplied with preachers. This greatly complicated matters, added fuel to the flame, and rendered a reconciliation almost impossible. Both parties became greatly excited and violent, and have, in their various publications, especially in the "*Lutheraner*," the official organ of the Missouri Synod, and the "*Informatorium*," which sustains a similar relation to the Synod of Buffalo, expressed themselves with great severity and harshness. This state of things is greatly to be regretted as being alike unfavorable to the true progress of the church, to christian charity and brotherly love, and to the proper decision of the important principles here involved. We cannot better

give our views upon this point, than in the language of pastor Löhe, who, whatever we may think of his views as a theologian (and we cannot but regard them as on many points incorrect), has ever shown himself the sympathizing friend of both these sections of the Lutheran church in this country. In appendix to the work which we have quoted above, devoted to this especial subject (p. 91) he says: "If I may be allowed, in the first place, to express myself in regard to the tone which prevails in these controversial writings, and which becomes louder as time advances, I miss, I must confess, in both parties, that love, forbearance and long suffering, which in honorable controversy may effect so much for peace and for the truth. Where, then, shall calmness be found, if not with the truth, and where does zeal need more forbearing meekness than where the object is to satisfy the nearest relatives? The succeeding article everywhere transcends its predecessor in the pain that it inflicts. The servants of Christ might have found before his cross and in his presence, more friendly feeling and more conciliatory language." This was written in 1849, before the publication of pastor Grabau's "second Synodical letter" and the accompanying documents, which fill 158 pp. 8 vo., where the German language is put upon the rack in order to obtain terms sufficiently severe, in which to denounce the doctrines and usages of offending brethren. Nor did the brethren thus assailed fail to retort in a style not very different, which also continued, even after the discussion had, in a measure, ceased to be personal, by the formation (in 1846) of the "Synod of Missouri."

We rejoice, however, to see in the work before us, and of which we have placed the title at the head of this article, evidence of the prevalence of a different spirit, and a style of controversy worthy of the source whence it emanates, and of the truths in dispute. The circumstances under which it is published, are generally given in what we have just said. But to this we must add that this dispute had, by the year 1851, involved not only the two bodies among whose members it originated, but had also extended to Germany, and threatened there greatly to injure the character, and interfere with the prosperity and progress of the Missouri Synod. The rapid growth of this body is well known. Consisting originally of but a handful of members, it now, after an existence of five or six years, numbers nearly one hundred pastors, with an equal number of churches in its connection. This rapid increase was owing in no small degree to the zealous coöperation of pastor Löhe and his associates in Germany, by whom not only

missionaries and pastors, but likewise funds for their support, were constantly forwarded across the ocean. But all this coöperation and sympathy threatened to come to a sudden close. Pastor Löhe and his friends sympathized more and more decidedly with pastor Grabau, whose views are, of course, much more consistent with the state of things in Germany than those of his opponents as above detailed, and finally they publicly intimated their intention of ceasing to coöperate with the Missouri Synod. Alarmed at this aspect of affairs, that body first requested pastor Löhe to come over to this country, make himself acquainted with their views, and with the state of things in their churches, and confer with them. This he was unable to do. The Synod then determined to define its views more carefully, and, at the same time, to send a deputation to Germany, both to explain these views, and to endeavor to satisfy pastor Löhe and men of his school of the soundness of their faith, and their loyalty to the great principles of Lutheranism. The results of this movement, so far as the visit to Germany is concerned, are given in the report of the delegation, which is in the course of publication in this periodical. They were certainly quite as satisfactory as could have been expected under the circumstances. Their friends were satisfied that however they might differ from the long established practice of German church government, and from the prevalent theory upon these topics, which were just then discussed with such interest, and with such marked ability, by such men as Rudelbach, Guericke, Harless, Thomasius, Höfling, Kahnis, Münchmeyer and others, their American brethren of the Missouri school were yet undoubted Lutherans. It may be also, that the ideas of these gentlemen had become clearer during the discussion, for they have certainly, in Prof. Walther's book, assumed a form somewhat different from that which they had in their original theses upon church government, as presented in the "Hirtenbrief," &c., pp. 78 and 79.

The work published during this visit to Germany, consists of a series of theses or propositions (nine on the "church," and ten on the "ministry") adopted by the Missouri Synod as a formal statement of its views upon these subjects, each of which is illustrated and defended by proofs from scripture, citations from the confessions of the church and the writings of our standard theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as from some of the earlier Fathers. The theses as well as the remainder of the work, have been prepared by Prof. Walther, the whole forming one of the most interesting contributions to our church literature that has hitherto been

furnished by an American writer. It is true, Prof. Walther is a native of Germany, and the volume has been printed in that country, but it is in all respects an American book. Not only has it grown out of the state of things in this country, and out of the movements of the Lutheran church here, but it brings Lutheranism into very decided sympathy with the free spirit of American principles and institutions. We are afraid that our friends of the Missouri Synod will not thank us for this compliment, and that those of Buffalo will point to it as a confirmation of their worst fears, and justification of their strongest censures upon Missouri principles, which they have denounced as "radical," "democratic," "subversive of the best established principles of Lutheran church government," and the like. But we answer, without any fear of reactionary conservatism before our eyes, that the Reformation, as commenced by Luther, and carried out to its legitimate consequences, was a "radical" reform of all existing abuses in the church, "democratic" in giving the right of private judgment to all, making all christians alike "*kings and priests unto God*," and utterly repudiating and subverting the despotism of a few priests over the human conscience and the word of God. But we shall insert the theses entire, and then give our own views upon them, as far as our present limits will allow. They are as follows :

I. OF THE CHURCH.

I. The church, in the proper sense of the word, is the congregation of the saints, that is, the collective body of all those who, called by the Holy Ghost, through the gospel, from the lost and ruined race of man, truly believe in Christ, and are by this faith sanctified and incorporated in Christ.

II. To the church, in the proper sense of the word, belong none that are ungodly, no hypocrite, no unregenerate man, no heretic.

III. The church, in the proper sense of the word, is invisible.

IV. It is this true church of the believing and sanctified, to whom Christ has given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and she is, therefore, the proper and only possessor and recipient of the spiritual, divine and heavenly blessings, rights, powers, offices, and the like, which Christ has purchased, and which exist in his church.

V. Although the true church, in the proper sense of the word, is invisible, yet is her presence (definitively) capable of being known, and its characteristics are the pure preaching of

the word of God, and the administration of the sacraments in a manner accordant with Christ's institution.

VI. In a figurative sense, the visible totality of all who are called, that is, of all who professedly receive God's word as preached, and use the sacraments, consisting of both good and bad, is also called in scripture the church (universal or catholic), and the several divisions of this, that is, the congregations anywhere to be found, in which God's word is preached, and the holy sacraments administered, are called churches (particular churches); for this reason, namely, that in this visible body, the invisible and true church of believers, saints and children of God, properly so called, lies concealed, and beyond the number of the called, no elect are to be sought.

VII. As the visible communions, in which the word and sacraments essentially exist, according to God's word bear the name of "*church*," on account of the true invisible church of true believers found in them, so have they also, on account of the true invisible church which is contained within them, though it may be composed of but "*two or three*," that *power* which Christ has given to his whole church.

VIII. Although God gathers a holy church of his elect, even where his word is not preached in all its purity, nor the sacraments administered in entire accordance with Christ's institution, if only God's word and sacraments are not entirely denied, but both essentially preserved; still all are bound, as they value the salvation of their souls, to forsake all false teachers, and avoid all erroneous associations or sects, and, on the other hand, to unite in the confession of their faith with orthodox congregations and preachers, wherever such are to be found.

IX. For the attainment of salvation, communion with the invisible church is all that is absolutely necessary, as it is to her alone that all the glorious promises concerning the church were originally given.

II. OF THE HOLY MINISTRY OR PASTORSHIP.

I. The holy ministry or pastorship is an office different from the priesthood, which belongs to all christians.

II. The ministry is not a human ordinance, but an office instituted by God himself.

III. The ministry is not an optional office, but one whose establishment has been enjoined upon the church, and to which the church is ordinarily obligated unto the end of time.

IV. The ministry is not a peculiar order of superior holiness, standing in contrast with the common order of christians,

as the Levitical priesthood did, but it is an office that serves others.

V. The ministry has the power of preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments, and the powers of a spiritual court.

VI. The ministry is conferred by God, through the congregation, which possesses all church power, or the power of the keys, and through its call, given in the manner prescribed by God. Ordination by the imposition of hands upon such as have been called, is not of divine appointment, but is an apostolic and churchly ordinance, and only a public and solemn confirmation of the call.

VII. The holy ministry is the delegated power to exercise all the rights of the spiritual priesthood in a public office for the common good, which power is conferred by God through the congregation, as the possessor of the priesthood, and of all ecclesiastical power.

VIII. The ministerial office is the highest office in the church, and from it all others are derived.

IX. The ministry is entitled to reverence, and to unconditional obedience when the preacher proclaims God's word, but has no lordship in the church, and has, therefore, no right to enact laws, arbitrarily to establish matters of indifference, and ceremonies in the church, or to threaten or inflict excommunication without the previous knowledge of the congregation.

X. To the ministry also belongs, of divine right, the office of judging doctrines, but the laity have likewise the same right, and are therefore entitled to sit and to vote in church councils and in synods."

With the views contained in these theses generally, we fully agree. To the first nine, especially, we have nothing to object. We believe that the theory of the church here propounded, is the only sound one, and alike scriptural and Lutheran. The distinction between the church visible and invisible, is well grounded and important. To confound the two, leads to many dangerous consequences, and is especially subversive of the doctrine of the creed in regard to "*one holy christian church*," which we cannot see amid the many outward forms of christian life and diversities of human systems, as well as to the emphatic declaration of the founder of the church himself, that his "*kingdom is not of this world*." If it is visible, and consists in a fixed organization, a pope with the patrimony of St. Peter, bishops to whom men must give tithes of all that they possess, a general assembly whose presbyters can excise and unite at their pleasure, by a majority of votes, or a con-

gregation worshipping in a house of wood or of stone ; it certainly is not only in this world, but characterized by all the marks of this world. But if the visible church is only the casket that contains this jewel, the net which gathers the fish, the field which contains the wheat and the tares, the fold in which are both sheep and goats, we can readily understand how different may be the external forms of these things, and that the forms are by no means unimportant, but still only forms, not the substance ; the scaffolding, not the house. This view does not inspire low views of the church, but is the only one that guaranties sincere respect for it in all its varying phases, and in every period of its history, and assures us that Christ has indeed built his church upon a rock, so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and that He is with it always, even unto the end of the world. Otherwise, the church of the second and third centuries appears contemptible alike in the character of its professors, and the spiritual and intellectual character of its advocates and rulers, that of the fourth the mere tool of a half converted emperor, and the prey of contending factions, after which the night of superstition begins to gather darker and darker, until the last glimmerings of the spirit of Christ are lost, and a ghostly and ghastly despotism of popes and patriarchs, of bishops and priests, fills the world with its abominations, until the light of the Reformation falls upon the scene only to "render darkness visible," and add a score more to the contending parties, who only rend, whilst each would exclusively wear the seamless robe of Christ. But no ! these imperfections, weaknesses, errors and offences are in "the earthen vessels" in which the sacred truths of christianity are contained, not in christianity itself ; in the outward body of the church, not in its pure and invisible spirit. Nor can we fail to recognize the body of Christ ; his church. It is "*wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name,*" by his voice, which is certainly in his word, and washed by his Spirit in baptism, and fed in his supper with "the true bread that cometh down from heaven." These are the visible marks of the true church, but they are not the true church itself. That is composed alike of "*the babes in Christ,*" his "*little ones,*" and "*men that are strong in the faith*" and whom the world may know no more than it did their master, as well as of "*the general assembly, and church of the first born,*" who not only have their "*names written in heaven,*" but are already inhabitants of "*the heavenly Jerusalem.*"

With the theses upon the church also, we, for the most part agree. The theory is strictly that of Luther, and well sustained by principles laid down in the symbols of the church. The ministry is not a power independent of the church, and self-perpetuating, but grows out of the church, stands in organic connection with it, and is perpetuated by it. If the training, calling and ordination of ministers is given into the hands of the ministers, it is only because they are the representatives and executive power of the church in this work, just as the Apostles were in the election of Matthias to the apostleship and of the first deacons, where the whole church first selected the two men and the deacons. Nor can we believe that St. Paul intended to introduce other principles by his letters to Timothy and Titus. Here Luther is undoubtedly right, when he says, as quoted by Prof. Walther, p. 278; "Neither Titus nor Timothy, nor Paul ever appointed (*eingesetzt*) a priest without the election and calling of the congregation. This is clearly proved by this, that Paul says in Titus 1: 7, and 1 Timothy 3: 2, "*A bishop or priest must be blameless,*" and "*The deacons must be first proved.*" Titus could not have known *which* were blameless; such a report must come from *the congregation*, who must indicate such." See Luther's work "*von Heiligung des göttlichen Namens.*" All parties in our church in this country will concede this, so far as a call to a congregation is concerned, but they deny that this has anything to do with ordination, which they make a peculiar right of the clergy. What, however, we would ask, is the use of this ordination to the pastoral office, if that office cannot afterwards be exercised, as it is conceded it cannot be, until permission is given for this by the congregation itself? What is the value of an office that cannot be exercised?

We should not, had we ourselves written these theses, have employed the phrase "the power of a spiritual court" found in the fifth. We would have preferred the more general expression, "It is the executive power of the church in the administration of its discipline." It is true the ministry has the right to judge of doctrine, but by thesis X, this same right is conceded to the laity, as also that of sitting in church councils where such points are decided, so that all that is left for the ministry peculiarly, is their executive function. And so far only do we concede to them "the power of the keys" in the exclusion of offenders and the admission of members into the church, which also follows from thesis VII.

Still less are we satisfied with thesis VIII, so far as it declares that "all other offices in the church are derived from the

ministry." As a matter of taste, no less than of christian feeling, we should even hesitate to say that "The ministry is the highest office in the church." This is indeed the language of the Apology, and it is undoubtedly true that it is the most important office in the church. But the Savior says, "*One is your master and all ye are brethren,*" and "*he that will be the greatest among you, let him be the servant of all.*" And assuredly he did not mean this in the sense of the pope, when he calls himself "the servant of the servants of Christ!" And when Paul "magnifies" his office, it is not that he may make an invidious comparison between it and other offices, but to convince the Jews of the importance of the conversion of the Gentiles, to which his office was devoted. How absurd for the servant to set himself above those whom he serves! But, letting that pass, we cannot admit that all other offices in the church are derived from the ministry. The argument p. 386, that "the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which includes all the power of the church, have been given by the church to the ministry," and that, therefore, the ministry alone distributes the power of the church to others, is the fallacy of "arguing in a circle," first establishing the power of the ministry by that of the church, and then taking all power from the church, by means of the ministry. If the church has given this power of creating subordinate officers to it, the ministry possesses it; otherwise not. The example adduced from Acts 6: 1-6, only proves the ministry to have acted as the agents of the church in the ordination of the deacons, just as they very properly do in the ordination of ministers.

But instead of the whole of this eighth thesis, it would have been much more consistent with the general train of thought and argument, to have said something like this: "All ministers are of equal rank, and any diversity in this respect is merely a human arrangement."

We had expected to discuss several aspects of this subject in detail, but our notice of the circumstances under which the book makes its appearance, has occupied much more space than we had anticipated. We therefore close our remarks very abruptly, merely observing that on the subject matter of the theses, Prof. Walther's work furnishes not only a very clear and satisfactory statement of the established doctrines of the church, but also the arguments generally, by which they have been maintained, as these are given in the works of our most distinguished theologians.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Spiers' and Surenne's French and English Pronouncing Dictionary. Newly composed from the French Dictionaries of the French Academy, Laveaux, Boiste, Bescherelle, Landais, etc.; and from the English Dictionaries of Johnson, Webster, Worcester, Richardson, &c.; containing a great number of words not found in other Dictionaries, and giving [a great amount of matter which is specified on the title-page] : Followed by a complete Vocabulary of the names of places and persons, Mythological and Classical, ancient and modern. By A. Spiers, Professor of English at the National College of Bonaparte (Paris), and the National School of Civil Engineers, &c. Carefully revised, corrected and enlarged, with the pronunciation of each word according to the system of Surenne's Pronouncing Dictionary; together with the irregular parts of all the irregular verbs, in alphabetical order; the principal French Synonymes; important additional definitions, illustrations, idioms, phrases, and grammatical remarks; and four thousand new words of general literature, and modern science and art: By G. P. Quackenbos, A. M. New York; D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. MDCCCLII.

WE have, for many years, used the Dictionary of the French Academy, as the only one that could be relied upon; but as this is, of course, caviare to all not already familiar with French, the want of a good French-English and English-French Dictionary has long been deeply felt by those who were desirous of accurately and thoroughly studying this elegant language. We know of none but Wilson's, that is any thing more than a lamentable makeshift, or much better than a lame apology for the thing wanted. We take great pleasure in saying that this desideratum has at last been most effectually supplied in the elegant work named above. This dictionary, prepared with infinite care and labor, gives a vast number of words relating to every pursuit, occupation and concern of mankind, which will be sought for in vain in any of its predecessors. It is so full and accurate in its definitions, and the use of words is so aptly illustrated by examples, by idiomatic phrases and copious quotations, that a student possessing a retentive memory, cannot fail to acquire, from its constant use, a great facility in speaking and writing French. Like the German Dictionary published by the same house, it gives the so-called synonymes, specifying wherein they agree, and wherein they differ; and all who have studied languages know how to appreciate such aids. Words that are antiquated or obsolete, little used, employed in their proper sense, and in the figurative sense; in their general acceptation; in the elevated style; in popular language, and in low expressions; also pro-

verbs, are all indicated by particular signs, and suitably explained and illustrated. For the due exhibition of the pronunciation, an excellent method has been adopted in both parts : at the head of each page are placed a sufficient number of model words, the pronunciation of which must be carefully learned from the teacher, and to which every word occurring on the page, is, by a spelling corresponding with them, given in parenthesis, so assimilated as to secure a correct pronunciation. The new words given, have been derived from unquestionable sources ; grammatical points, or peculiarities of construction, have been carefully attended to ; peculiar acceptations in which words are employed, are distinctly exhibited, and modifications of their meaning duly illustrated ; and last, but not least, this dictionary is the first that shows what prepositions are required after other words, such as verbs, when the usage of the two languages is different ; and also, when a word governs the subjunctive mood in French : all points on which the student must be constantly in search of information. The work is very handsomely got up : paper and letter-press are beautiful ; altogether it is incomparably the best French-English and English-French Dictionary ever published, and leaves little or nothing to be desired.

Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. With an Analysis, left unfinished by the late Rev. Robert Emory, D. D., President of Dickinson College : completed and edited, with a Life of Bishop Butler, Notes and Index. By G. R. Crooks. New York. Harper & Brothers, 329 & 331, Pearl St., Franklin Square—1852.

THE prominent feature of this new edition of Bishop Butler's great work, is the analysis drawn up by President Emory, completed and edited by G. R. Crooks. That the analogy is a difficult book, requiring to be studied with closely concentrated attention and deep thought, is admitted on all hands ; and the difficulty is increased by the concise and somewhat crabbed style in which this profound treatise is written. Dr. Emory has, therefore, rendered an important service, not only to young students, but to all who aim at a distinct comprehension and a just appreciation of the abstruse and powerful ratiocination here pursued. This analysis is to the treatise as a military chart is to an extensive country, of which it strongly marks the most important localities, the most striking general features, the streams and the great highways ; thus enabling those who are bent upon exploring it, to perform their work intelligently and effectually. The analysis is sufficiently full to present a clear and intelligible exhibit of the argument, and its value will, doubtless, be duly acknowledged, wherever Butler's great work is used as a college class-book. The life of the bishop, prefixed to the analysis, is more full than that prepared by Dr. Kippis, and gives all the material information that has been found attainable. Thus the present edition of Butler's Analogy is decidedly more valuable than those which we have hitherto had.

Exposition of the Grammatical Structure of the English Language; Being an attempt to furnish an improved method of teaching Grammar. For the use of Schools and Colleges. By John Mulligan, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway, and 16 Little Britain, London—1852.

To do entire justice to this work, would require an extended and thorough review. For this, however, we have neither time nor space: indeed, we have by no means had time to read it through. We have, however, examined it cursorily, and read sundry parts, in which grammars generally are worse than worthless, with great care and close attention. The result of our examination is, a high admiration of the work. In its character and design it is very different from the admirable work of Professor Fowler, so that the one cannot well interfere with the other. The author has adopted a plan of arrangement entirely different from that of preceding grammarians. He commences by calling the attention of the student to the purposes served by language, the facts which render grammatical contrivances necessary in language to the formation of propositions to convey our thoughts. And having thus come to a clear understanding with the student as to what the subject to be examined really is, he proceeds to the distinct statement of particular principles, to definitions and rules, to minute facts, connexions, relations, modifications, &c., and to a thorough exhibition, in ample detail, of all the phenomena of our beautiful vernacular. And this is, in our estimation, the proper way of studying the grammar of our own language. The examination which we have been able to give this volume, has afforded us great gratification. We have been, for a great many years, employed in teaching the grammar of a good many different languages; and in this occupation our patience has been severely tried by the stereotyped absurdities of grammarians. While the Germans have supplied us with admirable grammars of the ancient languages, nearly all English grammars which we formerly attempted to use, were positively contemptible, and much of our time was consumed in exposing their errors and absurdities. It is to us, therefore, quite refreshing to find, that a practical teacher, who thoroughly understands his subject, has had the courage to take the grammatical bull by the horns. The author has possessed himself of a clear understanding of the real business of grammar, and his book is instinct throughout with the true philosophy of language. He has avoided, as much as possible, innovations in the nomenclature; but we are glad to see that he has summarily disposed of sundry preposterous distinctions, and of such nonentities as adjective pronouns, and the like. Ever since we have understood grammar at all, we have regarded the long established notion of grammarians as to the verb "to be," expressing the naked copula, as profound nonsense, only to be equalled by that other absurdity, which represents "is" as denoting "signifies." On this subject the student will find the views and the extended discussion of the author strikingly just and satisfactory. On many other points, e. g. the verbs, prepositions, interjections, &c., he explodes old errors, and propounds sound views and correct principles. The whole discussion and treatment of what is usually denominated syntax, is, so far as we have been able to examine it, as admira-

ble in its accurate correctness and clearness, as it is in the fulness and lucidness of its explanatory, illustrative and practical details. We shall not assert that we might not differ from the author on some points, had we read his work entirely through; but having, from the examination that we have been able to make, acquainted ourselves pretty thoroughly with his general views and principles, we can cordially recommend this volume, in which no appropriate mode of employing and handling language is otherwise than thoroughly and most intelligently treated, to instructors in higher seminaries of learning, as by far the best exposition of the grammatical structure of the English language that we are acquainted with. Prof. Fowler's work seems to be best adapted to the highest college class. As the volume before us is too large for the ordinary purposes of instruction, we hope the author will be encouraged to prepare, at an early day, the abridgment which he conditionally promises in his preface.

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by Robert Chambers. In four volumes; vol. III. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 & 331, Pearl Street, Franklin Square—1852.

THE third volume of this work, which we have already noticed in extenso, has been received: it is not necessary that we should again expatiate on its merits. It is not only the best, but the only satisfactory edition extant of the life and works of the author of the *Cottar's Saturday Night*. No man of letters can afford to do without it. We may have more to say of it, when the last volume appears.

Grammar of the Greek Language, for the use of High Schools and Colleges. By Dr. Raphael Kuehner, Conrector of the Lyceum, Hanover. Translated from the German, by B. B. Edwards, late Professor in the Theological Seminary, and S. H. Taylor, Principal of Phillips' Academy, Andover. A new revised edition. New York: D. Appleton & Company—1853.

THE author of this grammar is not only a profound classical scholar, but also a veteran teacher of the classic languages. He has already published a number of admirable works in this department of study. In the present work "he adopts substantially the views which are maintained by Becker, Grimm, Hupfeld and others, and which are fully unfolded in the German grammars of Becker. According to these views, the forms and changes of language are the result of established laws, and not of accident or arbitrary arrangement. Consequently language may be subjected to scientific analysis and classification. The multitude of details may be embraced under a few comprehensive principles, and the whole may have somewhat of the completeness and spirit of a living organic system." Fully concurring in these views, we are prepared to testify that in this grammar, Dr. Kuehner places before us an ample, admirably arranged, survey of the facts and laws of the Greek language, classifying its elements in harmony with the natural relations and connexions of words and sentences, and exhibiting its essential features and peculiar phenomena in duly progressive development, and in the lucid

order of a thoroughly digested method. The matter presented is exceedingly copious, filling a bulky volume of nearly six hundred pages. The dialects, in respect of which most school grammars are very defective, are most fully and satisfactorily exhibited and illustrated. Nearly half the volume is devoted to the rules of syntax, their elucidation and practical application. In all the distinct parts of the work, the same profound knowledge, and the same conscientious fidelity of elaboration are manifest; and we fully concur in the judgment of the translators, that "it is a truly practical grammar, fitted for its object, not by a theorist in his closet, but by an experienced instructor in his school." It deserves a hearty reception among the philologists of our country.

A short and comprehensive Greek Grammar, with materials for oral exercises, for Schools and Colleges. By J. T. Champlin, Professor of Greek and Latin in Waterville College. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway—1852.

THE author of this grammar has, we think, fully accomplished his avowed design, to wit: "to exhibit the central and essential facts and principles of the language in the clearest, most practical, and most summary form possible." He has effected all that could be expected within so narrow a compass. His materials have been drawn from the highest authorities; facts and principles are stated with great clearness, and with quite sufficient fulness for the course usually pursued in academies, and for the wants of the younger college classes. The chapter on the verb (in the syntax), a condensed translation of Wunder's admirable treatise, is very excellent. The work is eminently adapted to the uses of the recitation room.

The Personal Adventures of "Our own Correspondent" in Italy. By Michael Burke Honan. New York: Harper & Brothers, 329 & 331, Pearl Street, Franklin Square—1852.

THIS volume recounts the adventures of the correspondent of the "London Times," at Lisbon, at sea, but chiefly in Italy, during the revolutionary movements of 1848—1851. The adventures are often exceedingly amusing: the work, however, communicates a great deal of valuable and permanently interesting information relative to the affairs of Italy, and the political events and revolutionary failures which have, within the last few years, transpired in Genoa, Milan, Turin, Leghorn and Florence. The correspondent had access to the best Italian society, and his communications in this connexion are very interesting and entertaining. The book is spicy in matter, racy in its tone, and very agreeable reading.

A Journal of Summer Time in the Country. By the Rev. Robert Aris Willmott, Incumbent of Bear Wood, Berks; Author of "Jeremy Taylor, a Biography." New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway—1852.

It is not easy to designate the nature of this book in a few words. The journal of a clergyman spending the summer in the country, its general tone is serious, but cheerful and happy. It consists of a great variety of elevat-

ing, devout and pleasing reflections, suggested by the beauties and wonders of animate and inanimate creation: a warm love of nature and an earnest admiration of art are manifest on every page: it abounds in references to the British poets, and those of other lands, and presents many brief quotations from their works: there is much just and enlightened literary and artistic criticism, especially of poets and painters, interspersed with incidents from their lives, and interesting anecdotes concerning them: instructive thoughts and beautiful fancies, suggested by the varied scenes of forest, garden, field and stream, greet us in many a striking form: principles are deduced, and axioms derived from the works of nature and of art, their combinations and effect, which serve to incite the more careless observer to like trains of thought. Thus the book is not only pleasing and entertaining, but calculated to benefit both head and heart. It is one of the neat volumes of "Appleton's Popular Library of the Best Authors."

Up-Country Letters. Edited by Professor B——, National Observatory. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway, and 16 Little Britain, London—1852.

To us the perusal of this book has been as delicious as a feast of choice viands can be to the epicure. It consists of letters claiming to have been written by a gentleman in the up-country (a part, we take it, of Southwestern Maine) to his friend, Prof. B., at Washington. They contain no story: they recount the multifarious on-goings, vicissitudes and enjoyments of a quiet, well-ordered, happy family in the country: many serious thoughts and solemn reflections meet you often unexpectedly; but a quiet, dry and gentle humor runs through the whole, affecting the reader much like the soft pattering of a summer shower on the sheltering roof overhead: every little incident in or out of doors, the visits of friends and visits to them in return, the arrival of letters, all the varieties of the daily domestic routine in and out of doors, furnish occasions for serious or humorous reflections, and droll speculations and remarks; and the whole is a delightful treat from beginning to end.

Evenings at Donaldson Manor; or, The Christmas Guest. By Maria J. McIntosh. Author of "Two Lives," "Charms and Counter-charms," etc. etc. A new revised edition. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway, and 16 Little Britain, London—1853.

THE author of this book is already favorably known to the reading public. Her writings all have some specific and useful end in view. In the present volume she presents, in the garb of evening entertainments at the mansion of an opulent gentleman, a series of tales designed to inculcate sound principles and correct views of life and its relations and duties, and to illustrate and commend the superiority of solid intelligence, and of sterling moral and religious character over the glitter of conventionalities, and the empty pretensions and parade of fashionable refinement and elegance. The book is full of good sense, and its animus throughout is excellent.

Time and Tide ; or, Strive and Win. By A. S. Roe, Author of "James Montjoy," "To love, and to be loved," etc. etc. New York : D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway—1852.

WE have formerly had occasion to speak with commendation of the author's first work. As there, so here his aim is to exhibit the happy results of a well ordered, virtuous life, the disastrous effects of a course of folly, vice and crime, and thus to guard and deter the young from the one, and to invite and win them to the other. The character and tendency of the book are unexceptionable.

HARPER'S Magazine continues to visit us regularly with its rich freight of instructive, interesting and entertaining matter. It well sustains the reputation long since acquired, of being by far the best monthly published in this country, or perhaps anywhere. The November number is more than usually valuable.

Outlines of Moral Science. By Archibald Alexander, D. D. Late Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. New York : Charles Scribner, 1852. pp. 272.

THIS is a most excellent treatise, the last that proceeded from its gifted author, and is admirably fitted for use as a text-book in our schools and colleges. It is the result of much experience in teaching, of profound and laborious thought, but like every thing that has been written by Dr. Alexander, it is clear, simple, precise and forceful, characterized by the same practical good sense which distinguishes all his productions. It may be regarded as a comprehensive syllabus of ethical philosophy, didactic rather than controversial, in which elementary principles and fundamental truths are laid down and explained, and a clear analysis of the moral faculties given, with no useless words, and with no attempt to elucidate points which are inexplicable. He builds his system upon the Bible, and entirely repudiates the dangerous theory of expediency, with all the false principles and fallacious reasonings of Dr. Paley. We welcome the work as an important addition to the ethical literature of our country, and with much satisfaction commend it to the attention of our readers.

The Evidences of Christianity, in their external or historical division, exhibited in a course of lectures. By Charles P. McIlvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio. Seventh Edition. Philadelphia : Smith and English, 1852. pp. 408.

WE hail with peculiar delight any work, designed to vindicate the faith of the believer in Christ and his glorious Gospel, whose tendency is to strengthen our confidence in the oracles of God, and to advance the cause of experimental religion. We are gratified to see a new edition of this admirable treatise by Dr. McIlvaine. We read it many years ago, and then regarded it as one of the best works on the Evidences of Christianity ; a re-examination of the volume has not diminished our estimate of its merits, or impaired our respect for its author. The style is remarkably clear and, by no means,

deficient in elegance; the illustrations are apposite, the argument is conclusive, and the whole discussion is presented in such a form as to strike the mind and impress the heart. After some introductory observations, the authenticity, integrity and credibility of the New Testament are established, and miracles, prophecy, the propagation and fruits of Christianity are given as proofs of a Divine Revelation. Then the author presents a summary of the argument, with a reply to objections, and concludes with a lecture on the Inspiration of the Scriptures. The volume is worthy of an attentive perusal, and whilst it may induce the sceptic to renounce his delusions and dreams of sin, it will certainly confirm the humble believer in his faith, and supply him with armor, with which to ward off the adversaries of his soul.

Redemption's Dawn: or Biographical Studies in the Old Testament history and prophecy, in eleven lectures. By N. C. Burt, Springfield, Ohio. Philadelphia: Smith and English, No. 36, N. Sixth Street, 1852. pp. 264.

THIS volume consists of a series of discourses, delivered by the writer to his congregation, on the subject of history and prophecy, in its aspects as a science, and discusses such topics as the following: Abel and the Antediluvian period—Noah—Abraham and the patriarchal period—Jacob—Joseph and the bondage—Moses—Moses and the Wandering—Joshua and the conquest of Canaan—Ruth and the period of the Judges—David—David and the Monarchy. As it is the design of the lectures to present something of the divine plan, apparent in the Old Testament with reference to the coming Messiah, the lives of only such individuals are selected as stand connected with some historical period, or some striking historical development, or with some new revelation respecting the Messiah. The biographical element is regarded as the least important, and is only assumed because it possesses certain advantages for popular and practical instruction. The book is well written, and contains much valuable thought. We consider it an interesting contribution to the theological literature of our land, and our enterprising friends, Messrs. Smith and English, are entitled to much praise for the handsome and substantial form, in which they have presented the work to the public.

Subjection to Law, the Constitution of Man's Nature: A discourse to the Graduating Class of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, September 16, 1852. By H. L. Baugher, D. D., President of the College. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1852. pp. 16.

THE *Baccalaureate* of Doctor Baugher, delivered during the late *Commencement* services of Pennsylvania College, is an able discourse, appropriate to the occasion, and sustaining the reputation which the writer as a preacher enjoys. It abounds in excellent thought, striking illustration, and vigorous expression, and contains many suggestions, highly important and worthy the consideration of those, to whom they are particularly addressed. The sentiments throughout are so correct, and expressed with so much point, that we take pleasure in commending the discourse to general perusal. No one can read the discussion without the conviction that the author is right, and every one, who reads, must feel the importance of the truths expressed. The ad-

dress is printed by Mr. Neinstedt, with the same neatness which marks all the issues from his press.

The True Aims of American Ambition : An address delivered before the Literary Societies of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg September, 1852. By Hon. R. T. Conrad. Philadelphia : Crissy and Markley. pp. 32.

JUDGE Conrad's address, when delivered, attracted much favor, and we are certain that none of the interest, with which it was then received, will be diminished by its perusal. It is a finished and eloquent production, conceived in the finest taste, and indicating genius of the highest culture. It is full of poetic imagery, of brilliant, elevated thought, of the purest and most patriotic sentiments, clothed in the choicest and most appropriate language. There is a charm in all the author's writings,—*Nihil, quod non ornavit, tetigit*—which will always secure for them readers, and win their admiration.

Footsteps of our Forefathers : what they suffered and what they sought. Describing localities, and portraying personages and events conspicuous in the struggles for religious liberty. By Jas. G. Miall. Boston : Gould and Lincoln, 1852. pp. 352.

THIS is an interesting book, written in a chaste and perspicuous style; abounding in graphic and stirring narratives, and furnishes the reader with a large amount of valuable information. Its object is to exhibit the nature and consequences of religious persecution, particularly as seen in a Protestant form, to show how any religious system may become vitiated and perverted by its alliance with the powers of State, and to produce in the mind the conviction of the inestimable value of spiritual freedom. A state church is not necessary to the vitality of the religious system; those periods, in which a state church has been most powerful, are not the periods fixed upon by any party as worthy of the highest complacency; and they have generally been the best men, upon whom the State church has frowned. These ideas are clearly established by a reference to facts, in the memorable struggles for religious liberty in the past history of the world. The work is most beautifully printed, in clear type and on fine paper, and is indeed an ornament to the American press.

Five years in an English University. By Charles Astor Bristed, late Foundation Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. New York : G. W. Putnam and Company, 1852. pp. 441.

THIS is a very readable book. It presents a picture of University life in England, just as it is, in which the author's experience and observations are given, as well as the impression which such a life would make upon the American mind. We have perused the book with the deepest interest, and have concluded that from its pages a better idea can be gathered of either Cambridge or Oxford, than from any other source, with which we are acquainted. The author's advantages for preparing a book of the kind were very great; for having passed with honor through the regular *curriculum* of

study in a New England college, he entered Cambridge as a Freshman, where he remained five years, which afforded him the opportunity of becoming thoroughly acquainted with all the minutiae of the system, and the varied details of University life. His object in undertaking the work was, that in this country so little is known respecting the English Universities, and that which we do know gives us erroneous and unfavorable impressions on the subject; and because there are points in an English University, which may be studied with profit, and from which valuable suggestions may be derived. If we were disposed to offer any criticism, we would say that the arrangement might be better, that there is a want of system in the book, that the writer has not bestowed as much care upon the diction as could be desired. We must not forget to say that the publishers have done their part well. It is a most attractive volume. The clear typography, the beautiful paper and rich binding are most grateful to the eye, and worthy of all praise. We shall be happy to take up the book again, to examine it in its details, and to make it the basis of an article on the Collegiate system of Education in our own country.

The Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Naso: elucidated by an analysis and explanation of the Fables, together with English notes, historical, mythological and critical, and illustrated by pictorial embellishments. By Nathan Covington Brooks, A. M., Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages. Late Principal of the Baltimore High School, President of the Baltimore Female College. Fourth edition. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.—pp. 386.

PROFESSOR Brooks has long been regarded by the public as an experienced and successful teacher, a fine scholar and an accomplished linguist. His literary efforts have always been received with favor, and the work before us, we are sure, will detract none from the reputation which he already enjoys. The task undertaken has been executed in a manner creditable to himself, and advantageous to the public. The annotation is full, faithful and able, marked by good taste, sound scholarship and accurate discrimination. An acquaintance with Mythology is indispensable to the classical student, and in no way can this knowledge be so readily secured, as by the study of the fables themselves. Ovid is the great store-house of ancient mythology, containing the fictions of Greece and Rome, in a connected and attractive form. He, therefore, deservedly claims a place in our schools, and we know of no edition of the author that is comparable to the work before us in the elegance of its execution. To every fable the editor has prefixed an analysis and explanation, which furnishes material aid to the pupil, and cannot fail to increase his interest in the work. The remarkable coincidences between the events recorded by the poet, and those of sacred history, are noticed, and many of the fables, which are corrupt traditions of scriptural truths, are traced back to the scriptural narratives, and parallel passages from the sacred volume are given. The corresponding extracts from modern authors, presented in the notes, are exceedingly interesting, and while they seem to illustrate the text, they are likely to awaken in the student a taste for reading.

The pictorial embellishments are beautiful, contributing to the illustration of the poet, and impressing more deeply the fable upon the youthful memory. The book is dedicated by the editor to Prof. C. P. Krauth, D. D., as a testimonial of regard for his piety and talents, and for the zeal with which he has devoted them to the cause of virtue and sound learning.

A Plea for Female Education, comprising Documents and Facts illustrative of the Importance of the Subject. By Rev. D. F. Bittle. Hagerstown, Md., McKee & Robertson, Publishers—1853.

UPON the eve of the publication of the Ev. Review, this important treatise has come to hand. Having had an opportunity of examining it in manuscript, we can commend it to the notice of all who are interested in female education, and pronounce it a highly instructive and attractive series of reflections on its theme. It contains 111 pages, and is sold at twenty-five cts. per copy.

Scriptural Character of the Lutheran Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. By the Rev. H. I. Schmidt, D. D. Professor of the German Language and Literature &c. in Columbia College, N. Y. Published by H. Ludwig, 46 Vesey Str. N. Y.

ORIGINALLY published in this Review, in reply to Dr. Schmucker's article on the same subject, this treatise appears now, enlarged with a historical introduction, giving a condensed account of the faith of the church. The whole has been carefully revised, and takes its place in our church literature aside of its forerunner, to which it is a reply. The ability of Dr. Schmidt as a writer and theologian is not doubtful. Our pages have furnished abundant evidence of his fine taste and great versatility. The work before us is a test of his theological learning and discrimination. We recommend to all, who feel an interest in such discussions, the two treatises, Dr. Schmidt's and Dr. Schmucker's. They go together, like Hayne and Webster, and our motto should be—audi et alteram partem.

We send bills to some of our subscribers, who are in arrears for more than one year, others will follow, unless payment should be made before our next issue.

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THE
EVANGELICAL REVIEW

NO. XVI.

APRIL, 1853.

ARTICLE I.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

OUR present system of collegiate education is a subject, interesting to the christian as well as to the scholar. When we consider the influence that those, now in a course of preparation in the literary institutions of our land, are likely to exert upon the country and the world, no apology is necessary for its discussion in the pages of the Review. In our colleges is determined the character of those who are to fill the professions and make our laws, of those who are to extend the boundaries of science and learning, and whose office it will be to shape the intellect and mould the heart of the rising generation. They are intimately connected with our political and social system; they are closely identified with the interests of the church and the destinies of the Republic. In our examination of this question, we do not expect to present any views, new or striking, and if, as we pass along, our readers may find that that, which is propounded, has already occurred to their own minds, has often engaged their attention, and their reflections upon the subject have been of greater value than any thing that can now be offered, the discussion may still prove profitable; practical suggestions may be made, useful hints given and public attention directed to some points of importance to all those who are interested in the work of education. To the colleges of our land we are under great obligations, and sorry should we be to detract from their value, or utter a sentiment that

might impair their usefulness. Ungrateful would we consider ourselves, if we did not appreciate their influence, and acknowledge the good they have accomplished. But we think they are susceptible of important improvement; their efficiency might be increased, their usefulness extended. Our present plan of collegiate education is not perfect; there are many features connected with it, that call for a reformation. If the defects, which have been engrafted upon the system can be removed; if our colleges can be made more fully to subserve the object of their organization, they will be regarded by the community with greater affection, and will more generally secure the confidence and patronage of the public. Colleges are public institutions. They are dependent on the public favor, not only for students, but for those continued benefactions, which are so grateful to their guardians, and so essential to their success. To the people at large—at least to all who are disposed to bear a part in efforts for the advancement of the welfare of our country, in this and coming ages—the subject of collegiate education is a question of moment, and its discussion ought to be regarded with interest.

In a review of the whole system of collegiate education in the United States, the first feature that strikes us is, *the injudicious multiplication of these institutions*. The number is so great, that their influence is weakened, and their power is materially diminished. If the energies and strength of each State were concentrated upon one or two colleges within its limits, instead of nine or ten, which in many instances exist, the interests of learning would be greatly promoted. They would be less crippled in their efforts, and could be made more fully to answer the design for which they were established. If the funds, which have been distributed by legislative grants and private munificence among the one hundred and forty colleges of our land, had been applied to forty of them, how favorable to the cause of education would have been the result! Then they could have been more readily furnished with adequate buildings, ample laboratories, extensive libraries, the best modes of instruction, and the services of the most eminent teachers. As it is, the endowment of the most highly favored is scarcely sufficient, it is said, to carry on their operations successfully and independently. Many of them are dragging out a miserable, sickly existence, whilst others have a name to live, when they are dead. In no country does collegiate education involve so heavy an outlay of expense, as in our own. Every separate institution requires a corps of professors, buildings, astronomical and philosophical apparatus, library, &c., and, by the mul-

tiplication of the same object of expenditure, immense appropriations are needed for securing comparatively trifling results. Improper considerations often influence those who are interested in founding a college ; they are not always established for the purpose of advancing the interests of science, but in many instances merely to promote the welfare of a town or county, to enhance the value of real estate, to favor the population of a particular section, to benefit some political party or religious sect. Our legislative bodies have been too free in granting chartered rights to colleges, and although it is contended that a charter is only a trifling favor which is asked, and that all parties, creeds and localities ought to enjoy any advantages that may be derived from these institutions of learning, yet the consequence has been most mischievous, a deep injury has been inflicted upon the cause of education. The standard of acquirement has been reduced, the qualifications for admission and graduation have been lowered, the severer studies have been curtailed, easier, agreeable and *practical* subjects have been introduced, and the whole course of instruction has been adapted to the utilitarian views of the age. The result of it is, that scholarship has become more superficial and our colleges less effective. We make no objection to the multiplication of academies and high schools. They may be established to an indefinite extent. Let them be planted in all towns and villages, but let them remain academies and high schools, and we will be glad to encourage them and aid them in their laudable sphere of action. Thus will they more fully perform their mission, and confer a permanent benefit upon learning.

A radical defect in our collegiate system of education, and one which flows from the preceding, is *the imperfect preparation of those, who enter the institution*. A want of preparation for the position taken, often occasions the student considerable embarrassment throughout the course, and in all subsequent life proves a source of serious evil. He continually meets with discouragement and mortification. He feels hampered all the time, and is continually impeded in his progress. It is idle to speak of elevating our colleges, so long as applicants are admitted with qualifications so superficial. As there is such a struggle for numbers among our literary institutions, the competition being directed to this point rather than to scholarship, the temptation is presented to receive candidates with very limited attainments, although the printed regulations may require a tolerably extensive preparation. From our knowledge of the practice of some of our best institutions, there is, for the reason just given, a want of adherence to the standard

adopted by them. Young men are admitted into the Freshmen, and even Sophomore class, who are unable to solve a question in simple equations, or accurately give the paradigm of a Greek verb, who are altogether unacquainted with Latin prosody, or would fail in the analysis of an English sentence. If we desire to improve our collegiate system, we must insist upon a more thorough and extended preparation, and make the mental discipline of college studies more rigorous and effectual. Let the requirements for admission be raised so high, that the pupil will be compelled to spend two or three years longer in the academy or preparatory school, under the constant eye of the teacher, until he is thoroughly grounded in the first principles, and has acquired the art of study, so that he can engage in mental effort with profit and success. We are always sorry to see an individual enter college too young. As a general matter, he is incompetent to grasp many of the subjects, to which he is required to attend; he is not qualified for the increased difficulties of the course, as it is now constituted; he acquires a prejudice against study, a disrelish for all mental effort, retires in disgust, and remembers with no satisfaction or pleasure, the scenes of college days. The experience of how many a young man do I now reveal? His mind is not sufficiently matured for self-reliance, his principles are not fully formed, he is easily seduced by reckless associates from the path of rectitude, and too often makes shipwreck of character. But with the mental powers properly disciplined, and a thorough mastery of the rudiments, there would be a higher appreciation of the value of time, and a more accurate estimate of the influence of present diligence upon ultimate success. He would realize, in a greater degree, his ability to investigate truth, and not merely to gather up knowledge and deposit in his memory that which is found in the text-books. Every effort, we think, should be made to improve the character of our preparatory schools. They should be raised to the highest standard of excellence, elevated to their proper rank and true position. They should be nourished with the most tender care, guarded with the deepest solicitude. Their influence is most important, they enjoy unlimited opportunities of doing good. The instruction imparted in them should be accurate, systematic and thorough. The youth in them should be well drilled in the elements, and should possess a perfect mastery of the field, which they traverse. Rigid analysis and synthesis should be faithfully practised, as well as frequent and searching revisions of the studies. Repetition is the sure path

to success, and renders that easy and pleasant, which previously appeared intricate and uninteresting.

Let our colleges be awakened to a conviction of this growing evil, and to a sense of the danger which must ultimately flow from its continuance. Let a barrier be erected which will exclude all, who are not qualified for admission. Let our officers never shrink from duty; let them be influenced by neither fear nor favor; let them prefer rather to suffer some temporary inconvenience, than to be false to the trust committed to them, or faithless to the cause of sound learning. An institution pursuing the course proposed, will rise in the estimation of the community. Even if it should for a time incur the displeasure of disappointed expectation, it will ultimately gather around it friends. Men of discernment will perceive the difference, and parents desirous of giving their sons a liberal education will, in preference, select the institution that lives up to its standard, and really deserves the name of a college.

Closely connected with the evil just referred to, is *the low standard of attainment required for graduation*. Emerging from all our colleges, we find those who know very little more than when they entered, who are kept in the institution till the appointed time for their exodus, passing over the prescribed course in a listless manner, and then receiving their testimonials of literary merit, without any regard to the qualifications they possess. There is perhaps more truth than caricature in the remark, once made by Swift, that the reason a certain university was a learned place was, that most persons took some learning there, and few brought any away with them, so it accumulated. Hundreds are annually graduated by our college authorities as Bachelors in the Arts, without any claim to the distinction. How frequently is a young man endorsed by our college faculties in terms not warranted by the case, in language such as this: *ingenuis artibus, assidua diligentia et bonis moribus primam lauream et omnia privilegia, jura, immunitatesque ad gradum Baccalaureum pertinentia adeptum esse*, who would be at a loss to construe a simple sentence in Cicero or Livy, or could not, like many of the candidates for admission into the Theological Seminary, according to the testimony of Professor Stuart, tell the reason why *μοῦσα* should have *ης* rather than *ας* in the genitive singular! Is it surprising that a college parchment should carry with it so little influence, or a college degree should be so much in disrepute? Is there not more of the counterfeit than genuine coin current? On this subject there is certainly a great deficiency in our literary institutions, a most shameful

want of conformity to their standard. There has been an amount of looseness that is altogether inexcusable. The examination should be most rigidly conducted, and upon none unworthy of the title, should the degree be conferred. A diploma, if given, should mean something; it should be the voucher of genuine scholarship. There is no magic in a mere act of corporation, to make a college distinguished, which does not awaken respect by its elevated instruction, its high toned scholarship.

In this connexion we are disposed to refer to *the manner in which, of late years, honorary degrees have been lavished upon the public*, as an evil worthy the consideration of those who are the friends of collegiate education. The prerogative has been exercised to such an extent, as to be superlatively ridiculous, to render the whole thing a perfect burlesque. Such a batch of doctors as are created every year at our college commencements, might lead a stranger to conclude, that we were a nation of most profound scholars. But to one, who knows how these things are managed, who has witnessed the influences that are at work, or is acquainted with the competency of those to decide, who examine the credentials of the candidates, and has any knowledge of the shallow pretensions and slender acquirements of the recipients, it is a subject of amusement rather than of astonishment. A college sometimes resorts to this thing for the purpose of gaining the interest of a person of influence, or the patronage of a wealthy congregation. The question is often asked, what advantage will it be to the institution, how many students will it secure, what benefactions will it confer? We knew a college some years ago, disposed to engage in this kind of traffic, *quid pro quo*, that actually offered the Doctorate to any one who would furnish a certain amount of patronage. And then the dishonorable means that are frequently employed by many who are anxious to be titled, the manœuvring, the management and address used to secure the object, must be regarded by properly constituted minds, as extremely offensive, loathsome in the highest degree, a very ill savor in our nostrils! Our colleges should cease to engage in merchandize, so degrading in its character, and so discreditable to learning. The place is too sacred to allow practices of this kind. The tables of the money changers should be overthrown, and those who sell and buy in this consecrated temple, should be cast out. Under the circumstances, we are not surprised that many of our most deserving men, some of our best theologians, are unwilling to accept an honorary degree, and we would recommend to others for adop-

tion, a similar course, did we not suppose that it was giving the intended honor a greater notoriety than the thing really deserves. Besides this lavish liberality in the distribution of Academic honors is a measure of doubtful policy to the college itself, for the expedient fails to accomplish the object proposed. It does not, in the end, by this means, gain the favor and patronage it anticipated. Where it has pleased one man by bestowing this mark of distinction, it has offended, perhaps, a dozen, because their expectations have been disappointed, their supposed claims overlooked.

We have already alluded to a serious evil in our collegiate system of education, *in the ruinous competition, which exists for numbers rather than for scholarship*. The sentiment which prevails, that the excellence of an institution is to be estimated by the number in attendance in preference to the kind of instruction furnished, is very erroneous. It may be a very false test, for sometimes improper methods are pursued for supplying a college with members. The terms of admission are made easy to secure students; the course is rendered popular and partial, rather than solid and thorough, in order to retain them. All are graduated who pass over the *curriculum*, whether they can read their diploma or not; none are cut off for irregularities, however flagrant they may be. All kinds of disorder are tolerated, remissness in duty connived at, and insubordination to law permitted, just because the institution cannot afford to lose students, in order that the annual catalogue may swell with a long list of names. The reputation of a college ought not to depend upon the number on the roll, but on the extent, accuracy and thoroughness of the instruction communicated within its halls. Our institutions should place their reliance for an adequate and permanent supply of students upon their literary, moral and religious character; they should aim to surpass one another in the substantial value of the education given. This process may be slow, but it will be sure and lasting. The institution will steadily rise into favor. It is rather a precarious experiment for a college to act upon the principle of acquiring pupils first, and character afterwards. If it possesses character, it must ultimately succeed. Without it, the institution cannot retain them, and if it could, it would not be desirable. It were better that they should become bankrupt, than succeed at the expense of the interests of education.

We think there is too much of a disposition, in our country, in which every thing tends to practical results, even among intelligent men, *to make concessions to the utilitarian spirit*

of the age, to lay aside established systems, to inquire in reference to every subject *cui bono*, to adapt the instruction and discipline of our colleges to the views and tastes, the wants and opinions of the people, to flatter the prejudices, and submit to the guidance of the masses, to make every thing bend to immediate utility, and give it the very form and pressure of the times. It should be the object of our colleges to correct and improve public opinion, rather than succumb and accommodate themselves to it. A college faculty should be fearless and independent in the discharge of their official trust; in the performance of their duties, they should be regardless of fear or favor, uninfluenced by praise or censure. They should be willing to sacrifice themselves rather than swerve from their convictions of duty, from that course of action which they believe to be right, and which the interests of learning demand. They should refuse to graduate young men whose sentiments, tastes and acquirements are not calculated to refine the feelings, and elevate the judgment. But what is the practice pursued by many of our colleges? Students must be had at all risks, and every instrument, public and private, no matter how dishonorable, is used for beating up recruits. The most flattering pretensions are made, and pompous proposals published, the most unblushing puffing is resorted to, and vain glorification employed for success. Efforts, so contemptible in themselves and discreditable to learning, are made, to attain the desired end. Old abuses and time-honored customs are to be reformed, the antiquated system of instruction and discipline supplanted by a new order of things, and scholars are to be manufactured in the shortest possible period. Education must be practical! Why should a student, who expects to be a preacher, pore over conics and spherics? Why should he learn the theory of eclipses, unless he proposes to be a maker of almanacs? Of what use will it be to him to scan the odes of Horace or the satires of Juvenal? Why should he continually delve and worry over Greek roots? Let him learn that, which will come into play in the practical details of the profession to which he is looking. Let the course of studies be changed, the mode of pursuing them modified, so as to please everybody. Popularity is the great thing, and the college which ought to be the guide of public sentiment, blindly follows the people, and adopts their maxims. The result is, our colleges are losing their hold upon the confidence of the people, their influence is regarded as of little value, and it is found that a student may accomplish really more, and become a more profound scholar in a school of humbler pretensions. If this tendency

of the age is not resisted, and a different course pursued, it is certain that the standard of attainment will be depressed more and more, until the college is reduced to a grade far below the Academy.

Another defect in our collegiate system of education is, that *so much money is expended on the external appendages of the institution*; more than either the absolute wants require, or a regard to taste and convenience justify. This *mania* for showy buildings seems to have seized all our colleges. It is common to invest a large proportion of the funds in brick, stone and mortar, in the erection of costly edifices, designed not so much for the actual necessities of the institution, as to make an imposing display. The capital should be funded so as to yield to the direct interests of education. A convenient edifice, large enough for public purposes, recitation rooms, library, chapel, laboratory and cabinet, would be sufficiently ample. The students might be boarded with greater convenience and comfort in private families, and much would be gained in those influences, which it is so desirable should be brought to bear upon the young in our literary institutions. We are free to confess, that we do not like the plan of congregating young men in college buildings, remote from domestic influences. But it is said, by this arrangement their morals would suffer; they would be deprived of official supervision, and would enjoy increased facilities for engaging in vice, and perpetrating mischief. We think not. Their morals would be quite as safe as they now are, and perhaps if they were distributed through the village, as members of well regulated families, they would be exposed to fewer temptations, and their morals would be better protected. They would suffer less by contamination and unrestrained association with ill-taught or badly disposed persons, familiar with vice. *One sinner destroyeth much good.* The same idea has been forcibly expressed by the Roman satirist:

*Dedit hanc contagio labem,
Et dabit in plures; sicut grex totus in agris,
Unius scabie cadit, et porrigine porci;
Uraque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva.*

But if young men are not virtuous when they enter an institution, the most rigid police will not restrain them, the periodical visits to their rooms of faithful officers, sleeping in the same building, will not deter them; they will break through the most carefully managed system, to accomplish their pur-

poses, to gratify their vicious appetites, their depraved propensities. "Does not," in the language of another, "a natural impatience of espionage, however tenderly exercised, prompt a desire to elude it? Not one of us who have had experience of college life, but could tell sad stories of ready means to cheat tutors, and turn the war adroitly upon them; of festive meetings, if not worse practices, within a few yards of the honest men's beds, and midnight excursions through the unwatched doors, to haunts of sin without." If college authorities were faithful in the exercise of proper discipline, and did not wink at frequent violations of the rules laid down in the printed statutes, the opinion has been maintained, that every session it would be necessary to dismiss one-half of the inmates of our college edifices. On the other hand, if according to our theory, young men are not received into college connexion, until they have acquired the art of study, and formed a taste for intellectual pursuits, if all, whose principles are not fully established, are excluded, if they are held responsible for the careful and thorough preparation of every recitation, if the faculty are fearless in the exercise of proper discipline, and will send off unworthy members of the college community, we have not much reason to apprehend that they will be seduced from the path of virtue, or that they will be losers by being distributed among different families in the place. At any rate, we do not approve of the espionage too often met with in many of our colleges, which converts every member of the faculty into a police officer, prowling about at night, watching the offender with stealthy step, until he has been caught in some aberration, and then pouncing upon him, as if he were a felon. We have no sympathy for the system sometimes practised, of looking through key-holes, of searching rooms, or for any species of artifice or trick, even to secure a desirable object, which may be dishonorable in itself, and which is calculated to impair that sense of propriety which ought to exist in the minds of all young men. The end does not sanctify the means. We believe by such a course the object aimed at is defeated, a premium to roguery is offered, an encouragement to baseness and meanness; the evil is increased, and a most serious injury inflicted upon the moral feeling of the student. Every thing like stratagem should be avoided, and all our intercourse should be regulated by a principle of honor; in all our bearings there should be dignity, frankness and sincerity. Like priest like people. The pupil, just as a mirror, reflects the teacher. The injunction given by Terence, is generally by the young unconsciously obeyed:

*“Inspicere, tanquam in speculum, in vitas omnium,
Jubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.”*

If we would have those placed under our care honorable in feeling, and gentlemanly in action, we must be so ourselves. We must abstain from every thing that approaches impropriety, or savors of meanness. But on this subject more again. We would not govern young men as boys. The latter ought to be under constant supervision, they should be subjected to incessant vigilance. They should not only live in a common building, and eat at a common table, but at all hours, both of study and recreation, they should be under the eye of their teachers. We would exclude from the college, all who are unable to take care of themselves, all whose morals are in danger of becoming corrupted, whose principles are not yet fortified. We would propose that they pursue their studies in the academy or preparatory school, where the discipline can be more readily adapted to their tender years, and their peculiar position. If there be a grammar school connected with the college, it ought to be entirely distinct, under a separate government, and no communication between the two departments should be permitted. We have always supposed that a preparatory department could be governed with greater efficiency, if located in some other place, although it might be under the auspices of the same board of trustees as the college.

We remark that there is *a want of sufficient incentive presented to the student*, to urge him on in his progress, to stimulate him to great intellectual effort, to awaken within his breast a high standard of excellence. This is an important element for energetic and efficient study. It is true, a man ought to be influenced by higher motives, a sense of duty and a love of knowledge; but we must take man as he is, and employ to advantage the peculiarities of his mental constitution. Sacred authority sanctions stimulants to exertion, and motives to obedience. The scriptures present reward as an argument in favor of virtue, and punishment as an argument against vice. This policy is recommended in the Bible in reference to family government. Promises of good are held out to the faithful, while on the contrary, children are warned against unfaithfulness by threats of evil. *Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* Obedience to God is constantly enforced by offers of Heaven, on the one hand, and denunciations of misery on the other. Providence has seen fit to place before the mind collateral advantages, as additional motives, to deepen our interest and quicken exertion. We are told that know-

ledge increaseth power. *A wise man is strong, a man of understanding increaseth strength.* The good opinion of our fellow-men is presented in the sacred volume as a motive to effort. *A good name is better than riches.* We are urged to industry, because it leads to distinction. *Seeest thou a man diligent in business, he shall stand before kings.* We should only be careful that these motives do not usurp the place of worthier influences. Let them be regarded as auxiliary, and not as the controlling motive. Every one who has studied human nature knows, that in order to secure the desirable amount of application in the pupil, a system of stimuli is requisite, in addition to those derived from the simple love of truth and a desire of learning. Something more is necessary than the mere thirst of knowledge, to counteract that love of pleasure which usually so strongly predominates in the young. Generous and keen competition, earnest and honorable emulation ought to be encouraged. A desire to excel is not a base or unworthy sentiment; its indulgence is not dangerous, and may safely be called into action as an inducement to effort in study. Envious feeling need not be enkindled, or unkind rivalry engendered. Alienations, animosities, heart-burnings or strife will not necessarily follow from intellectual wrestlings. There may be the most spirited rivalry, the warmest emulation, and yet the most magnanimous feeling may exist, that same nobility of soul which prompted the Lacedamonian to exclaim, when he was apprized that a rival was preferred to him: *I rejoice that Sparta has a worthier son than I!* or which made Æschines reply, when the Rhodians applauded the speech of his great rival, as it was merely recited to them: *What would you have felt, if you had heard Demosthenes himself?* Instead of awakening unkind jealousy, excellence will secure deference, and often do we see the student, in the recitation room, by his clear and elegant translation of Æschylus or Demosthenes, or by his luminous, unambitious solution of an intricate proposition in mathematics, or by his beautiful composition and eloquent declamation, enchaining attention, and eliciting the silent but visible admiration of his classmates. The exhibition of talent is more likely to secure respect and homage than the contrary, and will incite others to put forth efforts in the same direction. Let young men be taught to provoke one another to good works. There is a mistaken opinion in the minds of many on this point, a degree of sensitiveness that is unwarranted. It is only the abuse of the thing that is to be condemned. Those who are so much opposed to the exercise of a laudable ambi-

tion in our schools, and would be glad to abolish all distinctions, are not the individuals whose breasts are most free from jealous feelings, whose own hearts are strangers to envy. We believe the interests of sound scholarship would be promoted, if prizes were established, to be awarded for eminence in the branches of study in the college course. Enthusiasm in any pursuit is always contagious. A spirit of emulation, if properly directed, would spread in an institution, and be productive of the most beneficial results. Scholarship would be awakened and fostered, the character of our colleges would be raised, and a new chapter commenced in their history. One interested in education and sound learning, could not render an institution greater service than by establishing a fund, the interest of which to be applied to the object proposed. Premiums should, however, be given for that which is good, absolutely deserving in itself, not for relative rank in a class, for the best one in a poor class might be a very indifferent scholar. They should also be awarded in money, which would relieve the necessities of worthy young men in indigent circumstances. The recipient, in the estimation of the community, would be regarded as worthy of all praise, and instead of feeling depressed on account of his poverty, he would be cheered in his course, encouraged by the reflection that the past was an earnest of his future success, and consoled by the thought that neither wealth nor extraction, nor any fictitious circumstances, but character is really valuable.

This leads us to make a remark upon the subject of *elemosynary education*, which, as it is at present managed, is very defective, and from which serious evil has resulted. At every institution there are those who are gratuitously sustained, either by the Church, the State, or by private munificence. This is right. Men of talent, in indigent circumstances, ought to be furnished with the means to acquire an education, and we should regard it as a privilege, as well as a duty, to contribute to the support of the meritorious. Some of the ablest men in our land have thus been educated, and qualified for the most important and prominent positions in the church and State. Every college should have a fund, the interest of which could be used for this purpose. But the greatest discretion should be exercised in the application of the funds. Aid should not be granted indiscriminately to men of limited income. The money should not be wasted on feeble intellect or incorrigible indolence. No drone should be fed in the hive. If in point of character and talents, the subject is suitable, assistance should be furnished, not as alms, but as his due. If

he is dull, sluggish, wayward and idle, the funds are thrown away upon him, he should not be aided, but rather recommended to engage in some other pursuit, to which he is better adapted. "It is quite notorious," says one whose attention has been directed particularly to this subject, "that many youth are supported by beneficiary funds at our colleges, whose talents give no promise that they will ever become useful and distinguished members of society. Mediocrity and indolence are maintained, as well as struggling talent and earnest endeavor. Instances are known, where one child out of a family, not remarkably well fitted for anything, the parents, at a loss what else to do, have resolved to make a scholar of him, the great inducement to this course being that his support and education would cost them nothing, for the whole expense is assumed by a generous public. It is difficult to see what return the public has for the money." We have often thought that the cause of education has sustained an obvious detriment, by retaining on funds, given for eleemosynary purposes, those who so unworthy, alike destitute of talent, and feeling no interest in intellectual efforts, altogether unfitted by inclination and habits to move in any intellectual sphere. The standard of education is necessarily degraded, and the spirit of genuine scholarship lowered.

Another evil which calls for correction is, *the manner in which examinations are conducted*. They should be dispensed with altogether, or if held, they should be made to mean something. As they are now conducted, they are frequently nothing else than solemn farces, imposing upon no one, not even upon the students themselves. Scarcely any one appears interested in them; those who ought to be present are absent, and such as do attend are too often engaged among themselves in irrelevant conversation, or pay very little attention to what is transpiring. We cannot see what object is attained, or what advantage gained by examinations, as they are now generally managed. They certainly do not furnish a criterion of the student's proficiency; one of moderate scholarship may happen to obtain an easy problem or a simple sentence, he succeeds; another of more attainment and greater industry, may fall upon something that is more difficult and abstruse, he fails; we form a very incorrect estimate of the literary standing of the two individuals. The same demand ought to be made upon every member of the class, the same work ought to be presented to every competitor. For this reason examinations conducted in writing are to be preferred to those that are merely oral. The same questions should be

given in writing to the whole class, and should be introduced for the first time, after they have entered the examination room. Let the examination be thorough, critical and protracted, the scrutiny careful, accurate and rigid. Let the trustees honor the occasion with their presence, and countenance the exercises by their undivided attention. Let them realize that their duty requires their attendance, or if they are so much engrossed with business that they cannot attend, they should resign an appointment, which their regular avocations disqualify them from properly discharging. This obligation is so seldom fulfilled by the trustees of our colleges, that you may say the duty is almost never performed. I believe it is President Wayland, who says that he has known the board to appoint a committee of examiners from their own number, and when this has been made an office of some emolument, he has found it to be discharged with punctuality, but never otherwise.

In this connexion we are disposed to find fault with *the manner in which the Board of Trustees is usually constructed*. We are not among the number of those, who regard this as a useless appendage to an institution, and could easily be dispensed with, but we think some improvements might, with advantage, be introduced. A college is a public institution, and should be held, in some way, amenable to the public for all its acts. It is sometimes the recipient of legislative appropriations and of private gifts. There must be guardians appointed, disinterested and responsible persons, to take care of the funds, to protect them from waste and perversion, to appoint instructors, to assign them their duties, to adjust points of differences that may exist among them, to see that they are faithful in the discharge of their obligations, and remove them if found incompetent, and to prescribe regulations for the government of the college; and unless they can become interested in the work, and are willing to devote themselves fully to the exercise of its duties, they should not assume the office. If they have no affection for the business, if they cannot find time for the labors, if they are incompetent for the duties, they should not be appointed to the trust, for they become only an encumbrance to the institution, and very much embarrass its operations. Only such should be clothed with this power, who are qualified for the service. They should be educated men, acquainted with the theory, as well as the practice of teaching, competent to attend the examinations, and to decide independently and intelligently questions, which must necessarily come up in the management of the affairs of the institution. No one should be elected to this office merely because

he is wealthy, or has an extensive family connexion, or is a member of some prominent party or influential church. Whilst it is desirable that a college should have friends, patronage should not be sought at the expense of some vital principle. A man, holding this office, should be beyond the reach of personal motives or collateral influences, unmoved by fear or favor, recognizing no party, either in religion or politics, he should be influenced in all his official acts, by a desire solely to advance the welfare of the college, to promote the highest interests of education. The board should be composed of few members. In large bodies responsibility is too much divided, and is not sufficiently felt. Small bodies are always more efficient. They despatch business with greater energy and promptness, and are invariably a safer depository, when an important trust is committed, and effectual action required. The board should not be appointed for life, but for a term of years. When office is permanent, the occupant is apt to become indifferent and remiss. Let a certain number retire every year, a sufficient number continuing in office, who may be acquainted with the details in the business of the college. The board, in our judgment, should not perpetuate itself. If it fill its own vacancies, the college is more likely to fall into the hands of a clique or clan, or a party, and for a long time mismanagement may prevail. We would prefer seeing the trustees elected by some body out of themselves, to whom they should be accountable for their acts, and be required at stated periods to give a report of their operations. As now constituted, the public are not made acquainted with their doings; they sit with closed doors, they present no report, and even the benefactors and patrons of the institution are kept in profound ignorance of their proceedings. Again, the trustees should exercise their own appropriate duties, and not encroach upon the powers of the faculty. Each body has its own sphere of operation, which is clearly defined, but in the history of some of the literary institutions of our country, serious evils have ensued from the interference of one with the rights of the other. The trustees should lay down general principles, and enact laws, but these laws must be executed by the faculty, and in the exercise of these duties, they must be left free and untrammelled. The former should arrange the scheme, but the details of the work should be left to the latter. To secure harmony of feeling and efficiency of action, the observance of this course is absolutely necessary.

We have now reached an exceedingly interesting point in our discussion; we refer to the course of studies pursued in

our literary institutions. We regard *the multiplication of subjects as a very serious defect in our collegiate system of education*. Too much is demanded; too much is attempted to be studied for the time given, and the result is, that the student has a little of every thing, and a knowledge of nothing. There is no time afforded for calm, deliberate reflection, for personal examination of the subject, for patient investigation. Thought is not nourished by natural supplies of knowledge. The course ought not to embrace every thing which the student will have occasion to learn. Many things important to learn, need not be taught in college, because they can be learned any where. Dr. Wayland tells us, that when, in conversation with English and Scottish instructors, he stated the amount and number of studies pursued in our American colleges, he received the uniform reply, *the thing is impossible; you cannot do the work in that time*. The charm of study is necessarily destroyed by heavy and unnatural pressure, critical and thorough scholarship must be sacrificed to that which is vague and superficial. It is to be recollected that the true object of the collegiate course is not so much to acquire knowledge, as to learn the method and habit of study. It is not so much to cram the mind, to put something into it, as to be able to draw something out of it; not what the intellect can hold, but what it can produce, that is primarily to be sought. The legitimate design of all education is, to provide the means of evolving and perfecting the different powers and capacities of man's nature, so as to permit him, in the language of Milton, "to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously, all the offices, both public and private, of peace and of war." It is not the amount of knowledge imparted, but the amount of thought, that such knowledge calls into activity, by which the mind is exercised and developed. The acquisition of knowledge, important as it may be, is only secondary; the mind must pass through a vigorous and rigid discipline, must be taught to know how at will to employ all its energies to the best advantage, to control its power to such a degree, that at any given time it may accomplish a given amount of intellectual labor. The undisciplined mind moves by impulses. A mind that is disciplined, yields its powers to the extent of its capacity. What was it but Johnson's well trained mind, that enabled him to sit down and write a paper for the Rambler, and send it to the press, without even reading it over? Robert Hall's mind was so thoroughly disciplined, that it is said he could compose and carry a long discourse in his memory, every sentence of which

was perfect, and all without putting pen to paper. The collegiate course should aim to secure such a discipline, to produce a perfect symmetry and balance of character, to send forth strong men, thoroughly furnished for the duties of life.

But what is the plan? Does our present system afford the requisite mental discipline, develop all the mental faculties, and give to the mind the power of deep and continuous thought? Has the graduate a profound knowledge of any one of the subjects, over which he has passed? Has he acquired the ability to concentrate his mind upon a given topic, to grapple with it, to investigate it in all its relations? Has he not a mere smattering of the branches to which he has attended, a confused and misty conception of the studies, embraced in the course? When he has gone forth into the scenes of active life, does he not find it difficult to retain the knowledge which he so partially acquired, and impossible to use it? This is a lamentable state of things, but we can, without fear of contradiction, appeal to those who have paid any attention to the subject, for the correctness of our observations.

As we pass along, in this connexion we incidentally remark, that the multiplication of professors beyond a certain point, is rather a disadvantage than a gain to an institution, because, if the departments are too much extended, the attention of the student is distracted; and to a less degree individual responsibility is felt. Then is the temptation presented to increase the amount of labor, to tax the student beyond his strength and capacity, to lengthen the course by introducing into it one or more profitless studies. In the University of Edinburg, where there are two thousand students, it is said there are only seven instructors, whose exercises every candidate for a degree is required to attend. The disposition, so prevalent in our country, to extend the course of studies, without a corresponding extension of time for their prosecution, must be regarded with deep regret by all, who are interested in a high standard of scholarship. How much more salutary it would be to the interests of true learning, if our institutions, instead of teaching so many things, would teach a few things well! The secret of the German scholar's success is, that he is made thoroughly acquainted with every subject he studies, he masters the ground fully before he leaves it. He is not permitted to relinquish a book until he has an accurate understanding of its contents. His motto is, *nothing is so prolific as a little known well*. Hobbes used to say: "If I had read as many books as other persons, I should probably know as little;" and this philosopher is only one of many witnesses who, by precept and ex-

ample, teach us to study a little, and that little well. Such men calculate, not by the works they study, but the subjects they exhaust. The mind, in the reception of knowledge, must subject it to the action of its own retort and crucible, or it will never attain that vigor and compass of action, by which it readily grasps every subject, surmounts obstacles in its way, and makes them tributary to its own purposes. Truth must undergo a process which has been compared to the change produced by food introduced into the digestive apparatus. Count Rumford, it is said, once proposed to the elector of Bavaria a contrivance for feeding his soldiers, at a much cheaper rate than he had been accustomed to pay. His plan was simply this: to require them to masticate their food thoroughly; a small quantity thus eaten, would furnish more nutriment than a meal hastily devoured. We are not told, whether Rumford's suggestion was adopted, but we are certain that a few subjects well digested, will prove more nutritious to the mind, than many superficially studied. In the simple and forcible language of Seneca: *Distrahit animum librorum multitudo: fastidientis stomachi multa degustare quæ ubi varia sunt et diversa, inquinant, non alunt.* Deglutition is not sufficient; assimilation must take place. One steady, finished exercise of the mind, one intelligent tracing and comprehension of a thought, one voluntary act of intelligence is worth more than ten thousand half-formed conceptions or confused efforts. One fact, one principle in science or language, fully comprehended, thoroughly mastered, will strengthen and nourish the mental powers more than a hundred facts or principles superficially acquired. The student needs time, prolonged time. Toil is required, patient toil, indefatigable labor. The strong fibre of the mind does not grow rapidly and luxuriantly, but slowly and gradually, just like the fibre of the live-oak in the forest. Knowledge cannot be poured into the mind as water into casks, as the Sophists taught, without any reference to capacity. Why should we be so desirous of filling the magazine, whilst it is preparing for use, when it is likely to be filled for us soon enough? It has been correctly remarked, that the real way to gain time in education, is to lose it, to give it up to the natural development of the faculties, to prepare the materials, and lay deep the foundation, rather than be in so much haste to rear the edifice. The time spent by the mind in unfolding itself is not lost. Give to the student memory, attention, judgment, taste, and no matter what his future pursuit may be, his proficiency will be more rapid, and his success more certain, than

if there is an accumulation of ill-digested knowledge, which he may never be able to bring to any profitable result.

It is a great mistake to seek a college, or to suppose that it possesses peculiar advantages, because it possesses wealth, and to esteem it a mark of distinction, a badge of superiority, to hold a parchment with a blue ribbon from a rich college. Poverty is often a recommendation. An institution in which there are only four or five professors, whose whole time is faithfully devoted to the work of instruction, and whose affections and energies are entirely given to their classes, will be likely to confer a better education than one that is considered more highly favored. If the labor is well divided, a small corps of instructors will teach all that young men can well learn, during the four years' course. After this, every one you add becomes a questionable benefit, and, perhaps, renders the labors of the others less valuable and efficient.

The inquiry may here be made, what studies then should constitute the basis of a collegiate education, what branches of knowledge are best fitted to accomplish the object you propose? We reply, the study of the classics and mathematics should be made a fundamental element in all our systems of instruction. Other subjects may be introduced, but they should occupy a subordinate rank. This system is preferable to the variety and complication of intellectual exercises, so fashionable in modern days. The country has gained nothing in thorough training and ripe scholarship by the recent innovations upon our collegiate system. With all the improvements of the present day, and the enlarged plans of collegiate education, and the additional subjects taught, we do not make the scholars that were produced during the colonial period of our history. The present age would scarcely deserve the compliment paid by Pitt to our revolutionary sires, when he said that nothing in Thucydides was to be compared to our revolutionary papers. *There were, however, giants in those days!* But the acuteness, the sagacity, the learning, then so common among those who made any pretensions to a liberal education, must be ascribed to the early mental discipline which they enjoyed. Although not wishing to be classed among Horace's grumblers, *laudatores temporis acti*, we do think that our country has, in this respect, deteriorated. Formerly men were better educated. Fewer subjects for study were introduced, the programme was less extensive, but opportunities of thorough research were greater. The ancient languages and mathematical science were made most prominent; they were regarded of primary importance, of paramount value. If the

object of the collegiate course be such as has been suggested, what studies could be attended to with greater profit than the classics and mathematics? "No education," says Dr. Whewell, "can be considered as liberal, which does not cultivate both the faculty of reason and the faculty of language; one of which is cultivated by the study of the mathematics, and the other by the study of the classics. To allow the student to omit one of these, is to leave him half educated. If the person cannot receive such culture, he remains in the one case irrational, in the other illiterate."

First, in reference to the ancient classics we remark, that wherever they have been studied with long and severe effort, there have always been produced profound and polished scholars, and every attempt, therefore, to send them into exile, is nothing else than an assault upon the strong citadel of education. The patient and systematic study of the Latin and Greek, should be made the ground work of all intellectual training. We admonish those, who aspire to the distinction of a liberal education, in the language addressed by Horace to his cotemporaries:

*Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.*

Experience has produced the general conviction of their utility. They have stood the test of centuries, have descended to us with increasing lustre; they have challenged the admiration of mankind, and pleased the greatest number of cultivated minds. In all countries, in which learning has been cultivated, under every form of government, the ancient classics have been identified with every system of liberal education; wherever literature has acquired any rank, these studies have acquired an important position in the course. They are adapted to develop and strengthen the native faculties of the mind, to prepare them for effective exertion, in all the varied exigences that may require their action; to inure the student to overcome intellectual difficulties, to produce a habit of vigorous application, discriminating thought, a taste for that which is elevated, chaste and simple; they are connected etymologically with all the languages of modern Europe, and with none more than our own; a perfect knowledge of universal grammar cannot be acquired, except through this medium. As mere inventions, specimens of superior mechanism, they ought to be studied, for they approach nearer than any other to what the human mind, when thoroughly disciplined and cultivated, approves; they are models still of eloquent and

beautiful expression, mines of profound thought and deep searching wisdom, fountains of poetry and philosophy, which modern effort has never surpassed, seldom equalled, and repositories of history, the most instructive the world has received. They embalm a literature as perfect as human lips ever uttered, as exquisite as mortal pens ever produced. "When time shall have crowned the brow of the old man Homer with the fadeless garland of immortality, will ignorance or neglect ever make his songs any thing else than inimitably beautiful? Will it ever be true, that thought is not expressed by Horace with terseness, by Virgil with beauty, by Cicero with a fulness that amazes the reader? When, during the period of the dark ages, the light of revelation was faint and dim, the classics radiated a light, pale indeed, but pure and steady, and it was all that kept the earth from being wrapped in the night of Egypt." Lord Chatham, who was so thoroughly versed in all the niceties of construction, and the peculiarities of idiom, attributed his very selection of words to the practice of his father, in requiring him every day, after reading over to himself some passage of the classics, to translate it aloud and continuously in English prose. Robert Hall devoted several hours every day, during the most active part of his ministry, to the careful study of the ancient languages. The mind of Edmund Burke was most deeply imbued with classical lore, and the influence is perceived on every page he has written. Curran, it is said, amid the distractions of business and the cares of office, always returned with fresh delight to the study of the classics. The long list of illustrious names, so conspicuous in English literature, around whose brow the wreath of immortality has been entwined, were trained under the influence of these studies, and have left their unequivocal and decided testimony in favor of their pursuit. Bacon, Milton, Locke, Addison, Jeremy Taylor, Leighton, Southey, Coleridge, Akenside, Dryden, Pope, Butler, Johnson, Chalmers were all accomplished classical scholars. Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, Calvin, Zwingli, Wesley, and the most distinguished scholars of all countries, have been the zealous advocates of the study of the classics. There is scarcely an author, who has left an impression upon the age in which he lived, who does not afford an illustration of the truth presented. Macaulay, Brougham, Humboldt, and the leading minds of the present day, were all trained under the same influence, and were, in early life, distinguished for their classical attainments. In our own land, of the immortal band who signed the Declaration of independence, only ten did not, in their youth,

possess the advantages of an academic education. The minds of almost all the great men of our country, who have grown up to intellectual stature, were invigorated and disciplined by familiarity with the classics. The Mathers, Edwards, Dwight, Kunze, Hamilton, Jay, Madison, Story, Adams, Channing, Webster, Everett, Robinson, Stuart, Marsh, Calhoun, Sergeant, Binney have drunk at the same fount; all sat at the feet of these great masters of ancient wisdom, and appreciated their instructions. To such men, whose influence upon our literature has been so great, are we to look to discover the force which the study of the Latin and Greek exercises. Who can read their productions without being convinced of the weapons, which they constantly derived from their acquaintance with the imperishable authors of Greece and Rome? There is no station in life which classical learning does not adorn, to which it does not add grace and strength. There is no mind that can come in contact with these studies, without being refreshed. *Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.* If such be the influence of these classic compositions of Greece and Rome, upon intellectual discipline and enjoyment, should we not resist every ruthless endeavor to tear them from our collegiate system of instruction? May we not be permitted to exclaim, with regard to every such Vandal attempt, in the language of indignation:

Procul, O! procul, este profani!

And if those, who profess to have discovered that these treasures of antiquity are little else than rubbish, allege that there are examples of eminent men, by whom a classical education was not enjoyed, we say in reply, that they were men of strong original genius, and that it only proves that talents may sometimes force their way through powerful obstacles, in spite of neglect in early life, or any other adverse circumstances; and that these same individuals, with their extraordinary mental endowments, would only have become the more distinguished if they had been favored with the advantages to be derived from the study of the classics. Franklin, Sherman, Rittenhouse, and kindred minds, are often named by those who have not the tithe of their genius or taste, in proof of what can be accomplished independently of classical training! Just as if men of their gigantic intellect would not have increased their intellectual strength, and risen still higher in the scale of elevation, if they had enjoyed, in their earlier life, the influence

of this discipline. Cecil, in his later years, it is said, gathered together all his classical books and burned them, but if he had done this in his youth, it is probable we should never have heard of Cecil. Grimke, and others, who have labored to exclude the ancient languages from our collegiate system, have actually demonstrated the value of such acquisitions, by the eloquence and taste which they have brought to the ignoble work of disparaging them.

Secondly, we take the same ground with regard to the mathematics. We do not sympathize with those who have raised a crusade against their study. No education is liberal, which does not embrace the science of mathematics. By the consent of the ablest men, engaged in the business of instruction, this study accustoms the mind to patient attention and accurate reasoning, fits it for severe and continuous thought, sharpens the intellect, induces a habit most favorable to the discovery of truth and the detection of error, and forms a most excellent preparation for professional study. The mind acquires, in this way, concentration and steadiness, a keenness and a habit of precision, so essential to intellectual success. A mind, better disciplined than our gifted Hamilton, we seldom find; yet it was his practice, till the end of his life, to review Euclid once a month. The mathematics, if studied at all, must be studied with the mental powers wide awake, and the attention must be closely fixed upon a single point, the faculty of abstraction must be active, and the process by which truth is evolved from truth, must be actually performed. All the details of conic sections, spherical trigonometry, differential calculus, etc., may be forgotten, but the invigorating effect of their study will never be lost. The mathematics too, lie at the foundation of the natural and most of the practical sciences; they furnish valuable aid in the illustration of their principles, and in their application to the purposes of life, and in most of our reasonings on other subjects, they exert an important influence.

But an eclectic system has been proposed, and its adoption urged with considerable plausibility, which gives the student the privilege of selecting some studies in the course, and rejecting others. But we have always regarded this plan as a Utopian scheme and, without any hesitation, express our unqualified disapprobation of its claims to public favor. It should receive no encouragement from those who are interested in the diffusion of liberal knowledge. Young men and parents are frequently incompetent to decide what course ought rather to be pursued, and in most instances, some capricious

fancy would influence the decision. If it be said that it is best for the student to direct his attention to such studies as will have a bearing upon the pursuits of his subsequent life, we answer that comparatively few have any idea, perhaps, until the termination of their course, what may be the choice of their profession. It is the most judicious plan for the individual not to be too much in a hurry, but to postpone his decision until he has completed his course, and has ascertained to what his talents and tastes are best adapted. The subjects to be taught ought to be decided by those, who from experience, have learned their value, and from observation have ascertained their practical application to the offices of life. But the student cannot, with understanding, make his selection, before he knows the nature of the studies from his own investigation. The subjects that are really the most important, which embrace the most essential parts of a complete education, are not likely to enlist his preference or engage his attention. Perhaps the very study which may be most necessary to him in after life, he is disposed to disregard, whilst the least onerous and most fascinating, may secure his suffrage. In almost every institution, in which the voluntary system has been attempted, it has proved a signal failure.

The course, which is here suggested, is well calculated for mental discipline, designed to give the proper balance and just proportions to all the powers, to employ all the necessary appliances, and to familiarize the mind with the leading principles, and the great object of human knowledge and investigation. *Sic itur ad astra.* In all that we have said in the discussion of this topic, we do not desire to undervalue other departments of study, or to cast into the shade other subjects that may be investigated by the student with profit. Let them, however, have their appropriate place, and not supersede those studies, which must lie at the foundation, and which are the most effective instruments for mental discipline. Especially during the earlier years of the course, the attention must not be diverted from a rigorous application to those studies which we regard as too valuable to be omitted.

Much has been said upon *the subject of college discipline*, and to those who are interested in our collegiate system of education, it is a question of importance. Perhaps in the administration of a literary institution, the most difficult problem is its discipline, requiring great skill, and involving incessant vigilance. There was occasion for the deep solicitude manifested by President Dwight on this subject. When in his last hours he was asked, if he had any directions to give respecting

the college, his reply was that he desired its discipline might be preserved. No institution can be successfully managed without the maintenance of proper discipline. There must be perfect subordination to authority, the law must be supreme, or the influence of our colleges will be most disastrous. There is, perhaps, greater need to insist upon this point, because the tendency of personal liberty to the subversion of laws is, with us, the epidemic of the day. This unsubdued spirit of republican independence, this rebellious contempt of law, is every where apparent, and our own country is already reaping its baneful fruits. The government of the college should resemble that of the family. It should be not merely one of restraint and terror, but of mild and parental influence, maintaining its authority, not by commands and threats, but by that winning and persuasive kindness, which touches the heart and moves the springs of voluntary action more powerfully than statutes or penalties. These agencies, however, in the administration of a college, should not supplant all punishment. In college, as well as political communities, there are perverse members, refractory characters, rebellious spirits, who can be restrained only by the severe penalties of the law. A government then, which admits of no punishment, is most defective, but, on the other hand, if punishments are frequent, it indicates a bad state of things, an absence of those moral influences, upon which the prevention of crime so much depends. A government should be administered in such a way, that its power may not be unnecessarily felt by its subjects, so as to attract as little observation as possible, except by its successful results. All discipline proceeding from the love of power, must be carefully avoided. There must be no magisterial airs assumed, no ostentatious display of authority, no unnecessary contests with the governed, no improper interference with the feelings of the pupil, no unauthorized encroachments upon his undisputed rights. The government should be so simple that a child may understand it, and yet so comprehensive as to include every legitimate regulation. There should be no cumbrous, useless rules, to be violated with impunity, and to impair the sense of obligation in reference to those, which are essential to be observed. There is a great deal of truth and good sense in the advice that Don Quixote gave Sancho: "Do not put out too many new orders, or if thou dost put out any, see that they are wholesome and good, and that they be strictly observed, for laws, not well observed, are no better than if they were not made, and only show that the prince, who had the wisdom and authority to make them, had not the resolu-

tion to see them executed ; and laws that only threaten, and are not kept, become like the log that was given to the frogs to be their king, which they feared at first, but at last scorned and trampled upon." Let there be no regulation or restraint, which is not required to subserve some important object, and when it becomes necessary to enforce any regulation, which is thus subservient, it should be regarded as treason to the cause of education not to do it at any sacrifice. If for this purpose it should be found necessary to dismiss one-half or the whole of a class, swerved by no sinister purpose, it must, without any hesitation, be done. With the rebel there must be no compromise, no concession, no truce. If a student be indolent, worthless or vicious, remove him at once. The process of extermination is sometimes necessary. Incorrigible offenders, however painful it may be, must sometimes be cut off. The knife must be applied to the diseased limb, or the gangrene will extend, its malignancy increase, and fatal consequences ensue.

In our literary institutions, for efficient government, it is important that a correct public sentiment should prevail. The faculty should endeavor to diffuse among the students proper opinions with regard to the object of all government, to produce the conviction in the minds of the young men, that they are just as much interested in the preservation of good order as their teachers ; that the faculty are under as great obligations to enforce the observance of the statutes, as the students are to keep them ; that the rules were enacted to promote the highest welfare of the governed. If the pupil can only be made to feel the nature of the relation he sustains to the institution, if a high toned public sentiment prevail, how much evil may be prevented, how much good secured !

*Quid leges sine moribus
Vanæ proficiunt.*

How often a young man enters college laboring under the mistaken impression, that the faculty are his adversaries rather than his friends ; that they are opposite parties, with opposing interests ; that there is a game playing, in which each party is striving for the mastery ! So long as this feeling has the ascendancy, it were better for him and the institution that he were away. If such a state of things must necessarily exist in our colleges, they ought not to be sustained. Let the professor expend much anxious thought on the discipline of the institution, let his best efforts be given to the advancement of the student's highest interest. Let him teach those under his care, that restraints are easily borne, and labor readily perform-

ed, when a noble end is in view, and a generous heart is directed by correct principle. Let him make the effort to produce cheerful study, kind feeling, lofty purposes and pure morals. Let him understand the motives and appliances, by which the young are to be aroused to the most vigorous and harmonious action of all their powers, let him become acquainted with his dangers, and learn how to modify those influences, which external circumstances exercise over the mind. At this critical period of life, when separated from parental care, and exposed to untried temptation, when they so much need the chart and compass of paternal guidance, let their instructors hold with them something more than that cold, distant, reserved official intercourse, so common in many of our colleges; let them encourage an unrestrained, cordial approach, pleasant familiarity, a confidential intercourse, supplying in some degree, in their hearts, the kind position of a parent; let their expressions and actions evince that they are really their friends, deeply interested in their good, temporal and spiritual, that they are ready to aid their efforts, that they are willing to devote themselves to their personal comfort, to their intellectual and moral progress, to their advancement in virtue and piety.

This leads us to remark that *there is not always sufficient care taken in the selection of instructors*. We know of no office more important in its influence, than that of an instructor of the young. Talent of the first order should be enlisted, and the most gifted minds in the community ought to be encouraged to enter the profession, to become the guardians and guides of those, who are so soon to wield so potent an influence upon the Church and the State. Our own Luther put a very high value upon the office, and frequently referred to the incalculable amount of good, one occupying the position was capable of exerting. "Is there upon earth," to use the language of Goldsmith, "a gem so precious as the human soul?" The teacher leaves an impression upon his pupil, which time can never efface. He carries the stamp received at college, through his whole subsequent life. His character takes form and hue from precept as well as from example, and heart responds to heart, as face to face in a glass.

*Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu.*

The highest qualifications are necessary for the faithful performance of the office, and none but the truly good ought to be invited to seek it. Duties are involved most important in their relations, and formidable in their responsibilities. Zeal is required, tempered with discretion, firmness united with

moderation, a resolute spirit blended with mildness, and a heart susceptible of kind influences, judgment ripened by reflection, charity in examining motives, the power of inspiring young men with a love of excellence, and a proper appreciation of the value of character. There must not only be scholarship, and an aptitude to communicate knowledge, but the instructor ought to be able to give impulse to the mind of his pupils, to induce them to put forth effort. He should love his work, and give to it a patient, disinterested devotion; he should possess the power of enkindling enthusiasm for study, such as belonged to the late professor Stuart, which may act by sympathy on the mind, with which it comes in contact, and cause the subject of investigation to assume an absorbing interest. When a professor has advanced so far beyond his class, or has become so well acquainted with the subjects of his department, that he finds all preparation for the recitation room unnecessary, and feels no interest in the studies, however well he may know them, and however clearly he may state them, he is not what a teacher ought to be. Instructors must be learners, and they cease to impart when they cease to acquire. How beautiful and appropriate is the language of President Hopkins on this subject: "He who carries the torch light into the recesses of science, must not be a mere hired conductor, who is to bow in one company, and bow out another, and show what is to be seen with heartless indifference, but he must have an ever living fountain of emotion, that will flow afresh as he contemplates anew the works of God, and the great principles of truth and duty. Till the kindly affections are enlisted, all else is comparatively unavailing, till the heart is engaged in the service, it moves with heavy step, study is oppressive, and discipline is vexatious. The page is languidly turned, its contents make a feeble impression, and nothing but continued repetition fastens the lifeless doctrine upon the memory. But let some strong and kindling passion engage in the work, and a light like that of the prophetic vision seems to flash from every character. The attention is aroused, the mental faculties penetrate all difficulty and obscurity, and the memory clings with hooks and steel to the most complicated and most repulsive details." We think that the professor's whole time should be given to the work, for which his services are employed; no extraneous pursuits should claim his attention, no foreign occupation engage his efforts. His best energies should not be given to the composition of works for the press, whilst his appropriate duties are neglected, or regarded as secondary. His literary contributions may be valuable, and his researches may extend the limits of science, but his labors as a professor will be impaired, his collegiate duties must necessarily suffer.

It would be much better for him to resign his professorship, and devote all his time to the business of authorship. If a man has two objects before his mind at the same time, he must attend to one or the other imperfectly. His remuneration should not be precarious. He should receive a sufficient compensation for his services, so that his mind may not be distracted by pecuniary embarrassments, so that the temptation may not be presented, to pursue some other business, from the profits of which he may meet his necessary expenses. Let the instructors of our youth be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of christianity, men fearing God and avoiding evil, whose whole life is a commentary on the truth and power of the gospel, men regulated in all their actions by christian principle, and fully consecrated to the fulfilment of christian duties. Such men, regarding the youth committed to their care as immortal beings, and aware of the influences which they are exercising upon their susceptible minds, cannot fail in doing them good, and the knowledge imparted will introduce them to that which is pure and true, and lovely and of good report, and predispose them for its adoption.

We remark, in conclusion, although the thought is implicated in what has already been said, that *a decidedly religious influence ought to pervade our literary institutions*. We do not mean that a mere formal attention should be given to the subject. Provision may be made for morning and evening worship and services on the Lord's day, and yet there may be an entire absence of the spirit of religion. Life should be infused into these duties; they should be raised above the paralyzing influence of routine and habit. The young men should be made to feel continually that there is a reality in christianity, on which depends their eternal welfare, that every pursuit is to be subordinated to this great object of life. The most faithful efforts should be put forth for their recovery from sin and their return to God. Their minds should be imbued with sound principles, with just, noble and generous sentiments. Those great and controlling truths of revelation, which influence the happiness and shape the character of men for time and eternity, should be engraven on the heart. A familiar acquaintance with the scriptures, and a thorough knowledge of the christian system, together with the cultivation of the moral affections, should be regarded as an important part of a liberal education. If the intellect is educated at the expense of the moral culture, our youth, when they go forth into the world, will be prepared to spread a moral pestilence, wherever their literary superiority gives them a com-

manding influence. Truth will either rejoice in their agency, or weep over the wrongs they inflict on her cause. A moral atmosphere will be created by their influence, that will either strengthen and extend the prevalence of virtue, or sustain and perpetuate the dominion of evil. Knowledge is power, but it is potent for evil as well as for good, and unless sanctified, is likely to prove a curse rather than a blessing, an occasion of sorrow to the individual as well as the community. Mere intellectual culture is not to be desired. The highest intellectual refinement, unaided by true religion, is utterly incompetent to preserve man from the lowest degradation. It furnishes no security either for liberty or happiness. Misguided, it has often proved a terrible weapon for ill, and assumed an inclination for the most debasing pursuits. Mere knowledge, however much it may be praised, is worse than ignorance if this be all; if divorced from virtue, it will make a man more of a demon than a God. The educated rogue is but the more dangerous man. If you cultivate the head and neglect the heart, you make men more to be dreaded, by increasing their ability to do mischief. You only sow dragon's teeth, and armed men will spring up to desolate and destroy. It is really mournful to think that the highest powers of the human mind are so often called into the most active exercise in our world, only to augment human misery, and to extend the reign of sin. Intellectual knowledge, without the light of revelation, is like that tree of the forest, which sheds forth in Spring a beauteous flower, but whose redolence is poison, whose taste is death; it can only be compared to Milton's Pandemonium :

A dreary plain, forlorn and wild,
The seat of desolation, void of light
Save what the glimmering of its lurid flames
Casts pale and dreadful.

Science is best studied by the lamp of inspiration, and philosophy promotes her true dignity by cultivating a sympathy with the oracles of truth. The investigations of science, the deductions of philosophy, the light of history, should all be made tributary to christianity; they should be linked with God, to illustrate his wisdom, power and goodness. It should be an object most dear to the hearts of those who preside over our colleges, that the mind educated may be sanctified, that it may catch its inspirations from the word of God, and be guided by its life-giving precepts; that the youth gathered under their influence may be trained for heaven and the blissful rewards of immortality, that in the morning of life they may gird on the whole armor of God, and consecrate their youthful hearts

to the service of their Maker. Whilst they are taught to examine the mysteries of science, they should also be led to study the wonders of redeeming grace, whilst they slake their thirst from the fountain of nature, they should also drink from the river of life; they should learn to climb the hill of Calvary, as well as the heights of Parnassus, and though they tarry long at the waters of Castalia, they should drink deep of

“Siloa’s brook that flows
Fast by the oracles of God.”

Let them be taught continually to sit at the feet of that meek and lowly Teacher, whose gospel has revealed the only true path to glory, honor and immortality.

But we have trespassed long upon the attention of our reader, and we must bring our desultory thoughts, which have reached an unreasonable length, to a close. We neither claim originality for any views we have offered, nor imagine that similar thoughts have not been suggested to others who have examined the question. We know too, that it is easier to find faults than to correct them, to point out evils than to remove them. Our only object in discussing the subject, has been to direct attention to defects that we supposed existed in our collegiate system of education, and in the hope that some abler pen would look into the subject :

*Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti ; si non, his utere mecum.*

In our strictures we have been influenced by a desire to do good, to advance sound scholarship and true piety in the literary institutions of our land. The evils which we have enumerated, we know do not exist in all our colleges. There are many honorable exceptions to some of the defects, to which we have alluded :

Apparent nantes rari in gurgite vasto.

Yet, perhaps there is no one that can, in every respect, claim an exemption from all censure. All perhaps, will admit that some improvements are desirable, that some evils, which are incident to our colleges, as at present constituted, ought to be corrected. It is our serious conviction, after a careful review of the whole subject, that a great advantage would be conferred upon our collegiate system of instruction, if the number of our institutions were reduced, the standard of admission and graduation raised, if literary honors were less liberally bestowed, if competition among our colleges were directed rather to scholarship than numbers, if there were fewer concessions to

the utilitarian spirit of the age, if less money were expended upon the external appurtenances of the institution, if the examinations were more thorough, and made to mean something, if premiums were established, as stimulants to diligence in study, if the evils growing out of beneficiary education were corrected, if the board of trustees were made amenable in some way to the public for their acts, if the instruction were made more thorough, fewer subjects taught, and these well, if the government were more parental and efficient, if greater discrimination were exercised in the selection of instructors, and only such appointed as would devote all their powers to the work, and if the religious element were brought to bear more decidedly upon all the exercises, then might we expect our colleges more fully to answer the object for which they were established, to subserve the end of their organization. A new era would be marked in their history, a power would be exerted, which, with the Divine blessing, would give additional energy and increased utility to their operations.

A solemn responsibility rests upon our American colleges. They are charged with momentous interests. To them an important trust has been committed. They hold a precious casket, which contains a spirit that is to arise, to extend its influence to all nations, to bless and regenerate mankind. They will leave a permanent impression upon this land and all lands! Who can calculate how much will be accomplished through their instrumentality? Who can estimate their influence, if properly conducted, for good—the salutary, conservative and saving influences they will exert, under the smiles of Providence, upon the present and succeeding ages? May those, to whose guardian care their precious interests have been committed, prove faithful to their trust! May they feel that the country, the church and the world, expect them to do their duty! May all our American colleges fulfil the fond hopes, and realize the highest visions of their most sanguine friends; may they be enshrined in the affections of our citizens, and may the great and good ever turn towards them with an approving eye, a grateful feeling! May every page of their history furnish some evidence of God's favoring Providence, and may they rear to our country a lasting monument:

*Ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius.*

May they diffuse their benignant influences throughout all the world, and from these fountains may healthful streams ever flow, to make glad the city of our God!

ARTICLE II.

GROUNDS OF DIFFICULTY AND SUCCESS IN THE STUDY OF
THEOLOGY—INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

By Rev. L. Eichelberger, Prof. of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Lexington, S. C.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN, students and members of the Theological Seminary—In entering upon the duties that will devolve upon me, as Professor of Theology in this Seminary, I am not unmindful of the important and sacred trust committed to my care, and the great responsibility it imposes. Without wisdom from on high to guide, and the grace of God to sustain me in its faithful performance, I should shudder to undertake it, for who of himself, is sufficient for these things?

The sacred trust, here referred to, involves in it the common interest of both professor and student, and all the present and remote consequences to the church and kingdom of Christ, that may grow out of it. It is not true, therefore, as is sometimes assumed, that in the relation of professor and student, interests are involved adverse to each other, and in many respects antagonistic. They are, from necessity, the same, and in all respects identical. They must be so from its very nature, and the objects it seeks to accomplish.

It is true, this relation is not always understood and rightly appreciated. This, however, is but a contingency, and not a necessary consequence of the relation itself. The student's aim is the qualification of himself for the highest measure of usefulness in that department of life to which, hereafter, he may be called. The professor's aim is also to accomplish the same object in the student, in such a way as shall prove most successful, and to render, directly and indirectly, all the aid he can in effecting it. Their objects, therefore, being one and the same, their interests must be identical, and can in no respects, conflict with each other. If this is so in the case of students and their teachers generally, how much more so in the case before us, where the student's aim is the highest measure of usefulness possible in the church, and the professor's object is his qualification for it. This, it is presumed, my dear young brethren, is the grand and only object of your pursuit, as students of theology. To aid you in it, and bring to your assistance all the advantages it is the design of this institution to

furnish you, advantages I trust not inferior, in their essential requisites, to those of similar institutions elsewhere, will be, I hope, my constant aim. How far we shall succeed, time must reveal. This much I can promise you, that if jointly faithful to the trust committed to our care, we need not despair as to the result. The course of studies, so judiciously prescribed by the board, if strictly adhered to and faithfully carried out, with the divine blessing, must and will accomplish the ends for which they were designed. Should it happen, as it doubtless sometimes will, in accomplishing these ends and in the studies thereto necessary to be pursued, that I should differ from you as to what was either essential or expedient, you will feel, I trust, that nothing but a rigid sense of duty has constrained me to do so, and cheerfully acquiesce in whatever such sense of duty and obligation may require. In all things tending to promote the object of your pursuit, as students of theology, as well as all your interests personally, I am sure you will always have my kindest sympathies and regard.

That difficulties should attend the pathway of the student, especially the student of theology, is necessarily to be expected. Study, in all the various stages of the mind's progress, is laborious, and that labor is increased in proportion to the difficulty of the task to be performed. When the road is easy and without obstruction, the traveler journeys on without serious fatigue. When it is rugged, and its ascent difficult, he soon is made painfully sensible of the change. So it is in pursuing the steepes of science. When the pathway is plain and simple, the student journeys on without let or hindrance. But as his way is generally a rough and thorny one, and mountain steepes are to be encountered, he soon realizes that all his strength is required to overcome it. His task he finds to be an arduous one, and labor and patience equally necessary to perform it. As this is true in every department of mental pursuit, and the student cannot escape it, and true also in proportion to the difficulties that are inherent in the subjects of study themselves, how true must not it be in reference to those which constitute the course of instruction prescribed for the student of theology? To the consideration of some of the difficulties peculiar, therefore, to that department of study in which, as such you are now engaged, as well also, as some of the grounds of encouragement and success that may attend them, I shall now, as appropriate to the present occasion, invite the attention of the class. Among the difficulties here referred to, and not the least prominent, may be mentioned,

1. *The feeling of marked impatience under which the study of theology is pursued.* This, though not always, is too often true of the student of theology, and, to say the least of it, is a serious barrier to his progress and success. It arises, of course, from a laudable desire to be engaged in doing good, and the fear possibly that his time for active usefulness in the ministry, to which he is so anxiously looking forward, is unnecessarily abridged by devoting so large a portion of it to what he is told is a needful and indispensable qualification for the work. This, in his present stage of preparation, he is not always able to appreciate, and acting under that wholesome regimen of the church which requires it, feelings of impatience insensibly disturb the mental repose so essential to success, and that otherwise might be realized.

Under the somber reflections that occupy the student's mind in the case before us, he forgets that two distinct and different stages of instruction are necessary and included in the course of preparation for the work before him; the one wholly literary, classical and scientific, the other the study of theology itself, together with all the collateral branches included in it. The first is requisite, not only in the student's preparation for the ministry, but for every other department of professional life in which he may engage. In law, medicine, and other learned professions, such literary training is indispensable to success. If requisite in these, how much more indispensable in the case of the christian minister, where every stage of preparation for it, and all his duties subsequently, constantly demand the highest order of mental energy. Other departments of life act upon and investigate the laws and properties of matter, the minister the laws and properties of mind; the former deals with the material universe, the latter with that which is spiritual and eternal. If the former requires that its students should not be ignorant men, and the want of education disqualifies them for a department of professional life that is but temporal in its relations and consequences, how much more unreasonable to suppose that its benefits may be dispensed with, where interests and results infinitely more momentous are concerned.

How far the student's literary and scientific course should be extended, when designed to be the groundwork of his study for the ministry, it cannot be difficult to determine. Upon the principles above stated, it should be equal at least to that required in the professional pursuits referred to, and if possible, should be superior. This would seem to be a necessary consequence, based upon its superior importance. When exceptions are made to the standard here designated, they should be

regarded strictly as exceptions, and be determined by the circumstances that specially govern them.

After the course of education here designated, which is purely literary and scientific, time is still required for the study of theology and all its collateral branches. Many of these are abstruse and difficult, and moreover, cannot all be pursued at once. The student can only progress in them step by step, and must first master those in his course, that are necessary to enable him to contend with others more difficult and formidable. This is indispensable to his ultimate success, and though it may seem discouraging to the student at first, it tends in the end to advance his progress. No wonder, therefore, that sometimes his resolution fails him, and from the tedious nature of the task before him, if he does not give up to despair altogether, he realizes a feeling of impatience that sadly distresses him, and if not subdued and controlled, must finally prove among the most serious obstacles to his success. Against its influence, therefore, we would urge you, my young brethren, as you proceed in your studies for the ministry, to watch most carefully, and however long and tedious may be the road before you, do not let it get dominion over you.

2. A second, and not less prominent ground of difficulty than the former, is *the undue estimate in which the study of theology itself, or at least its kindred branches, is too frequently regarded*. The wrong estimate thus put upon the studies in which he is engaged, by the student of theology, is not only a serious error in itself, but operates as a sad draw-back upon his diligence and application in the successful prosecution of them. Whether the studies in question be of great moment or not, which is not now the question, certain it is that without due and diligent application in their prosecution, he will make but little progress in them. However gifted in other respects, he cannot here, by any process of intuition, gain a knowledge of them. Much less can he get it by the aid of inspiration, for, as far at least as the student in his preparation for the ministry is concerned, the days of inspiration have gone by. He can only obtain it as the result of diligent and laborious application, continued throughout his whole course of study, and if he fails to do this, whatever may be his own estimate of its importance, he will hardly be regarded by the church, which must judge in the case, as qualified at all for the work before him.

The question here is not what the student thinks, but what the church judges to be the teachings of God's word upon the subject. In this, as in other things, it must necessarily be our

rule of faith and practice. For a true estimate, therefore, of ministerial duty and the responsibilities it involves, not less in relation to the minister personally, than to those to be instructed by him, we must go necessarily to the word of God itself. When this is done, we soon discover that God has invested divine truth, and our right appreciation of it, with an importance that involves not only the present good of man, but his destiny for eternity. His salvation is, in fact, suspended on it. Of all subjects of study it is, consequently, the most momentous, and compared with all others, in its moral aspects and relations, it rises infinitely above them. Indeed no comparison can be instituted, for how can eternity be measured by time, or that which is boundless by the space it circumscribes. How fatal the error, therefore, of mistaking its importance, and of supposing that, because some portions of bible truth are plain and easy to be understood, the whole of bible truth and duty may be equally apprehended, and that laborious and patient study on the part of the candidate for the Lutheran ministry is uncalled for. Luther and the reformers did not think so. The host of great and good divines, who have adorned the church since the reformation, did not think so. Those now living, and bearing the heat and burden of the day, do not think so, and the student may well get wisdom from their example.

3. A third ground of difficulty in the study of theology, is *the imperfect groundwork too generally laid for it in a defective course of preparatory study*. To this we have already hinted, nor is it necessary now, particularly to dwell upon it. Our remarks are here to those who are presumed to appreciate the subject, and require only that it be referred to. There are still those, however, who permit themselves to be hurried forward to the study of theology, without the literary and classical training necessary to prepare them for it. Such cannot be too seriously warned against the sad consequences of the course they have allowed themselves to pursue; consequences that must trammel, to a greater or less degree, not only their course of study itself, but all their future success as ministers. Why this is so, it is not now necessary to show. Suffice it to say that the want itself of that mental discipline, such educational training produces, apart even from the knowledge gained by it, is sufficient to impair the success of the student and minister to the extent referred to. Against these effects from it he cannot afterwards recover, and but too soon will realize their sad reality.

This hurried and defective entrance upon the study of the ministry is now, however, less common than heretofore, and

even those portions of the christian church, where formerly but little regard was paid to education in their ministry, are now beginning to require it, and are actually engaged in providing the necessary institutions for it. These churches, (the Methodist and some others) though their organism is peculiar, and the want of education less essential in their ministry, from their own experience, have learned that it cannot be dispensed with. How much more then should not our churches estimate it, where our organization is such as to render it indispensable. Under any circumstances, therefore, the student for the ministry is to be regarded as unfortunate, where the advantages of regular systematic education cannot be enjoyed, but where they are available and disregarded or neglected, such neglect must be looked upon as indicating at best a low appreciation, by the student himself, of his own future usefulness, and criminal to that extent. Beyond the commonest grade of ministerial success, he cannot hope to rise, and conscious of his own defective qualifications, he carefully avoids association with all but such as in this respect are unhappily similar to himself. He is thus, personally, without the weight and dignity that would give influence to his position as a minister, and his comfort and usefulness are accordingly. All this is independent of the drawbacks upon his success as a student, and experienced in all his course of preparation for the ministry.

4. Another ground of difficulty is, *the want of system generally in the study of theology*. At this we need but barely hint, as its great importance is seen at once, and cannot but be appreciated. In proportion to its importance to the student, so must be the injury he suffers from the neglect of it. This the student should keep in mind, and indeed never lose sight of it.

On the order and systematic arrangement of things, the naturalist depends for most of his success, in whatever department of natural science he may be engaged. The chemist cannot proceed a step without it. The investigations in botany, geology, mineralogy and other sciences, are conducted with strict and constant regard to it. If then, the student of nature owes so much of his success to the laws of order and arrangement that govern in the material universe, why should not the student of theology seek to profit by it, whose investigations are the laws that govern in the mental and moral world, and whose influence and relations endure for ever. If wise he would do so, and in overlooking their importance, deprives himself of advantages that would greatly assist and simplify

his efforts at analysis, otherwise rendered both obscure and difficult. Take, by way of illustration, the subject of Natural Theology, the credibility of Inspiration, the doctrine of the Trinity, Christology, Anthropology, or any other, and pursue it without regard to the order and arrangement that should govern in the study of it, and you have confusion confounded in the task before you. A labyrinth of difficulties surrounds you at every step, in no small degree perplexing to the student in his efforts to unravel them. To what extent the candidate for the ministry, in his entire course of study, may be assisted, and the burden of his task diminished, by a due regard to the laws of order and arrangement we have referred to, it is not necessary to inquire. Certain it is, that its aid is most essential, and that neglect of it may be regarded as a prominent difficulty in the way of his success.

5. *The abstruse nature of many of the subjects of study in theology*, is another ground of difficulty in its pursuit. The student realizes this, and from the nature of the case, cannot be, in any great degree, relieved of it. The great solicitude he feels to unravel the mystery by which he finds himself surrounded, tends only to increase the embarrassment under which he labors. In this painful suspense he feels, till he realizes at least that God did not intend that he should be "wise above what is written."

That many of the subjects connected with theology are involved in difficulty, and cannot be fully and satisfactorily explained, is true, and should not surprise us. Is not God himself incomprehensible? Says Job, "canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" If then, God himself cannot be fully known, and has revealed himself only so far as concerns the salvation of man, and no further, might it not be justly expected that much concerning God himself, the divine government, the providences of God, and other kindred subjects, would remain veiled in impenetrable mystery. Thus are they found to be, and as God himself has not given us the key to unlock them, so they must remain.

The effort of the human mind thus to unravel what God himself has clothed in mystery, and, as said before, become "wise above what is written," has been unhappily the fruitful source of all the Socinianism and Rationalism of the age we live in, and of those that have preceded it. The bible was not designed to furnish answers to idle and unprofitable speculation, but to reveal to poor helpless humanity, in its guilt and sinfulness, the way to heaven. This it does in terms so plain

and simple that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. Its object is not the exaltation of reason, as the rationalist would have it, but its rigid and unqualified subjection to what it reveals, and reason, however deified by its votaries, must receive its lessons in humility from it, or remain bewildered. Whatever be its supposed greatness or boasted supremacy, it cannot rise above the level God has given it, and claim to know what God has chosen not to reveal. But, says the bible, "vain man would be wise," though born only to reveal his folly, and experience fully confirms it. That mysteries which reason cannot fathom, should therefore veil divine truth, especially where the duties of piety are not concerned, should necessarily be expected, nor should they discourage at all the christian student in his seeking to know the truth, and in qualifying himself to make it known to others.

6. *The self-dependence of the student and neglect of prayer*, is the last ground of difficulty we shall notice in the study of theology. Of all barriers to successful study, this is certainly the most formidable and most to be guarded against. The old maxim "*Bene orasse est bene studuisse*," is true of all study, and its neglect unpardonable in the christian student.

Besides, if the wise among the heathen, and their students also, as history informs us they did, invoked, though blindly, the aid and inspiration of the divinities they worshiped, how much more should not the christian student, conscious of his own dependence, seek in prayer knowledge of him, who gave to the human mind all of power it possesses, and best knows, therefore, how to guide it aright, in its searches after truth! In this, as in other things, he giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not. Solomon, because he asked wisdom of God, and not riches and honor, not only had the former given him, but all the treasures of royalty superadded.

Having thus noticed, in part at least, the grounds of difficulty attending the study of theology, and impeding the student's progress in it, we shall now advert to some of the grounds of encouragement and success, that equally belong to it. The first we mention is,

1. *The success that has attended the faithful efforts of those who have preceded you.* For your encouragement, my young brethren, you have here a long and honored list of those in past ages of the church, and now in the ministry, who, by a faithful application of their time, such as you may make, and with it looking to God for the divine blessing upon their studies, fitted themselves for the highest grades of usefulness in

their divine profession. Luther and Calvin, and Knox and South, and Scott and Henry, and Wesley in former times, and a host of others since their day, were all once like yourselves, candidates and students for the christian ministry, and had to undergo, only under much less favored circumstances, the same ordeal of labor in which you are now engaged. In their self-denying duties, they had no royal road to travel over, no secret mystic charm to give them success. They had no powers of understanding, so gifted by intuition as not to need the disciplinary training common to others, nor did they so regard themselves. By study and prayer, and these alone, they made themselves ministers rightly qualified to divide the word of truth, being thoroughly furnished unto every good work. What they have done, the faithful christian student may still also hope to do, and their success should encourage you to similar efforts.

2. A second ground of encouragement in the study of theology, is furnished you in *the ample time allotted for its completion*. Students for the ministry are not hurried in their preparation for it, and it is not designed that they should be. Their whole course is progressive, it is true, but slow and gradual. They advance step by step, carefully reviewing, as they should, the ground they go over, and progressing only so fast as a knowledge of present difficulties will enable them to master such as are to follow, till finally they reach the end. Even then, they will feel that instead of ground for boasting, they know nothing aright, as they ought to know it. This conviction, however, is the best assurance they can give of the substantial progress they have made.

It is true, however, that a natural disposition pervades most students for the ministry, to hurry on, and even abridge the course prescribed; not so much, we suppose, to rid themselves of study and the self-denying labor it imposes, as to enter thereby the sooner upon their sacred calling. Such as have thus voluntarily abridged their time, and prematurely entered the sacred desk, have invariably been found to be the first to repent it and admit their error. In my own observation as a minister, limited to the experience of only some twenty years, I have known not a few who, when realizing the duties and responsibilities that devolved upon them in the active service of the ministry, then only first discovered the serious error they had made as students, but discovered it when too late to retrace their steps; many sad examples of which I could give you, if deemed expedient, not only from our own ministry, but from that of sister churches. The fact then that ample time is de-

signedly allotted for the student's preparation for the ministry, and that generally no good reason is found for abridging it, should be regarded as among the most encouraging grounds of success in its prosecution.

3. A third and important ground of encouragement to the student for the ministry, is *the increasing aid derived from the knowledge gained as he progresses in his course*. This aid is important, and in no small degree facilitates the labor of the student as he advances in his work. It is the necessary consequence of cause and effect, and their reciprocal influence in this case, in the student's favor. Each onward step facilitates the next, and not only makes his progress easier, but invigorates the mind in its efforts to effect it. Just as the lines and curves and complicated sections in a book of geometry would bewilder and terrify a beginner in mathematics, so the points and angles of the Hebrew scriptures would similarly affect the student, who as yet knew nothing of Hebrew characters. But beginning with these characters, and the sounds and letters represented by them, and progressing step by step in their combination and relations, the student soon finds that overcoming one difficulty, though great at first, renders the next less formidable, till in due time he finds himself master of the whole. Thus, in all the departments of study before him, he finds himself similarly assisted, and realizes in it no small degree of encouragement as he progresses in his course.

4. Another ground of encouragement in the study of theology, is *the pleasure derived from the nature of the studies pursued*. There is always pleasure in the acquisition of knowledge. This is true because knowledge itself is a source of pleasure, and has always been so regarded. Her temple has never wanted for devoted worshippers. Ignorance is not bliss. Were it so, then in the language of the poet, "'twere folly to be wise;" but the common sentiment, the common experience of mankind proves the contrary, and ranks the mind's treasures among its highest sources of enjoyment. 'This is well expressed in the following lines of the poet, tho' the sentiment itself has in it less of religion than poetry :

" Arise ! I commun'd with myself, arise,
Think, to be happy, to be great, be wise ;
Content of spirit must from science flow,
For 'tis a Godlike attribute to know."

If this is true, then the mind's satisfaction must be heightened in proportion to the extent to which its treasures will be multiplied. Hence the thirst for knowledge so characteristic of man in every condition, and in all ages, favorable to its ac-

quisition. It is so now, and the only regret is that the human mind does not always separate the dross from the pure gold, and retain that only, which would make it truly wise, for in this divine sense, "wisdom is the principal thing." Under these circumstances, in the case before us, where the student knows that his studies are themselves divine, how great must not the encouragement and comfort be derived from them.

5. Another ground of encouragement is, *the infinite worth of the knowledge thus secured, especially when viewed in relation to the student's future usefulness in the ministry.* This we know is great, but how great and how invaluable, eternity only will reveal. It is of infinite worth to the student himself. He is here treasuring up ideas that are destined to expand and enlarge during all the endless cycles of eternity. As God is infinite, and infinite in all his divine perfections, infinite in all his works and ways, so the mind in its expansion and its powers of comprehension will go on *ad infinitum*, and when ten thousand ages will have gone by, its susceptibility of progression will still be the same. What new views it will have gained, and what heights and depths of knowledge, especially divine knowledge, it will have reached, eternity only will disclose. Of all students then, the student of theology is most fortunate in this respect, and most to be envied, for as his is knowledge sanctified by the grace of God, it will abide forever.

But, in connection with the satisfaction he derives from the knowledge thus secured, he is constantly buoyed up in his studies by the hope of future usefulness in his profession. He is now laying the groundwork for future success in the highest calling known to man. He is to be the ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ, the messenger of mercy and salvation to sinful, erring humanity. Literally, he is to go about doing good, as did the Savior before him. As his calling is divine, and his commission from on high, the Master whom he serves has promised to be with him. To him, the Son of the Most High, is given all power in heaven and on earth. This power the faithful christian minister has pledged in his behalf, and guarantees his success. Assured of such aid, and encouraged by the presence of him who has promised, "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end," what measure of good may not the christian minister hope to achieve? What spiritual triumphs may he not hope to witness; triumphs of grace that will encircle and enrich his crown of rejoicing throughout eternity. The humblest assurance of success and triumphs such as these, is encouragement enough to sustain the christian student, as a candidate for them, under all the discouragement.

ments that can in any event surround him, and I advert to them only, in this connection, to remind you of them.

Finally. The last ground of encouragement and success I shall refer to, in the study of theology, is *the student's aid furnished in answer to prayer*. This will be in proportion to the faith he exercises, and his diligence in prayer. The devout, the faithful christian student, alone realizes what it is.

Christ says, "without me ye can do nothing." This is as literally true in regard to the christian student as to the christian minister. In preparing for the work Christ has given us to do, we must by faith look to him and seek his aid, as well then as when we enter upon the work itself. He alone can fit us for it, as well as sustain us in it.

Again Christ tells us, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." How needful then to look to him who is not only the source of all truth, but that truth itself, that we may be led by him and his teaching unto the knowledge of it. How easy for him so to give direction to the student's thoughts, so to quicken his perceptions and his views of truth, that its connections and relations may be seen at once, its discrepancies removed, and all of difficulty overcome with the utmost ease. This he can do without the intervention of supernatural agencies. These we have no warrant to expect. The former he gives simply in answer to prayer.

Besides, on this subject, you are not left, my young brethren, to doubt or uncertainty. You have to encourage you the examples and success of good and holy men who have gone before you. You are told that Luther, so mighty in the scriptures, and on whom, under God, depended the success of the Reformation, received his knowledge of the scriptures mainly in answer to prayer. Arndt and Spener and Franke, obtained through prayer, that heavenly unction which blessed so remarkably their ministry in the age in which they lived, and will cause their influence for good to be felt in the church to the end of time. Matthew Henry owed to prayer also, his knowledge of the bible, and his commentaries, for which prayer had mainly fitted him, have blessed the christian world. Doddridge cherished the same spirit, and his "Rise and progress of religion in the soul" will never cease to live and bless mankind. Other examples might be given, from our own as well as the ministry of sister churches, but these will suffice. Let me exhort you, then, in conclusion, to follow them as they followed Christ. From him seek in prayer, as they did, the aid, the light, the grace you need, and their success assures you that you will not seek in vain.

The Savior says, "if a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." Wherefore he adds, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." That you may devoutly do so, and receive in answer the grace you need, both now and evermore, is the earnest prayer, my dear young brethren, of him who now addresses you, and who, in entering upon the duties that will devolve upon him, in the relation he is hereafter to sustain to you as your guide and teacher for the holy ministry, feels that his first great act of duty is, thus solemnly to admonish you to look in prayer to Him by whom alone both teachers and students can be taught aright. As far as mere human instrumentality is concerned, and can aid you in your course, I will only add, such aid will always cheerfully, and I trust faithfully, be given you.

ARTICLE III.

Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, etc., etc. ; by Cardinal Wiseman. Two volumes in one. Third edition—1851.

By Rev. W. Jul. Mann, Philadelphia.

PERHAPS but few of our readers have ever undertaken to read a theological work of Roman Catholic origin. It is true, that we shall not likely be able to seal ourselves up hermetically against all the influences of the literary activity of the Roman Catholic world. In this respect, amongst others, it has made its effects to be felt to the most recent times, in widely expanded circles of christian society. There is, all over the globe, hardly any protestant bookstore to be found, in which the works of an Alexander Dumas, or of an Eugene Sue, or of any other talented modern Catholic writer, could not be bought. We often forget, that this class of literature, poisoned and detrimental as it is to the state of morals in the community, springs

from the Roman church. But more important to the religious portion of the public, and more significant and characteristic of the life and vitality of the Roman faith in our century, are those literary products, which the graceful pen and the tender heart of a Chateaubriand, in glowing colors, has given to the public in honor of Roman Catholic christianity. The small work of the pious monk, Thomas á Kempis of old, has outlived many a large volume, and is, although in a somewhat purified form, to be found almost in every protestant house; it is yet the guide of many an "imitator of Christ."

Thus we see, there are still, in reality, connecting links between the Catholic and our piety, not to speak of the common ground between the Catholic and the Protestant church, existing through the medium of old creeds and symbols. Nevertheless, the interest exhibited on our part, in the scientific researches of Catholic theologians, is certainly of very little account. There are, in fact, not many of our Protestant theologians and divines, who would expect to gather a good harvest by the study of Catholic commentaries, dogmatics or ethics. We do not assert too much in saying, that the whole Catholic literature, from the earliest times down to the present age, is to most of us a *terra incognita*. Who would have time and opportunity to read the church fathers? Who would like to engage his mind with the niceties and subtilities of Scholasticism? What pleasure could the transcendental language of the Mystics afford to our highly valued sobriety? Could we place confidence in the records of a Bellarmin, or in the dexterity of a Bossuet? Would anybody like to read books concerning difficulties, which our ancestors have settled long before us, repeating errors of which they had already rid themselves?

We might congratulate ourselves for our security, if the whole world thought as we perhaps do. But it is of no use to close our eyes against the danger surrounding us, and then put our heads in the sand, like the ostrich, expecting to escape observation because we do not see. Errors have always found a ready market, and none are more in demand with the public among us, than those diffused in regard to the Roman church. It is an easy thing for a peripatetic lecturer to speak of the outrages connected with her history. He need but mention the names of those outcasts who have occupied St. Peter's chair. The mere name of the Jesuits will fill a whole auditory with horror. Who of his hearers would doubt that the whole Roman church organism is the frame-work of hell? Certainly those abominable things are not to be separated from

all connection with the Roman church! They belong, truly, to her fruits. It will not avail to say that every large body casts a large shadow.

But let us remember, that those who know nothing of the Roman church but such errors and crimes, in fact do not know enough of her, nor do they understand her genius. And let it be determined by us, that whosoever wages war against her by arousing hatred and scorn, does not act in the spirit of Christ (Luke 9: 53-56), nor will he promote any thing but hatred and scorn, instead of doing good. It is rather an easy task, to produce by expositions of the "abominations of the Man of sin," a hasty excitement in any puritan assembly.—The victory is never surer than when we are sure against the "*audiat et altera pars.*" But no good will ever be accomplished in this way. We fully agree with the sentiments, recently uttered by one of the contributors to Frazer's Magazine, who says: "We have a zeal against Rome, and a just one; but not one according to knowledge; for we know nothing of her but her defects. Of her strong points we are very ignorant. Of her good points we have not yet suspected even the existence. Hence our impotence against her. We compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and—I will not finish the text; but I cannot but feel inclined to do so, when I hear a man admired by clapping crowds, who, after having been a Romish priest, dares to reproduce to the ears of educated men, so ribald and exploded a calumny, as that which calls the countess Mathilda the mistress of Pope Hildebrand. Such is our method. Ignorant denunciation. Ignorant, not because the facts which we allege against Rome are false, for they are, in the main, true; but because we do not know why they are true. In the popular anti-popish books and lectures, I find a crass, I had almost said a wilful ignorance, on these points. Hence a prurient readiness to listen again and again to bestial accusations, which true and false both, are quite notorious already." In truth, all this sort of warfare against Popery, and the indiscriminate use of slang words, even though the gospel may be used as an armory, has never done her any harm. It is a very bad sign for this whole controversy, that the "talk is usually all on one side." It is a usual thing to say so much against the Roman church, to charge her with so many evils, that there can be no difficulty in asserting, that she is in no connection at all with Christ's church. But if we were to enumerate all the evils, which, in any way, stand connected with the history of the Protestant church, if we would traverse the whole Protestant ground, from the fanatical burning of

witches, and from the exasperated controversies of Protestant divines, two and three hundred years ago, down to the demoralizing tendencies, which in our times boast of Protestant freedom; and the miserable malformations and abnormities which our sectarianism produces, indeed the participation with Christ's body might, with the same—injustice, be also denied to the Protestant church.

The main fault with all these anti-catholic bravados is, that they never start from the points at issue. They have only to do with things which are of secondary importance. It is to be regretted, that even our theologians often chime in with this spirit of mere denunciation, and that they, in doing so, lose sight of the truly theological point in view. It is very easy, and meets with so much public favor, when a man takes the ground of modern general civilization, and according to this abstract ideal, measures the past and the future, and so also the history of the church of former ages. Methinks we might in this, too, learn a great deal from our Lord Jesus. He undertook by teaching, to guide his people to a higher, a more spiritual religion. How admirable is the wisdom with which he went to work! Certainly the state of religion amongst the Jews was in his time most deplorable. He well knew the wickedness of the Scribes and Pharisees. Unsparingly he used the lash of his pungent words against their hypocrisy. Nevertheless, he told his hearers: "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not" (Mat. 23: 2, 3). Thus the Lord did not cast away the wheat with the chaff. What was good, he readily acknowledged, even on the part of his embittered enemies; and in doing so, he made every one feel that he was not inflamed by any party spirit. By acting as he did, he was enabled to excite in the minds of his hearers a susceptibility for his higher teachings, and thus he prepared them for the understanding of revelations, which the Old Testament could not give. But he never endeavored to enlighten reason without arousing the conscience. Not the head, but the heart is the starting point for a new religious life. That Regeneration is nothing, which consists in a mere change of certain ungodly views and manners of living. A man may change them, and still not be a new-born creature. He may do many great and good things, and still not be a new creation. The scribes might have said and done a great deal according to law; but it was just that outward legalism, against which the Lord strove.

He knew that all the good legal works, of themselves, could not bring a man into real communion with his God. In his eyes, religion was perverted as long as man's heart was not animated with that love of God which sanctifies the whole man. Those who listened to the Lord's words, could easily feel the difference between themselves and Him who stood before them, a living personal embodiment of the holy truth, he pronounced. Thus they received from him that deep, unextinguishable impression, to which St. John testifies by saying: "We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father" (John 1: 14).

Let us keep in mind, that in all this the Lord teaches us how to work for the conviction of those who have received a perverted system of religion. Of course we are not equal to him; but let us follow his steps in a wise forbearance with the erring, and let his spirit be more felt in our intercourse with them. An *outward* conviction of the adherents of the Roman church, is not the object for which we ought to labor, in our intercourse with them. All the civilization and culture of our times, in itself, make not a single new-born man. We may as well here recall to our minds the reformers and their work. It would be a sad mistake to believe that they were merely engaged in a struggle against gross injustice, crudity or ignorance, or in a desperate fight against heavy external burdens, laid upon them by the Roman See. It may be that a Franciscus von Sickingen, or an Ulricus von Hutten, understood the great movement of their age in such a manner. They mixed the interests of religion up with those of nationality and politics. But with Luther, Melancthon, and the other reformers, the whole commotion went immeasurably deeper. It was the most severe agony of *conscience* through which they had to go. To them it seemed that her Lord was lost to the church, Christ to the world, the Savior to hearts thirsting after his righteousness. The new life, which in him had appeared in the world, seemed to be dead and buried. A sacred desire after peace with God, a longing after a vital communion with him was aroused. There was room for the word of God to do its work. The gospel was then a refreshing dew from heaven. It was stirring up and guiding the souls by its holy utterings. The written book was not regarded as a dead code of laws, but it was brought to bear upon the great questions of the time as a true testimony, speaking of the great fact of salvation by the incarnate *λόγος*, and of the life which was in him, and which was the foundation of a new life-communion between man and God, and man and his fellow-beings. Of this the

scriptures are witnesses. This is the specific value attached to them. In this capacity they had guided the earliest church. By using them in this way, the reformers put a new light on the high altar in the church, in Christ's sanctuary, and Christ himself was again glorified in his church more than all the martyrs and saints. Their glory is only a reflex of his; it is only borrowed from him. Wherever a man has that life, which conquers sin and the world, he has it by being brought in a near personal relation to Christ. The scriptures, preaching, and every means of grace, must bring us all immediately nearer to him.

It seems to us, that these thoughts, plain as they are, and known to all of us, should be more appreciated amongst us, and better brought to account in our relation to the Roman church. Not a superficial Protestant enlightening of the mind, which, in fact, very often has nothing in common with true vital piety, will help the Roman church. No remedy will help her short of the mystery of the kingdom of God, which must be revealed to every one by his own heart's experience. In all her great and wonderful organism, the Roman church wants nothing but a living soul. This soul is Christ and his life and spirit. There is a great deal of pious doing, of religious activity in her, but it is all man, not Christ. He seems to be everywhere enveloped in a mysterious darkness. He comes in for a share merely as a lawgiver, who, like Lycurgus, after having accomplished his work, retired to a strange, far-off country. He is in the position of a second Moses. It seems to be forgotten that he lives, that he is living in the midst of his people, that he wants to live in them. We can, therefore, express our feelings on this great point, by simply saying, that the Roman church has become not so much anti-christian, as she is unchristian; she is not so much anti-christianized, as she is dechristianized (*sit venia voci!*). She is not intentionally against Christ, but she is without him. His influence in her is sadly reduced, or he exerts it only second-handed by the Saints and the Pope. A closer examination of her main doctrines, will form the best commentary to our remarks.

This impression has, in a considerable degree, been renewed with us by the study of the book, whose title stands at the head of this article. The name of its author has often been brought to public notice within the last years. The Cardinal's hat, given to him by the Pope, has caused a storm of indignation in England against the pretensions of the high functionary in St. Peter's chair in Rome, and a bill of Parliament has been passed against the further progress of Roman Catholic

usurpation in her Majesty's United Kingdoms. The book before us is a sufficient proof that its author, with or without the Cardinal's title, would, under any circumstances, exert an influence. These lectures were delivered as early as 1836. We have already the third American reprinted from the last London edition. We cannot say, through how many editions the work has gone in England. There can be no doubt that the book in many thousand copies, is spread amongst the public on both sides of the Atlantic, and that it is of some weight in the present movement in favor of Roman Catholicism. A cursory perusal of it will convince every reader that it is most dexterously adapted to this purpose. It will confirm the Catholic in his persuasion; it is well adapted to unsettle the usual opinions on the Catholic doctrine in a Protestant mind. It will suggest the idea to many, that there is, after all, a good deal more of true christianity in the Roman system than they expected in it. This is precisely the dangerous feature of these lectures. No wonder if they become a stumbling-block to a large number of those who, in reality, do not know what they are or ought to be as Protestants.

The Cardinal permits no doubt in regard to his real intention. It is true, the title of the book only speaks of the principal doctrines and practices of the Catholic church. But on page 14, vol. I, we read: "I have, for the present, undertaken to address myself to one point only; to the examining the fundamental principles of the Catholic and Protestant religions." If he indeed thinks that he has examined in these lectures the fundamental principles of Protestantism, the man is sadly mistaken. We are sorry to see that he has not made better use of the works of the German Moehler, whom he calls his friend, and whose *Symbolik* he chooses to style the most profound work on the philosophy of divinity, which our time has produced (Pref. 9). Still, before entering into the theological merits of the book, we must give him credit for the mild, dignified manner, in which the lectures are prepared. It is a spirit of meekness and wise moderation, which pervades the book. There are no unfriendly epithets used against the erring brethren of the Protestant faith. The Cardinal speaks to them like a father who is full of grief, to see his children walking in the wrong path. He is also very far from abusing the reformers, a thing but too common, until the present day, with a certain class of Catholic authors against the Protestant church. Of course, the Cardinal was well aware of having before him an auditory, a large part of which was composed of the cream of educated English society, and of not a few of

the highest Protestant aristocracy. He knew very well, that we must not offend the very sensitive feelings of those whom we want to convince of errors in religion. Certainly in this respect, his book may be called a real pattern of a polemic work, and many of our Protestant anti-Catholic champions might derive a hint from this spirit of meekness and forbearance. Certainly it speaks well for the author's wisdom, when he says: "The last quality and characteristic which I shall be anxious to infuse into this course of instruction, will be that of a spirit of mildness and gentleness, the avoiding of any expression which can possibly wound the feelings of any individual, the refraining from any term of reproach, and from the use of any name which is reprobated and disliked by those of whom we speak" (I. p. 30). Of course, this does not prevent him from cutting keenly, wherever he thinks he sees a weak point in the doctrine and theology of his Protestant antagonists. Indeed it will be a difficult task for them to refute, in many cases, the demonstrations of the fallacies of their arguments. How plainly does he bring to light the insufficiency of our usual common-place arguments for the inspiration of the scriptures! How clearly does he show the unsatisfactory manner in which Horne is manœuvring in his proofs of inspiration, which, after all, in reality do not amount to a great deal more than to a sort of *circulus in argumentatione*, and of a *petitio principii* (I. 46). But there is nothing said to arouse hatred, or to excite personal feelings.

Still, this is only one of the various captivating qualities of the book. The manner in which the lecturer treats his subject, is really admirable. To an unbiassed mind his arguments must seem to be conclusive, and for those who are wavering in their opinion about the great church question, the whole book must be a real God-send, to free them from a host of doubts. There cannot be a single reader who would not feel that the author is in full earnest, that he speaks with the confidence of a faith of many hundred years standing, and with a sort of a missionary's pity towards those whose ignorance he is going to bless with a few beams of light. No man can speak in more solemn words, nor can any man exhibit more dignified emotions, than the author does in many most beautiful passages of his lectures (v. particularly II. p. 197). The Pope could certainly find no one who better deserved the honor conferred upon him, than this *defensor fidei*.

Nevertheless, we cannot but say, that the whole book is more showy than solid. We shall have opportunity to prove, that the author treats us sometimes with most astounding misrepre-

sentations. But we cannot deny, that he has great skill in making his assertions plausible. He is always ready with a suitable citation from the bible, or from an old church father, or from some other authority. He is particularly happy in comparisons and analogies. But in fact, very often they will not bear a close examination. It is true, the Cardinal makes the best use of bible words he can; but when he speaks of the love of the Roman church for the gospel, when he says: "Is there any other church that places a heavier stake on the authority of the scriptures, than the Catholic?" (I. p. 53) indeed such words must surprise us. There is a fine strain of phraseology of this same sort running through the whole book, but it amounts to nothing more than mere declamation. The Cardinal cannot forget that he uses his full strength to prove the necessity of tradition, and that it must be acknowledged there are a thousand usages and practices in the Roman church, which are regarded as most essential parts of piety, which have their foundation nowhere but in a most doubtful tradition, and which are certainly not founded on any gospel authority. If the worshipping of St. Mary, and of all the Saints, if the refusal of the cup to the lay-members, if tradition, in its Roman church meaning, itself is such an undeniable element even of the primeval church, if all these practices have been the practices of the first Apostolic church, how is it that there is not more light thrown on these things in the New Testament? How is it that the Roman church lays seemingly all stress on the authority of the bible, whilst she most evidently, in all those points, cares very little for the authority of the bible? The Cardinal seems not to be aware of this fact. But he ought to feel that there exists some difficulty on his own ground. At one time he speaks of the gospel as containing all the truth necessary for the church, and calls the "word of God the foundation-stone of the Catholic faith" (I. p. 61); at another he says: "It is unfair in the extreme, as I before intimated, to consider the New Testament, and still more, the entire bible, as a whole" (I. p. 44). Going to prove the necessity of tradition, he omits to say why the Apostles should have taught rites and ceremonies which are never mentioned in their writings, and which they do not mention to have been those of our Lord. We maintain that in all things which belong to piety and religion, we should take him, and only him, as the pure and holy example. No man can go beyond his perfection. Christ certainly did not pray a rosary and many similar usages he did not know. If these practices are necessary, as the Roman church teaches her members, if they are substan-

tial elements of piety, certainly our Lord ought to have had them and cherished them—he who in all things is the pattern for us all. Where does he ever give his disciples a right to teach other things than he taught them? Should they, writing about his life and his instructions given to them, have forgotten all those things the Catholic church boasts of? Surely not. Or, may we ask, to what amounts all the force of argumentation, which the Cardinal uses in favor of church authority, versus private judgment? What else is that church authority, after all, than a combination of private judgments? Or by submitting to a church authority in the present time, what else would we do but submit to the private judgment of those who lived in by-gone times, or who may live with us now? We will say nothing of the manner or the right of arguing by quotations from church fathers. Everybody knows that they, with all their respect for what they call the Catholic church, entertained rather a high opinion of their own judgment in very important points, and that one of the greatest of them can be called the father of Lutheranism or of Calvinism with as much propriety as he called a Roman Catholic church father.

Or who will ever approve of such a demonstration as there is given (I. p. 60–61) in regard to the necessity of *tradition and gospel*. The gospel is here said to be the same that the written law was in the ark of the Lord; tradition is the rod of Aaron, as “the sceptre of power and authority.” Had Aaron ever any right to add a single letter to the law of God? There is an abundance of similar analogies in the lectures, which in themselves have no argumentative power at all. Still the Cardinal tells us (I. p. 29), that the method he follows will be “demonstrative and essentially inductive, that is to say, I will not take any one single principle for granted; which will possibly bear a dispute.” He must have had strange preconceptions in regard to his hearers and readers. It cannot be expected of us to refute one by one his assertions. The whole book is full of such inductions, which will not likely induce any thinking reader to be at once convinced of the unconquerable position of the Roman faith. Still, we cannot refrain from giving one striking example of the manner in which the Cardinal tries to silence the voices against Rome. In his fourth lecture he speaks of the proofs of the Catholic rule of faith. He makes use of the opinion of those who say that the church as a whole fell away into Idolatry and corruption, for a parable. “I will present the case familiarly to you, in the form of a parable. A certain king lived at a great distance from his child-

ren, whom he tenderly loved. They dwelt in a Tabernacle, frail and perishable, which he had long and often promised should be replaced by a solid and magnificent abode, worthy of his greatness, and of his affection towards them. And after many days, there came unto them one who said he was sent by him to raise this goodly building. And they asked him: What evidence or proof dost thou give us, that the king, our father, hath sent you, as fully qualified and able to build us such a house as shall worthily replace the other, and be our future dwelling?" And he answered and said: "I will raise a costly building, spacious and beautiful; its walls shall be of marble, and its roofs of cedar, and its ornaments of gold and precious stones; and I will labor and toil to make it worthy of him that sent me, and of me, its architect, even so that my very life shall be laid out on the good work. And this shall be an evidence of my mission for the work, and of my approved fitness for undertaking it: that, scarcely shall it be completed but the lustre of its precious stones shall be dimmed, and the brightness of its gold shall tarnish, and its ornaments shall be defiled with foul spots, and then its walls shall be rent with many cracks and crannies in every part, and then it shall crumble and fall; and a few generations shall see the whole in ruins, and overspread in howling desolation!" And what would they reply unto him? "Go to," they would say, "for a fool, or one who taketh us for such: are these the proofs thou givest us of thy fitness to build a house for our abode?" (v. also I. p. 134). We will annex only one remark, to show the weakness of this whole comparison. Could it not just as well be said, that the fall of Adam and its dreadful consequences, after the work of creation was done, were by far more surprising than the fall of the new-built church into Idolatry? As Adam, coming forth good and perfect from the hand of his maker, even without that *donum superadditum* of the Catholic doctrine, fell into sin and death, and with him all mankind, so could the church relapse, and no wonder; it was sin which did its work in her, and she began to cling to things which were dead in themselves, instead of remaining united with Christ, the living. 1 John 2: 28.

Another time the Cardinal represents the Roman church as a "noble edifice, richly adorned as befits God's temple, the lustre of whose golden ornaments may have been sometime dimmed by neglect, whose decorations may have suffered from mildew and rust, but whose foundations are based on the eternal hills, and may not be shaken by the earthquake or the storm" (I. p. 138). Only hear! the ornaments were neglected!

The decorations suffered from mildew and rust ! Indeed, we think enough has been done for the ornaments and decorations in the Roman church, but the foundation—! Let her boast of her centuries ; Fetishism can do the same.

We have now come into the midst of the great and difficult points mainly at issue. The Cardinal intends to give a lucid exposition of the principal doctrines and practices of the Catholic faith. He undertakes to throw more light on his subject, by occasional illustrations of the Protestant faith. In regard to the former, viz., the Roman church, we are sorry to see that the facts are such as he represents them ; in regard to the Protestant church, we are sorry to see that the facts are not brought before us as they actually are. And even in regard to the Roman church, the author seems to forget sometimes, that he defends a certain doctrine, and keeps silence on the practices which, to an enormous extent, are worse than the doctrine. Any one may convince himself of this by reading the lecture on Invocation of the Saints (II. 77 ss.).

It is nothing new to us, that the Protestant doctrine has been misrepresented, and that it is yet very often misrepresented by Roman Catholic priests and scholars. But we should have expected better things from the Cardinal, who professes to expose also, at least, the Protestant *rule* of faith, to make the Catholic doctrine shine more brightly by contrast. He is laboring under the greatest mistake, if he believes that he understands the fundamental principle of Protestantism. He shows most clearly that he knows of no other fundamental principle of Protestantism, than the bible. As if it were the same to say, the principal rule for the Protestant faith is the bible ; or to say, the principle of Protestantism is the bible. It is doing wrong to the reformers, and to the Protestant church as a whole. Alas for the Protestant church, if her life should altogether depend on a book ! But, may we ask, on what does the Catholic doctrine depend ? Is not tradition laid down in books and decrees of councils and synods ? Did the Protestant church ever teach that the world was saved, or would be saved, by a book ? But we believe that through his infinite mercy, God saved the world by the sending of his only begotten Son. So has the church taught from the beginning, and so we read in the gospel. To this the Roman church seems to give her assent, but her whole system of good works, etc., shows that in doing so, she is not in earnest. But the Protestant church inherited this great fundamental principle of christianity from her, and she made it a life-capital, whereof the Roman church

had not made the right use. This was the point from which the Reformation started. The reformers saw joyfully, that the gospel was on their side, that from it, as a whole, the great principle of free grace was shining forth most brilliantly. What higher authority could they wish for? It is an undeniable fact, that to the New Testament, especially, belongs the great privilege of being the primitive and the most authentic testimony of that divine love and life, which in Christ had appeared in the world. They who had seen the Lord himself, and to whom he had revealed the mysteries, could certainly know better than all those who came afterwards, and who had a second-hand understanding. They say that the gospel of Christ is the good news to the world, not the gospel of saints and martyrs. It is this great fact, that Christ came into the flesh, on which the salvation of mankind rests. Whatever there may be in connection with the whole organism of the church, must have the tendency to bring this great truth nearer to every one; it is the centre-point on which the whole spiritual world moves. A man does not know what importance is attached to the revelation of God the father (John 17: 1ss.) given in our blessed religion, unless he is brought into a personal communion with the head of the church, with Christ. We will not regard the bible as a book fallen from the sky, and we will never worship its letter, because others tell us it is the book of God. But we will regard it as the great and true testimony which the apostles and disciples of Christ, and his first church, have left us as a memorial of the impression which they had received from the personal appearance, from the whole life of the Son of God, as a confession of their faith and of their full persuasion that they and all the true believers had received new life from him (1 John 1-4).

The Cardinal may be right in saying that Christ never told his apostles that whatever they might write should enjoy the privilege of being regarded as inspired (I. 43). Still there is a restriction on this point; Rev. 1: 19. 2: 1, 8. 14: 13. Read the first chapter of the letter to the Galatians, and other parts, and see whether the apostles thought the congregations should regard their letters as less important than their oral-preaching; v. also 1 John 2: 7, 8, 12, 14. 5: 13. But if we read that the apostles, in their very letters, condemn things which had begun to mar the christian doctrine and life in various congregations, and which, up to the present time, are practices in the Roman church, should we then say, let us give up the New Testament, and follow the advice of the Roman church? We think not. Of course, the Cardinal would say, tradition is

necessary on account of the misgivings of private judgment. Then it must depend on the Holy Spirit, given to the *clergy*, which is the sound tradition. We answer, that we cannot forget that in the Roman church, Cassianus and Faustus, the fathers of the semi-pelagian error, are regarded as Saints, as well as Augustine, the bitter foe of that theory. The Roman church has become a good deal less forbearing since. But this very affirmation, that the clergy, as such, are the possessors of all the knowledge of divine things, and that they only have the keys of the heavenly treasure, seems to us just one of the strongest proofs that up to the present day, the Roman church does not know what that communication of the spirit means, whereof St. Peter speaks; Acts 2; 16, 21. (Joel 3: 1ss. Ez. 33: 9ss. 36: 26ss. 37: 24). The doctrines and practices of the Roman church are, in fact, the strong barriers which prevent many millions of souls from confessing out of their own experience, that Christ came into the flesh; 1 John 4: 1ss.—There are bulwarks and walls enough in the Roman church, between Christ and those to whom he alone can give new divine life; amongst these barriers, tradition is not the least.

Therefore we say, it is wrong in Cardinal Wiseman to assert that the bible is the fundamental principle of Protestantism. It shows most distinctly, that he does not understand us at all, or that he does not desire to understand us. He might, in any event, have received a little more light on the point in question, from his German friend Moehler. But true it is, that we Protestants say, there is no better, no holier, no purer guide by which we become acquainted with the great fact of salvation, and are brought in contact with Christ himself, than the gospel. We can, under no circumstances, admit that the gospel, in its main contents, says anything else than what, from the beginning, in the first years of the christian church, has been contained in the oral tradition, in the oral teaching of the disciples, apostles and evangelists. The idea of a secret doctrine, not contained in the scriptures of the New Testament, seems to us a thing not to be thought of, whatever a Basilius M. may say of a difference between *δόγματα* and *κηρύγματα*. We could never reconcile it with the whole character of Christ's teaching, nor with his words: "What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light, and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops" (Matt. 10: 27). "I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the Synagogue and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort, and in secret have I said nothing" (John 18: 20). Had the apostles a right to introduce other doctrines? Did

not the Lord tell them his spirit would remind them of *his own words*?

We Protestants believe, that there is no historical source in religious matters, to be compared with the bible. The gospel has a specific value for us on this account. Here is painted by the Holy Spirit, in heavenly colors, the God-man; here we hear the echo of his words of everlasting life; here we see him before us, as St. Paul says to the Galatians, ch. 3, v. 1. But according to the Cardinal's exposition, it might, in fact, seem that from a Protestant not more is required than to believe that the bible is the divine book. We would remind the Cardinal that Luther did not set himself against the Roman church, because she would not believe the bible to be a divine book, but because he found the Roman church was in contradiction with herself, just in regard to what she confessed to be divine. He heard Christ pronounced by the church to be the Savior of the world, and nobody else, whenever in the performance of the Mass those beautiful words were spoken:—*"Domine, Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris; qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; suscipe deprecationem nostram; qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis!"* But he saw the practices of this Latin-speaking church were all contrary to this confession, and the consequences were, that darkness and sin were all prevailing, and that Christ was dishonored in his very church. Nothing higher can be said in favor of the Reformation, than that it took its start from a longing after a more *moral*, really godly religion (Rom. 12: 1, 2). Luther himself a member of the Roman Catholic church was no outsider. He felt that there was something wrong in saying, Christ is the life, as the church did, and in not bringing this assertion to account. He was very far from putting up his private judgment, or any other private judgment as a divine oracle. But it was with him a deeply conscientious matter, to speak, not against, but, for the honor of the holy Catholic church, which to him seemed to be disgraced. Luther was no anti-church man, as little as he was anti-christian, but he became anti-Roman. Therefore, it is untrue in regard to Luther, as well as to all the reformers, and to the whole Protestant church, to say that we know of nothing but of the bible and of our private judgment, and that the application of the latter has to struggle with immense difficulties, on account of the nature of the book (I. p. 50, 51).

It is said of the Bereans, that "they searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so," as they had been preached to them (Acts. 17: 11). We know that private judgment

had to be used by Lydia, when she heard St. Paul ; that every man must, to a certain degree, use private judgment, even when he hears the doctrine of tradition ; that the man to whom the gospel is read or preached, must use his own judgment in connection with the living words he hears. But we are very far from believing that the bible rule of our Protestant faith can be interpreted in this way, that any man, even a heathen, may take up the bible, and by reading it and using his private judgment, *must* become a christian *per se*. We are sorry to see that some of our Protestant brethren entertained this pseudo-protestant view, which is in itself the very contrary to what the historical facts show. We will not speak of the unfriendly and fallacious manner in which the Cardinal speaks of our Protestant bible, and missionary societies and their work (Sec. VI). But we would remind those brethren, as well as the Cardinal, who handles them rather plainly (I. p. 40 al. loc.), that such was not the character of the Reformation in its first start. We are very far from tearing off the connection of life in the whole history of the church. It is one and the same organism before and after the crisis, which frees itself from deleterious, unhealthy matter, by going through the crisis. Through such a crisis the church went in the great epoch of the Reformation. It is an exploded thing, to believe that the Waldenses and similar sects have been the true church during the middle ages ; that they had what we have in our faith. We know that the gospel, and a great deal of the gospel truth in its application, were in the Roman church. Let those who are not aware of this fact, instruct themselves better, and let them read whole volumes of sermons preached in the centuries preceding the Reformation. The Roman church, in spite of all her faults, was the medium which had preserved the gospel through ages, which had educated the nations of Europe, which had laid the foundation of a christian world in the old continent. But we believe also, that the longer, the more, under most various and unhappy circumstances and influences, and in times far back in the history of the church, the light was dimmed in her. The centre-point, Jesus Christ, was more and more placed in a peripheral position in the whole life and practice of the church. He, as dead, became in the most solemn rites of the church, of more importance than he who lives eternally, and is the life of his people. The reformers never said that there had been no christian truth in the church, as some fanatics did say then, and may say so now. Luther had such a high idea of the mother church, that he thought at first the Pope and Cardinals did not know even of

those abuses which came under his notice. He had not to form new symbols on the main foundations of the kingdom of God; he received the canon of the scriptures, the doctrine of Trinity as they were from the Roman church; but he saw that she was in fact very far from her first starting point; that things which were altogether detrimental to the moral ends of our holy religion, had become all important, and that the main spring of salvation, the doctrine of the incarnation of Christ, the merits of Christ were, at least in the praxis of the church, laid aside and buried under piles of rubbish of no real value at all for the salvation of souls. So he spake out, as his conscience, aroused by the better elements of the same Catholic doctrine, taught him, and he was highly surprised to find, and that always more clearly and fully, that the gospel was on his side. So little did the Reformation *start* with this pretended bible rule. That the church taught, on one side, Christ as the Savior, and that the church, on the other side, made so much of good works and penances as our Cardinal does yet (II. 32ss.), this was a stumbling-block to Luther. But our author expresses as if it were an unheard-of thing, that justification by faith could be a fundamental principle of the Protestant church.

We can say, it was christianity in the Roman church versus unchristian tendencies in her, whence the Protestant church took its rise. There was certainly room for the bible to be used as an armory; this sacred volume was also acknowledged by the foe who was in the field. And why should the bible not be of more value, as an historical record of the Genesis and nature of our religion, than all tradition? The apostles enjoyed a higher authority in the church, and so did the evangelists with them, than all the fathers and teachers of the church, who came after them. Is it unnatural that their written documents should be regarded as of more importance than all the sayings and writings of the church authors after them, who, to some extent, at least, must be of a very doubtful authority in the Roman church herself? So much in regard to the rule of faith and tradition.

It requires very little insight into the whole question pending between Protestantism and Catholicism, to observe that here is the turning point for both systems. As long as the parties are divided on this doctrine, an understanding between them on other controverted matters, is not to be expected. It cannot be our interest here, to bring up item after item of the Cardinal's exposition of the Roman faith for refutation, or defence of the Protestant doctrine. Of course, he cannot bring

anything really new. The merits of the book are, in the main, contained in the manner and style in which he gives his illustrations. The book, just because it holds fast to every jot and tittle of the Roman faith, and contends that there is, in the whole Protestant church, as such, error and nothing but error, from beginning to end, is to a Protestant mind most impressive in regard to its clear demonstration of the immense difference between both systems. The whole view of christianity, the question, what our christian religion was intended to be for the world, the manner in which it had to accomplish its great mission in the history of the world; all these cardinal points will present themselves to the Protestant reader. He may lay the book aside, and be satisfied that the Roman church does not understand what christianity means; but he will hardly deny that her leading men, as well as the mass of her members, do not know that "they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge," and that she, as a whole, must have a strong, and not an unnatural aversion to our Protestantism, and against the confused and broken up state of our church life, which aversion will not be overcome by Protestant harangues or tirades. Protestantism is, in fact, a thing not recommended by its outward appearance; it requires a deep agitation of the inmost man, and altogether a more spiritual and really intelligent view of religion as such, fully to realize its intrinsic value, and to feel that in its fundamental doctrines, the real nature and character of christianity is better understood and better appreciated than in the Roman church. And no doubt there is a great lack in this respect, with many of us. They are, *by tradition*, enemies of the Roman church, but a more impartial investigation of their own principles and religious views, might easily convince them, that they in sentiment and practice, are a great deal nearer to the Roman standpoint, than they ever were aware of. It is more in regard to forms that they are the antagonists of the Roman church, but in regard to the spirit, the genius of their religion, they are her near relatives.

In bringing our perhaps too protracted remarks to a close, we refer to a single, very material point, to which we have already alluded. We asked ourselves, after having gone through the Cardinal's lectures, what is Christ to this man, what is the position of Christ in the whole Catholic system? Certainly the Cardinal keeps hold of the language of the old church symbols, on this distinctive doctrine of christianity; certainly he uses the strongest terms of orthodoxy; he even tries, as much as he can, to trace back all the principles and practices

of the Roman church to Christ himself; he skilfully gives to Christ's deeds and words that interpretation which will best suit the aim he is seeking. But what is this Christ in the Roman system? He is, in fact, nothing but the giver of a new law; he has lived, he has spoken his words, he has chosen his disciples, he has suffered on the cross, he has gathered the treasure of grace for his followers, he has made the necessary arrangements for the organization of his church, but then, having accomplished all this, he has retired far above the clouds, he is not living in the midst of his people; he is only represented there by the Pope and the clergy. They are his agents with full power. They have a right to sacrifice him again and again. They tell his flock of him, what they think proper. They teach them to implore the holy Virgin, whose intermediation and interference the Lord did not accept whilst he was on earth (John 2: 4), and to invoke the saints to mediate for them, that Christ in his sublime glory might not forget the poor sinner in the dust.

Is this the living Christ of whom the New Testament speaks? Is this the new divine life which he promised to all those who believe in him? Has Christ to this end manifested the Father's name unto the men whom the Father had given him?" Is, therefore, the Son glorified by the Father? (John 1: 1-6). Certainly neither the apostles nor the most profound teachers of the church of all ages, understood the mystery of incarnation and its effects in such a manner. Who would ever think that Christ did not mean a real life communion between himself and his redeemed, when he speaks to a poor sinful woman of the water of life, which he can give (John 4: 10ss.) or when he says, "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me, that ye might have life" (John 5: 39, 40)! Certainly our Lord means something higher than the mere connection with an outward church organization, or the mere submission to laws and rules which he might have established for it, when he prays for all whom the Father has given to him, that he himself may be in them (John 17: 23) or when he promises to those who love him, that he with the Father will come to them and dwell in them (John 14: 23). No doubt the New Testament is a new law, but the great *conditio sine qua non* for the fulfilment of this great law, is that change which the heart of man has to undergo, by which Christ's life is implanted in him as a new divine power, which will make him similar to Christ (Gal. 4: 19), that he can say with St. John, his commandments are not

grievous (1 John 5: 3). Let such witnesses speak out for themselves before all the world, what they have experienced by coming in contact with Christ; nothing is to them of more importance, than to pronounce that Christ the Lord had new life given to them. So says St. Peter, that by communion with Christ we shall all become partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. 1: 4); so St. Paul reminds the faithful, that when Christ, *their life*, shall appear, they will also appear with him in glory (Col. 3: 4); and St. John testifies, that God has given to us eternal life, and that this life is in his Son; "he who hath the Son hath life" (1 John 5: 11, 12).

Perhaps some one might say, that the Roman church would most willingly acknowledge the full meaning of these words. She would not deny their deep and weighty import. But let us go through our Cardinal's book, where the fundamental doctrines of the Roman church are exposed, and you will easily be persuaded that for those ideas there is hardly any room left in the whole system. The church and her organization, and her old established practices; this is the all-absorbing theme, and Christ himself has become a stranger in his own house and property. She is a Mausoleum for the dead one. We were truly grieved to see how unchristian, particularly in this respect, the author presents himself, certainly not to the honor of his church. That the personal union between the believer and Christ is a fundamental article, in which all christians may glory, because it is the actualization of the mystery of the kingdom of God with man, of this our author seems not at all to be aware. It does not augur very well for his church and for her piety, that there is so very little room in her for the living Christ himself, that in fact it seems he has once lived for her, but now exists there only by various representations. We would remark, that this general character of the Roman church piety, admits of most glorious exceptions, and that there are not a few in her bosom, who, sincerely seeking the truth, are not satisfied with the worship of Saints, nor with penances and good works, or with an obedient admiration of the miracle of the Mass, but who, with Mary, humbly sit down at the feet of Christ himself. We hope the Cardinal is one of them, and that it may be true of him, as is the case with many of the communion of his church, that their life and piety are better than their church doctrine, in many respects.

Parting from the book, we part with the distinct feeling that our Protestant confession, in spite of the sad state of the Pro-

testant church, has been endeared to us by reviewing the differences existing between the sisters, the children of one mother. But we part from the book without any hostile feelings; we have felt anew, as often before, that there is more common ground between Catholics and true Protestants, than there is between Protestants and the many infidel, rationalistic, destructive tendencies, which aim to make their home in the Protestant church. As long as the Roman church does confess that Christ came into the flesh (1 John 4: 2, 3), so long we have no right to regard her as cut off from all connection with the body of Christ. Remembering her faults and imperfections, we are reminded of our own, in many respects, most deplorable state. We will never lose an opportunity to learn, even from our antagonist, and we will not dishonor ourselves by making him worse than he is. Neither of us is perfect. Christ must be glorified in both of us, more than he has been and is yet, and men and their thoughts must be more subdued on both sides. We put our trust in him whose work the church is; she is his creature, and looking into the dark future of church history, we can hope for new revelations of the divine glory in her, and we fully adopt what Thomas Aquinas says, speaking of salvation and incarnation: "*Ad omnipotentiam divinae virtutis pertinet, ut opera sua perficiat et se manifestet per aliquem infinitum effectum*" (Summ. I. qu. 1, Art. 3).

ARTICLE IV.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE CHURCH.

By Dr. G. Thomasius.

Translation continued from page 413.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

WE shall not be at all surprised, if, as the publication of our translation progresses, and abstruse points are extensively considered, the charge should be repeated, that we are taking up the pages of our Quarterly with empty speculations and dreamy representations. The charge can be made by those only, to whom the subject discussed is itself offensive. As respects the views unfolded and defended by our author himself, it is perfectly obvious that they are imperatively called for by the interests of the church, and indispensably necessary to the vindication and establishment of her sound and strictly scrip-

tural doctrine concerning the Redeemer's person, as constituted by the inseparable union of the divine and human natures and to the correct understanding and just appreciation of the work of redemption.

It is one thing to unfold clearly, and to state fully and distinctly, what the church believes and must believe respecting this exalted subject, in order that she may remain in strict accordance with God's word: it is another thing to endeavor to *explain* the doctrine believed. It is the former which Thomasius is aiming at: the latter he does not attempt, fully and avowedly aware that he is dealing with a great and glorious divine mystery. Thus to unfold and state the doctrine of the word and the church, is simply a work of unavoidable necessity, imposed upon the church by the unceasing efforts of the world to spoil her of her treasures of sacred truth; and by the subtle objections and acute speculations of rationalistic or infidel theorizers and philosophers, who seek to undermine christianity and the church, by proving that they have no foundation. Our readers will admit that our author does not, as he needs not, fear the adversaries; that he does not shun the brunt of battle: none can fail to admire the manly courage with which he faces the enemy; the firm reliance on the strength of truth with which he collects, and the candor with which he states all their objections; the skill and power of reasoning with which he combats and successfully demolishes them, the fullness with which he unfolds, and the force of scriptural authority with which he maintains the doctrinal views of our church.

The comparative novelty, in this country, of the objections and speculations here ventilated and disposed of, can make nothing against our presenting this discussion in our pages: the adherents and advocates of these objections and speculations are landed on our shores by every ship and steamer from Germany; and here, as well as abroad, our church will have to fight an obstinate and fearful battle against the speculative tendencies of the age, and in behalf of her scriptural christology, and of the entire structure of doctrine which is based upon it and the atonement. For this conflict, the translation of works like this will help to prepare and forearm our church in America. And even if we admit, as we readily do, that these theories and speculations are very preposterous, it cannot be denied that they but too easily acquire a deep and extensive influence, that they are exceedingly acute, and only too acceptable to millions of our fellow-citizens, and that they can be adequately met only by equal or superior acuteness, and by profound and comprehensive views of the real truth. In the present state of sacred science in this country, we must go to Germany for weapons wherewith to combat and overcome the speculative errors and false doctrines imported from that land of thinkers, and fountain-head of rationalism.—TRANSLATOR.

THE development of the christology in our church, had its starting-point in the doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper. The point which first and foremost claimed her attention, was the person of the glorified Godman. But with the dogmatical specifications [*Bestimmungen*: definitions] which had, in this particular, been laid down, that mode of life and form of existence, which characterize the Redeemer's sojourn on earth,

did not correspond. Here, then, the doctrine respecting the humiliation came in as a necessary complement, thus: 'That Christ had, indeed, by virtue of the unio personalis, *possessed, according to his humanity also*, the divine glory, from the moment of the conception, but that he had voluntarily resigned the *use* of it during his life on earth, with the exception of particular instances (the miracles).¹

The exinanitio, which was necessary for the redemption of the world, presupposes, therefore, the already effected union, together with the communicatio idiomatum, which this directly involves, and consists essentially in the renunciation [Verzicht-leistung: laying aside: dispensing with] of that complete use which the incarnate Logos might have made of the divine majesty, omnipotence, omniscience, &c.² "Its externally veiled glory had merely withdrawn itself from the periphery of its manifestation and activity, into the centre of the personal unity, in order to afford to the human nature a greater and more unembarrassed scope for unfolding itself in the full reality of a human existence." Baur, p. 447.

Now it is true, indeed, that with these definitions, a part of the further difficulties upon which the Reformed insisted, were in advance, disposed of. For, when the latter advanced the objections, that from the Lutheran doctrine followed the impossibility of the Redeemer developing himself during childhood to a naturally human life [einer natürlich-menschlichen Lebensentwicklung des Erlösers während der Kindheit]³; and further also the monstrous conception (monstruosum figmentum, the favorite expression of Strauss), that the Redeemer had, when in embryo and as an infant, ruled and filled the world by his omnipotence; and lastly, the assumption of a ubiquity, by virtue of which he, at the same time that he lived and suffered on earth, was present also in heaven as man, whereby his entire human existence would be converted into a docetic semblance, and the reality of the incarnation, the passion, the ascension, &c., be absolutely annulled (Admon. 260-269): the reply was perfectly correct: "that these consequences or

¹ F. C. p. 779. Haec autem humanae naturae majestas in statu humiliationis majori ex parte occultata et quasi dissimulata fuit. [But this majesty of the human nature was, in the state of humiliation, for the most part hidden, and, as it were, kept secret]. This occultare is afterwards more particularly defined as being a renunciation of the plena possessio et usurpatio; p. 767. Cf. Apology Bl. 109. Nichtgebrauch.

² Cf. Chemn. in the work already cited, p. 551. Exinanitio non significat privationem, depositionem seu vacuitatem plenitudinis Divinitatis, quae in Christo habitavit, sed respicit usum seu usurpationem ejus.

³ Admonit. Neost. 160.

deductions are mere inventions, because the Godman had, during the state of his humiliation, kept his majesty concealed, had not exercised his omnipotence, had not made use of his omnipresence (F. C. at the place already cited: Apology, 95. 109. Chemn. in the work quoted *supra*, 473). Nevertheless, with this distinction of possession and use or exercise, the difficulty was disposed of in one direction only, whilst in the other it was augmented. While the contradiction between the definitions of the dogma, and the life of the Redeemer as externally manifested, was thus seemingly got rid of, it was the more deeply transferred into the person, whereby occasion was given to a series of critical censures, which have already been, in part, brought forward by the Reformed,¹ but have been particularly urged, in all their force, by Strauss, Baur and Dorner, and which I cannot but acknowledge to be, in the main, well founded.

For, in the first place, "the assumption of even a *partial* use only of the divine omnipotence (*vide supra*) would in part again do away with the advantages which the doctrine of the *exinanitio* [*Entäusserung*] affords, and introduce into the life of Jesus something unsettled and arbitrary." Dorner 175; but apart from this, the possession of divine attributes, that are not exercised, seems to involve a contradiction within itself. For surely, these attributes, as definite qualities of God's essence [*als Wesensbestimmtheiten Gottes*] are, according to their nature, something actual, as, in fact, the very essence of God is, according to the doctrine of the Lutheran systematic divines themselves, to be regarded as *actus purissimus*. "This is particularly obvious as respects the omniscience, which, if it exists at all, cannot certainly be not exercised, inasmuch as it is impossible to bring about, that one should not know what he does know." Now, if we conceive of the child Jesus as possessing this attribute, as endowed with the absolute consciousness and knowledge of the Deity, which, complete within itself, embraces the universal all, the whole childhood of the Redeemer is destroyed, and that gradual growth in years and

¹ Their [the Reformed] own mode of viewing the subject, however, not only did not lessen the difficulties, but rendered a solution absolutely impossible. When Schneckenburger, in the *Theol. Jahrbüchern von Zeller* 1844, No. 2, says, that the Reformed doctrine satisfies the demands which Dorner insists that a christology must satisfy, he has scarcely apprehended this theologian's real meaning. For Dorner demands, if I correctly understand him, not the possibility of a merely human life-unfolding in the Redeemer, which the Reformed doctrine does indeed afford, but the possibility of a unital [*einheitlichen*] divino-human development of life, which that doctrine renders absolutely impossible.

in wisdom (Luke 2: 40) is converted into a mere seeming. To appeal to the renunciation [Entäusserung: exinanitio.] is of little or no avail against this objection. For either a renunciation [a laying aside or giving up] of the omniscience is not at all possible, or it is an abandonment of its possession. (F. C. 782.) And how are we to reconcile with it that declaration of the Savior, Mark 13: 32, that *crux interpretum*? To the explanation, that he had indeed known the day of judgment, but had not desired to know it, we are not likely to give our assent; and the other explanation, that, although he had it in his power to know it, he did not then make use of this power, is just as untenable, because omniscience is not a mere capacity, but consists precisely in absolute knowledge. But if a real absence of knowledge [nichtwissen: not knowing] is here admitted, then he is according to his humanity—and that is here the point in question—no longer omniscient.¹ But this difficulty does not happen to meet us in this one particular case only, but it recurs in respect of every phase of the history of the life of Jesus: it presents itself in connexion with every question that he addresses to his disciples, and to his heavenly Father: it threatens to break up the entire continuity of his life-development [i. e. his development in the forms of human life]; and if to the omniscience we add also the other attributes, the possibility of obtaining a just conception of his person seems utterly to disappear [so geht, wie es scheint, die Anschaulichkeit seiner Person vollends verloren.] The same being [subject] who has, for our sakes, laid aside the divine glory, and sojourns on earth in the form of a servant, who has not where to lay his head, is, at the same time, to be in the plenary possession of omnipotence, only that he abstains from

¹ Chemnitz in the work already cited, 450. Calov. Synop. 281: Different is Luther's view, in the Christmas sermon on Hebrews 1: 3sq. On Mark 31: 23, he says: "The gloss is here unnecessary, that the Son knows not, that is, he does not desire to know it. It is only needful to state, that the humanity of Christ has, like any other holy, natural man, not at all times thought, spoken, willed, perceived *all* things, as divers persons seek to make of him an omnipotent man, and entirely mix up the two natures and their functions. As he did not at all times see, hear and feel all things, so neither did he at all times see all things with his heart, but as God led him and brought things before him." Erlg. Ed. Vol. I. p. 185: But the view taken of this subject by our earlier dogmatic writers, is not by any means to be considered as really dualistic. With the subtle distinction between *personal* and *habitual* knowledge (or between *scientia divina et naturalis*) they doubtless intended to signify, that the former pertained to the Redeemer only *potentia* [i. e. potentially], and did not, therefore, actually [faktisch] occur during the state of humiliation, in his consciousness, but merely the habitual, the temporally-human [zeitlich-menschliche]. And this view might be easily defended. But then a different view would have to be taken of the status exinanitionis from that which is taken by them.

exercising it : the same humanity is, by virtue of the communicatio idiomatum, to be absolutely perfect, free from progressive development [dem Werden entnommen], endowed with all the properties of the divine nature, and yet, at the same time, one that is restricted, subject to progressive development [eine Werdende]. And more than this : if the former is really the case, "then every thing that is human in the life of Christ is to be regarded as signifying something purely negative, i. e. a non-exercise of the divine nature immanent in the humanity of Christ, and doing away with the limits of finiteness [so enthält alles Menschliche im Leben Christi die rein negative Bedeutung eines nichtgebrauchs der der Menschheit Christi immanenten und die Schranken des Endlichen aufhebenden göttlichen Natur"] : Baur 448-450. Strauss 145 sqq. In fine, these incongruities appear most striking in respect of the omniscience. The logical consistency of the dogma, the correct principle *nec λόγος extra carnem, nec caro extra λόγον*, peremptorily demanded the ubiquity of the human nature. The Form. Conc. expresses itself on this subject in an indefinite manner : it seems to leave it optional, whether we will assume : *Filium Dei glorificatum etiam secundum assumptam naturam et cum ea praesentem esse posse ubicunque velit*, or : *praesentem esse*, p. 783. [that the glorified Son of God is, also according to his human nature and with it, *able* to be present wherever he pleases, or, that he really *is* so] ; and this indefiniteness of expression has its origin in the different views entertained by the authors of the F. C., Chemnitz asserting only the possibility, Andreä, on the contrary, the reality of the ubiquity of the human nature.¹ Now, in applying these views to the state of humiliation, it was necessary, *either* to give up the ubiquity entirely, which Chemnitz (in the work already quoted) was evidently very much inclined to do ; and with this the church's view of the unio was abandoned, unless it had been intended to restrict also the omnipresence of the divine nature, which Chemnitz very decidedly declines doing : for, in that case, certainly, the Logos would be united with the humanity only, as it were, in a single point, but in all other respects exterior to it, or separated from it, which is the Reformed doctrine ; *or*, reasoning consistently, it was necessary to assert, with Andreä, the ubiquity also in respect of the state of humiliation ; and, in so doing, the attempt was made to overcome and get rid of the Docetism which here impended, by

¹ Cf. Chemnitz, in the frequently cited work. Cap. 30, p. 494 sqq. *posse praesentem esse, quando et ubicunque voluerit*. Baur III. 435, 436. Andreä in Colloq. Montisb. 312 sqq.

distinguishing between a natural local, and a personal illocal presence (praesentia intima et extima praesentia λόγου ad carnem, et carnis ad λόγον): this attempt had been made even by Luther, and in this he was followed by nearly all the later orthodox theologians. But here all the abovementioned difficulties and objections immediately return again,¹ and disclose the weak, i. e. the still defective side of the dogma.

There are only two ways in which these difficulties and objections can be encountered and disposed of.

Either we give up the doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum in its essential features, cease to conceive of the human as possessing the properties of the divine nature, which is personally connected with it, and rend asunder the intimate bond of union, with which we have described them as joined together, and substitute in the place of the living unity and interpenetration a mere companionship [ein blosses Nebeneinander]. But then we shall be compelled also to give up again all the earlier premises, the entire doctrine of the unio hypostatica, and of the communio naturarum, and to throw back the doctrine upon the unsatisfactory stand-point, at which the Reformed church stopped short. And then we shall have to say: "Whilst the man was gradually developing himself, the Logos remained the same in his absolute operativeness [aktuosität: power, scope and reality of action]: whilst the man slept in the ship, he was, as God, omniscient: whilst the man hung on the cross, the God ruled the world." Strauss 143. But this is precisely that dualism, which leads, with resistless force, back to Nestorianism, and still further, to Ebionism (Vid. supra. Evang. Rev. Vol. IV. pp. 101 and 102). But our church has achieved the victory over this, and we will not and dare not return to it. There remains, therefore, nothing for us but to go forward. Let us not shrink from the bold step; the entire historical unfolding of the dogma compels us to take it. It can consist in nothing else than this, that we make up our minds to take a more strictly definite and more profound view of the renunciation [Entäusserung: exinanitio]. We do not restrict it to the humanity which is made one [geeint] with the Deity: we extend it also to the Deity that is made one with the humanity; and this is, at all events, required by the principle of our dogma, that is, by the unio hypostatica. We assume, therefore, a self-restriction of the Logos in the incar-

¹ Luther's Grosses Bekenntniss. Colloq. Mont. p. 327. Hutterus Loci. (1661.) 180. Calov. Synop. 255. Quenstedt Syst. Theol. L. 1. c. 3. sect. 2. quaest. 14.

nation.¹ So far as the one undivided Christ is in possession of Deity [Gottheit], so far he has and possesses it also as man, and so far as he has, as man laid aside its perfect possession, so far has he given it up also as God.

With this view we are not only delivered from all those objections, but we still further unfold and carry out the idea or notion of the personal oneness. We give to the second half also of that sound and correct principle: "*nec humana natura extra divinam, nec divina unquam aut uspiam extra humanam*," its full weight, and we attain to a more definite conception of the person of the Redeemer. That with this view we do not contradict the sacred scriptures, may be demonstrated, for the present, by only this one declaration of our Lord, John 17: 5. But if we have the word of God on our side, we shall certainly have the doctrine of our church, which is founded on the scriptures, in our favor.

But the truth is, that to this step [i. e. to take this view of the subject] the doctrine of our church itself admonishes and directs us in various ways. For, in the first place, it has elaborated the dogma *primarily* with reference to the state of redemption. Its *tendency* is to demonstrate the efficacy and presence of the glorified Godman in his church; and it openly avows this as its object. Its purpose is, to explain the *majestas, quam Christus secundum suam humanitatem ad dexteram virtutis Dei accepit* [the majesty (or glory) which Christ has received, according to his humanity, at the right hand of the power of God]; it everywhere gives prominence to the fact, that its definitions refer preeminently to the *exaltatio: jam vero postquam adscendit, imprimis autem per glorificationem*, are the usual expressions; and thus it leaves room for the further carrying out of its principle with regard to the state of humiliation. In the second place, our church's doctrine itself, in several instances, designates this state as a restriction of the divine, when it says of the exaltation, that Christ had been exalted *ad plenam possessionem et divinæ majestatis usurpationem*, p. 767., although it does (at p. 612 and in other places) speak of a restriction of the use or exercise: this it

¹ A different solution has been attempted by Schneckenburger, in the work already referred to. [In a long note Thomasius communicates this attempted solution, accompanying it with his own comments, and showing that it is unsatisfactory and inadmissible. We do not think it necessary or important to translate this note. Schneckenburger's speculations are clothed in the terminology of modern German philosophy, which it is very difficult to render into intelligible English. It has no necessary connexion with the discussion in the text, and is of no account whatever.—TR.]

does from the fear of falling into Arianism.¹ But thirdly, the church's entire doctrine concerning the redemption, not only admonishes us to assume, but itself assumes throughout, such a self-restriction or self-limitation of the Logos, as we insist is necessary (Cf. Evangel. Review, Oct. 1851, p. 243), only it has not been consistently carried out; and lastly, the practice of our church is pervaded by a strong tendency to view the incarnation as an exinanition of God [als Entäusserung Gottes zu fassen]. Sermons and Christmas hymns everywhere breathe the thought. "All his power he lays aside, humble and lowly he stoops to be;" and it is easy to perceive, that with this more than a mere assumption is meant. Thus understood, the dogma acquires, it is true, a somewhat different form, and even some essential definitions of the Form. Conc. seem to fall to the ground; yet this is only in appearance; for it is the fundamental idea [der Grund Gedanke] of the Lutheran Christology, which thus attains to its full weight and authority: it as a *carrying forward* [eine Fortbildung], *to which the entire historical unfolding of the dogma, to which particularly the form which it has acquired in the Lutheran church, of itself urges and impels us; a progressive movement which is, however, possible only upon this basis.*

ARTICLE SECOND.

In proceeding now to attempt, on the basis of the results at which we arrived in the first article, a sketch or delineation of the christology, I feel bound to declare beforehand, that I desire that which here follows, to be regarded as only an attempt. For the subject of the present dissertation is a mystery, and that the most sacred and exalted, the depth of which I do not presume to fathom. All that I design to offer, is a contribution to the correct scriptural apprehension [auffassung] of it. I do not here, by any means, make pretensions to completeness. In the following treatise I take for granted, not only the personality of God, but also the doctrine of the Trinity, and that in the sense in which the church avows it, i. e., that in the one Godhead there subsists a threefold real distinction, by virtue of which God is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; three hypostases, one in essence, distinct according to personal subsistence. The first demand which modern theology is wont to make of any attempted christology, is to prove the *necessity of the incarnation*; and this, therefore, is the point at which we begin; not, however, in order to demonstrate this necessity,

¹ Cf. Chemnitz, in the work already so often cited, 299.

but to combat it in the sense at least, in which it is usual in recent times to assert it. Against this fundamental idea [Grundgedanken] of the so-called speculative christology, we at once set that of the Bible. The incarnation of God is a *fact*, in which not some relation, existing *per se* between God and man, arrives at consciousness, but in which an eternal divine purpose is carried into effect; a historical fact, occurring at a pre-determined point of time (Gal. 4: 4.), having in God's *free* love its foundation [or origin], and for its object the redemption of that world which had rebelled against God, John 3: 16. 2 Cor. 5: 19. As such, however, it can be deduced, *neither from the nature of God, nor from the idea of humanity [or mankind] and its historical development, as being necessary.*

The *former* of these is the pantheistic view of the subject. According to this, the human being, as spirit, is identical with the divine, and the latter has, in the development of the humanity [in der menschlichen Entwicklung], its reality and manifestation. All history is nothing more than the process, in which this oneness subsisting *per se* arrives mediately at a knowledge of itself [sich mit sich selbst vermittelt]. But in Christ the point is given, at which it enters into self-consciousness, or rather, attains to self-consciousness. "He is that individual, who knows that his self-consciousness is one with the divine, and in whom the others can then also attain to the same consciousness." According to this, mankind would be the Godman, and the incarnation would be the process, by means of which God becomes known to himself in man's consciousness; a continuous history of the absolute Spirit, which has in Christ only reached its highest point, and not even this, because it continues itself and attains to real completeness in later individuals, especially in the organs of the speculative consciousness [i. e. in the modern philosophers, particularly, as he himself asserts, in Hegel.—TR.].

According to this view, the historical significance of the Redeemer is, and must ever be, entirely subordinate: it is regarded only as one point, or one stage [Moment] in this process; and it is, in fact, of no great consequence, whether, with Rosenkranz, we explain the meaning of this doctrine to be, that the idea of the theandria [der Gottmenschheit] had been realized in an absolute manner in Christ; or whether, with Strauss, we put mankind in the place of Christ, which would be the more correct exposition of the system consistently carried out. Either way, this entire view of the subject is irretrievably pantheistic, and, in connexion with it, a historical

fact, an incarnation in a biblical sense, cannot at all enter into consideration. For not the Son of God has, according to this theory, become man, but mankind have come to the consciousness of their substantial oneness with God: the peerless individuality [die Einzigkeit] of Christ, his distinctness from the Redeemed ceases: they are all Godmen in the same sense in which he is, i. e. points or individual manifestations [Momente] in the great process, in which that identity of the finite and the infinite spirit becomes mediately known to, and conscious of, itself; or, as Dorner expresses it, "the finite spirits are nothing but the fleeting forms or larvae [or masks] into which the divine spirit throws himself, through which he passes, in order to be conscious of himself." (In the work already quoted: p. 422.) But if we take the other alternative, and view the relation from the opposite side, the theory sinks at once into the slough of Ebionism. For, if all are essentially equal with Christ, then he must also be regarded as occupying essentially the same position as all the rest; and in so far Schleiermacher, with whom even Strauss here agrees, takes the right view of the matter, when he says, "that he has misgivings as to the speculative view [of our subject] leaving us much more as respects the historical person of the Redeemer, than is left by that of the Ebionites." In this sense, therefore, a christian theology, which, with all believers, bows the knee at the name of Jesus Christ (Phil. 2: 10.), and worships in the crucified the Son of God, cannot acknowledge the necessity of an incarnation.

The *second* of the two views specified above, in the form in which it now begins to be prevalent in theology, and claiming the exclusive possession of the truth aimed at by the other just exhibited above, is a modification of the christology of Schleiermacher's school. It starts from the idea of humanity [or mankind: Menschheit], which it considers as that of the "divine humanity [Gottmenschlichkeit]." It holds the following language: in order that the idea of humanity [of mankind] may be truly realized, it was necessary that its archetype, God himself, should appear to exhibit that oneness of man with God which is the destination of our race. The whole history of our race has been, from the beginning so disposed and directed, as to develop itself to this utmost point of elevation, to this one highest personality in which humanity [mankind] has concentrated its entire fulness, and completed its idea; and that hence the incarnation, independently even of any reference to sin, was a necessary fact. The signification and design of the incarnation accordingly is, to be the perfect completion of the

human creation [der Menschenschöpfung]; the Godman is the perfectly unfolded flower of humanity: the design of his appearance [or manifestation] is, that the realization of the idea effected by him may pass over upon the entire race, i. e. that the incarnation [Menschwerdung: our English word is obviously not quite apposite] may continue and repeat itself in all the particular members.¹

There is some truth at the bottom of this view. It is correct in this, that it insists upon the relation of the Redeemer to mankind being regarded as primordial, and as having its foundation in the creation itself, and in that it represents the design of the incarnation to be, the realization of the idea of our race. But it labors under a twofold error, which renders it utterly useless.

In the first place, it labors under a false apprehension of the idea of humanity [i. e. the idea that was to be realized in and through mankind]. For, this is here very unceremoniously represented as identical with that of the theandria [der Gottmenschheit], for which divino-humanity [Gottmenschlichkeit] is only another expression. The archetype, i. e. the Son, or rather, as they really intend, God, (for the Trinitarian distinction is here given up at the very outset) is put on the same footing with the image and likeness, mankind. But this is wrong. For the Son is [an] absolute personality: man's personality is that of a creature [der Mensch ist kreatürliche Persönlichkeit]; the Son is the plenary possessor [der Inbegriff] of the infinite fulness of God, essentially one with the Father, but personally distinct from him, creator and sovereign of mankind; the latter [man's personality] is intended to represent, within the limits of a created nature [der kreatürlichkeit] and to image forth within the bounds of finiteness, what the Son is absolutely. This is the divine idea [Gedanke] which is realized in mankind, and therefore by no means coincides with the archetype. The idea of humanity [mankind] is not that of the theandria, but that of the creaturely [sit venia verbo: kreatürliche] copy or image; and the creature does not, for this reason, occupy the same position as the archetype, but is beneath him who is its creator and Lord. For the same reason it is *not* the destination of man, "by development in

¹ It is well known that this view resembles the opinion already indicated by Irenaeus, by several Scholastics, particularly by Duns Scotus, although it was developed in a different sense: "etiamsi homo non peccasset, filius Dei esset incarnandus" [even though man had not sinned, the Son of God must needs have become incarnate]; the same doctrine was held by Osiander. In the modern form presented above, it originated with Schleiermacher. Cf. Glaubenslehre II., § 89, § 92.

time, to become what God is by eternal personality :'' it is *not Godmen, but men of God* that we are called to become, 1 Tim. 6:11;¹ and accordingly also, the manifestation of the eternal archetype cannot *resolve* itself into being the realization of the idea of mankind; as, in fact, the Logos manifest in the flesh, although under the one aspect essentially like unto us, is yet, and will ever be, under the other, specifically different from us. When this is denied, this view must force us irresistibly back into pantheism, according to which mankind are substantially identical with the Deity, and the finite personality is only the form under which the absolute is manifested.

But, in the second place, there is at the bottom of this view a false conception of the original state of mankind, and of the historical development of our race. For, according to this view, mankind, as it was² created by God, either would not have corresponded with its idea, or, at least, it would not have had the ability, through itself, to realize this idea, and hence also neither to accomplish its design [Bestimmung: destination], but in order to this there would first have been required an act of God in the midst of the course of history [in der Mitte der Geschichte], a new act, integrating and completing the creation [die Schöpfungergänzenden und vollendenden aktes], if the incarnation is at all to be regarded as an act of God, as, according to this view, it certainly is. If any pretend to deny this, and on the contrary represent the incarnation as a product of human development, they contradict therewith *all* those passages of scripture, according to which the Father sent the Son: Matt. 10:40; Luke 9:48; 10:16; John 3:17, 34; 5:36, 38; 6:29; 7:28, 29; 8:42; 10:36; 11:42; 17:3, 8, 18, 21 sqq; 1 John 4:9; Gal. 4:4; Rom. 8:3:³ all those declarations according to which the Son proceeded not from beneath, but from above, did not come forth out of the root of mankind, but came down from the bosom of the Father: John 1:18; 8:23, 42; 13:3; 16:27, 28; 17:8;

¹ This difference between Godman and man of God, is already insisted upon by the sagacious S. J. Baumgarten (untersuch. theol. Streit. ed. Semler, II. p. 4.) in opposition to the Socinians and others, who employ the term 'Godman' in the erroneous sense, that he is the same sort of Godman as all pious people, those particularly who are endowed with extraordinary graces, deserve to be called, and thus the term Godman and man of God are obviously confounded with each other, and regarded as synonymous.

² We are, of course, not ignorant of the English idiom, which would require verbs and pronouns to agree with mankind, as a noun of multitude, in the plural number: we have used the singular, in order to conform to the German, to do which seems necessary in this place.—Tr.

³ Let the perfect agreement of the scriptures be noted.

and denies, moreover, the universality of human depravity, that dominion of the flesh, which is not capable of producing out of itself any thing but its like. John 3 : 3 sqq. The tree of the human race, as it has grown out of the first Adam, produces no such fruit as is witnessed in the Redeemer. Rom. 5 : 15 sqq. That which is holy is not born of that which is unholy. John 3 : 6. Apart, however, from the depravity which was produced by sin, if mankind had, from the very beginning, developed itself organically, it would have realized, through free self-determination, its divine destiny, because it was created in the image of God. On the basis of this likeness of God, with which man was created, a state of free communion with God, in love and in life, such as is now to be attained through the grace of redemption, would have been produced ; the idea of mankind in a kingdom of God would have attained its complete realization. But even in this (normal) way mankind would never have become *that* which Christ is, i. e. would never have elevated itself to theandria, which, indeed, *it neither can become, nor is intended to become, through the manifestation of the Godman.* For it is the destination of mankind, only to attain the highest degree of *likeness to God* that is at all attainable for the creature, without giving up its creature nature [kreatürlichkeit] and its dependence upon God; *but not* to attain that *essential equality* [Wesensgleichheit] with God, which is proper to the Godman alone. Even after we are glorified into his image, he remains, to all eternity, the bond of our communion with God, the object of our praise and our adoration. (Cf. Phil. 2 : 9, 10. Rev. 4 : 11.)

If we refuse to acknowledge this his peculiar dignity ; if, on the contrary, we maintain "that he is not the only Godman," we lower him to the same level with the redeemed, and exalt these to the same eminence with himself. Thus the theory, consistently carried out, leads, on this side, back to the rationalistic and Ebionite view of the person of Christ ; whilst on the other, it lapses into pantheism, with which it is not willing to be confounded : it is, however, more correct to say, that it starts with pantheism for its presupposition. But either view is alike contrary to scripture.¹

¹ Justly, therefore, have the earlier systematic divines answered the question : an Filius Dei in carnem venisset, etiamsi homo non peccasset ? in the negative. e. g. Quenst. Syst. de persona Christi, p. 156. But Thomas Aquinas, who discusses this question more fully, already says : Cum in sanct. script. ubique incarnationis ratio ex peccato primi hominis assignetur, convenientius dicitur, incarnationis opus ordinatum esse a Deo in remedium contra peccatum, itaque peccato non existente incarnatio non fuisset.—Summa Theologiae, P. III. qu. 1. a.

In opposition to these speculations, *the fact of the incarnation can be comprehended only in and from its connection with the purpose and plan of redemption.* Through sin the original communion between God and man had been interrupted [gestört], and with it our race had not only apostatized from its idea, but had also become an object of the divine wrath. For the opposition [Widerspruch] of the human will against God provokes the reaction of the divine holiness, which shuts out from itself the sinner who abnegates it [sets it at nought] by his will. To put an end to this disagreement [Zwiespalt], and anew to receive the guilt-laden race into the communion of his favor and his life, is the eternal counsel of God's love [der ewige Liebeswille Gottes]. But both, the reconciliation [Aufhebung] of the disagreement, i. e. the blotting out of the guilt, and the restoration of the communion which is thereby conditioned, could take place only, if God himself appeared personally in the human race, and became a member of it, in order to make it an object of his favor, and to produce in it the commencement of a new life [einen neuen Lebensanfang: a new life commencement]. Hence the eternal counsel of divine grace respecting mankind announces itself as the purpose of redemption [bestimmt sich als Rathschluss der Versöhnung: determines itself as purpose, &c.] through the incarnation of God. From this point of view the sacred scriptures everywhere represent it: Cf. John 3: 16. Rom. 8: 3. Eph. 1: 5, 7. 2 Cor. 5: 19. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself:" the Father sends the Son *εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἵνα ζήσωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ* [for the redemption: for the forgiveness of sins: that we might live through him]: the Son comes into the world *σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός*, to save that which was lost, Luke 19: 10. John 12: 47. 1 Tim. 1: 15. This is the design of that great mystery. Now, so far as this design could be accomplished only through the incarnation, we do indeed call the incarnation a *necessary* fact; but this necessity has no other foundation [Grund: reason, cause] than God's free, pitying *love*, which is not willing to let mankind, created for communion with him, be lost, but desires to reconcile them with itself, and to do this in a way in which alone it was possible.¹ Therefore we do not say,

¹ In order more fully to demonstrate this necessity, it would be necessary to exhibit the idea of redemption [Versöhnung: reconciliation]; and this would here lead us too far. We therefore merely observe, that the early systematic divines of our church already rejected the proposition of the scholastics, that God might have effected the redemption of mankind in any other way, that he might have chosen to adopt, and that, on the contrary, they sought to deduce from the relation of the holy God to sin, and to the law, the

that the redemption of the world might not have taken place in some other way ; (the consideration of different possibilities that may exist for God, is only the expression of our limited insight into the internal connexion of things) ; but we do say, that it is an act of love, therefore of freedom, or, what amounts to the same thing, *that it is the free act of the self-devoting love of God* [der sich selbet dahingebenden Liebe Gottes] (John 3 : 16. 1 John 4 : 9, 10. Rom. 8 : 32.), which is no more in need of a redemption of the world, than of the creation of the world, in order to be in itself eternally blessed in its absolute fulness.

Regarded as having its origin in the purpose of this love, the incarnation is an act of the one triune God. But its effectuation is to be ascribed neither to the Father, nor to the Holy Spirit, *but to the Son*, the eternal Logos, (John 1 : 14) and that, in the first instance, already in consequence of that immanent trinitarian relation, by virtue of which all divine revelation from the Father takes place through the Son in the Holy Spirit, (Rom. 11 : 36) ; more particularly, however, in consequence of that peculiar relation which the Son sustains, as archetype, toward mankind created by Him and for Him. For, as it is the calling of mankind to represent, in the manner of a copy, and as well as a creature can [abbildlicher und kreatürlicher Weise] (vide ante) the relation which subsists between Him and the Father, therefore it [mankind], like every thing else, has in him not only the ground of its existence [the source of its being], but the norma of its being [Wesens] and of its whole relation to God, and sustains, therefore, the most intimate relation [Beziehung] to Him. He is the mediator between it [our race] and God. To Him, therefore, it will also belong to effect, by his mediation, that restoration, now that the original relation had been disturbed [broken up] by sin. And to this object the whole of his efficient agency [seine ganze Wirksamkeit] tends from the very beginning. For, although mankind has separated from Him, yet He has never withdrawn himself entirely from it ; but, on the contrary, He continued, even in the darkness to be their light (John 1 : 5), and throughout the entire course of the preparatory economy of salvation he advanced into constantly increasing proximity to the world ; nay, he had already, at least in Israel,

necessity, as well of a vicarious satisfaction, as of a Godman. Cf. Chemnitz, Loci II. 792. Gerh. L. VII. p. 57. But here we must not forget, that their theory of satisfaction was very different from that of Anselm, with which it is usual, quite erroneously, to represent it as identical.

entered into a covenant relation with it (*τὰ ἰδέα*, John 1 : 10, 11), and now appears in it in person, in order to bring back mankind, through redemption and reconciliation, to their divine destination, and therewith to their idea, from which they had apostatized [*von der sie abgefallen war*]. Not from it, that is, from mankind; therefore, but from him its [their] creator and archetype, does the act of incarnation proceed; and this act is already in itself the beginning of redemption. For, by means of it the communion between God and man is most perfectly restored, first of all [*zunächst*] in his own person, in the person of the Godman.

The next question, therefore, which claims our attention, is that which regards the much disputed POSSIBILITY of such an act.

ARTICLE V.

THE LUTHERAN CULTUS.

By Rev. M. Loy, Pastor of the Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.

AT a time like the present, when christians everywhere are earnestly inquiring after the old paths, the church's cultus, or public services generally, which is so intimately connected with her life and spirit, cannot be deemed unworthy of notice. Latterly the subject has, as is natural when so much is thought and said about Zion's past, present and future, been exciting no small degree of attention; and to many minds nothing, which may be said in elucidation of the questions involved in it, comes unseasonably. Old liturgies are eagerly sought and purchased, as well as old theologies; and the interest manifested, in various parts of the country, in the liturgical and hymnological movements, is proof sufficient that the subject is not looked upon with utter indifference by those who think much, and mournfully, and hopefully still, of the wars and woes and prospective weal of our holy mother.

We look upon this interest as a not inauspicious sign of the times. In proportion as the devotion to the faith of our fathers increases, do we expect the yearning after the forms in which this found its proper utterance, in worship, to become deeper and more general. The old spirit will look fondly and wistfully toward the old body, and long to inhabit it once

more as its appropriate home. The awe-inspiring, solemn, tranquillizing old service becomes more and more ideally present, as we gaze upon the past, and our souls, passing around and around the old structures, desire, with the feelings of the banished, to look in — to be permitted to worship there as brethren. But we must take our shoes from off our feet, for that place is holy ground. Whilst we muse upon it sadly we become more fitted for it. It breathes upon us with its balmy, chastening breath. Old memories crowd upon us, "pleasant and mournful to the soul," but commending themselves the more to our hearts the thicker they cluster. Do we hope against hope when we trust that our eyes shall yet see, and our hearts shall yet rejoice while participating in, the glorious old liturgical service of the Lutheran Church, making her glad throughout all her bounds? It may be: be it as the good Lord, who knows our wants and loves us better than we do or can ourselves, will and please; but to us it appears as a "thing of beauty," and who shall blame us for hoping that it may yet prove a "joy forever?"

The Cultus of the Church has not had its importance over-rated in the attention which it has received. It merits more, perhaps, than has lately been given. It is the expression of the Church's life and spirit, and bears, therefore, in some sense, a confessional character. So far as it does this, it requires the same vigilance and care on the part of churchmen to preserve its purity, as the confession generally. But it is also an important means of propagating that life and spirit, and therefore, we shall not go amiss if we make it a subject of prayerful concern. Towards the illustration of this, as an incentive to further inquiry in this domain, the present article is directed.

The forms and order of public worship, are not, in every sense, adiaphora (things indifferent). No one, beyond the Romish pale, presumes that they are absolutely necessary to salvation, as they exist at any particular period. The Augsburg Confession guards sufficiently against any such errors, when it says in Art. 7, that "for the true unity of the Church nothing more is required, than agreement concerning the doctrines of the Gospel, and the administration of the sacraments, nor is it necessary that the same human traditions, that is, rites and ceremonies instituted by men, should be everywhere observed." The greatest variety might possibly exist in the same Church and with the same faith. Heresy and schism are not inseparable from differences in this field. Still, we cannot look upon it as altogether immaterial what form of

worship the Church possesses. Nor was the Lutheran Church altogether indifferent, notwithstanding the principle of her confession just quoted. Such passages as the following in the old Church regulations were never suspected of a departure from the spirit of Lutheranism. "Although the Christian Church is not built upon the uniform order of ceremonies, but upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, which is our Savior Jesus Christ, and upon His holy divine word, yet, as God is not a God of confusion, but of peace, and desires that all things should be done decently in the congregation and that unity should be sought, (1 Cor. 14), there can be no doubt, that the adoption and preservation of uniform, spiritual and useful ceremonies, so far as possible, is a service highly acceptable to His Eternal Divine Majesty, which, apart from the many other purposes of utility which it subserves, tends to preserve the unity in His doctrine and to prevent many offences to the common man, who observes the external ceremonies and judges the doctrines, sacraments, and the whole ministerial office by them. Therefore, the prescribed order in hymns, lessons and ceremonies shall be observed in our churches. And where it has hitherto not been done, the pastors shall be governed by this regulation; they shall not, without very weighty reasons, depart from it, but in free Christian charity subject themselves, that strifes and offences among the people may be avoided. No one shall be allowed arbitrarily to oppose this order, or make alterations according to his own pleasure."¹ No, it is not altogether indifferent. The spirit of the Church must manifest itself in some form: without a Cultus she cannot exist. The form will stand in an organic relation to herself; if no extraneous cause prevents it, the form will harmonize with the spirit, and bear its impress. Gross wrong may be done by laying such obstructions in the Church's way as prevent the development of her worship according to her internal life; and in spite of let and hindrance she will work her own way at last to a full expression outwardly of what she cherishes within her bosom. Of this we are the more confident as the conviction deepens and strengthens, that the Cultus stands in a more intimate relation to herself than the dress to the body, which may be changed or wholly dispensed with, without essential injury; although even in this view it would not be wholly without its importance. The queen must not appear in rags—the king must not be addressed in doggerel—the place appropriated for a habitation

¹ See "Pommersche Agende."

of God, in an especial sense, must not be a stable, whilst men are shown into parlors. But the relation of Church and Cultus is rather the organic one of soul and body, the former influencing the latter always and adapting it to itself. The life and spirit of the Church must ever stamp itself upon the forms and order of her public worship, and make the latter a general confession of her faith.

A glance at the cultus of several of the chief branches of the Church, and the principles according to which it is arranged, will convince us of the correctness of this position.

One of the principal features of the Papal system is its rigid ecclesiasticism. The Church is put in the place of Christ. The cultus is evidently influenced by this throughout, and could scarcely stand any length of time without it. A different spirit would soon produce for itself a different form. We hear but little there of the divine word; its place is supplied by legends of saints. The heroes and martyrs of the Church leave but little room for prophets, apostles and evangelists. The Holy Supper even appears in her pageantry rather as a sacrifice *of* than a sacrament *for* the Church. She presumes to be in possession of all already, and need not stand before the Lord as poor and needy. She gives to the Lord offerings and sacrifices, and seldom thinks of receiving. Her sacrifices are acceptable to God, and every individual member, in virtue precisely of his membership, makes them also when the Church makes them through the priest, without much concern about his own spiritual condition. The laity have very little to do, therefore, with the public worship; they need not participate with song and response; it is not even important that they should understand the language: the Church can speak as well, by proxy, in Latin. The power of the priest, upon whose will the relation of the individual to the whole, and therefore, each one's salvation depends, is conspicuous in doctrine and cultus; he is an important part of the Church, which the cultus must glorify. She prays to herself in her saints; she preaches herself in her saints' legends; she commemorates herself in her saints' holydays. As performed by the holy Church the rite and ceremony has moral worth in itself, apart from the laity's subjective condition, and forms and ceremonies are therefore multiplied to an enormous extent, while the individual often remains a mere wondering spectator as the gorgeous pageantry passes by. This multiplication of ceremonies is also connected with the Pelagianizing tendency of the Romish church, in accordance with which there is something meritorious in all her acts. But also in another

view is the depreciation of grace and the undue exaltation of nature, in Pelagian fashion, manifested in her love of pomp and display. She uses them for their influence upon our fallen nature, without caring to ascertain whether this influence is exercised by the Holy Spirit, using art merely as an occasion for applying the word, or whether it is the merely natural result of its operation upon the imagination and passions. Whether it is divine grace that inspires us with reverence and awe, or human genius, when architecture and sculpture, and music and painting combine their magic charms, is not material, the only thing of importance is, that the effect be produced, whether it be the effect of divinely-wrought, abiding faith or humanly-excited, transitory feeling. The evils and errors of the Romish system of doctrine are also the evils and errors of that Church's cultus.

The Reformed churches, as distinguished from the Lutheran, were actuated by different principles. Their religious system will not easily be confounded with the Romish; but just as little will their cultus, which is controlled by a spirit of its own, giving it a distinctively Reformed character. The formal principle of the Reformation, that the Bible is the only rule and norm of faith and practice, was not received by those churches altogether without endangering the material principle. To them the Bible was rather a new starting-point, from which the Church and all her appurtenances must be developed anew. What she already was and had was of little consequence. They thought it not sufficient to sift and try the old possessions by the Bible; from it rather new ones must be drawn for the occasion. Their cultus showed and shows the effects of this. Nothing was left of the church-edifices but the blank walls, devoid of all ornament — mere lecture-rooms in the most simple style of architecture. There could be no enthusiasm for the "frozen music" and "petrified religion" of the ancient domes. Among them no architect was raised up to sing a psalm to God of which a Freiburg cathedral should come. Altars became mere tables in the plainest dining room style. The ministerial dress must be abandoned as preserving a merely superstitious awe. The baptismal laver was not convenient, besides reminding too much of certain superstitions connected with it. The organ's deep swell and soul-stirring peals of beauty and majesty must be hushed. Bells must cease their mystic sound. Statues, paintings, crucifixes and crosses must vanish. Bowing at Jesus' name, folding the hands in prayer, making the sign of the cross, and all such symbols, must disappear as unnecessary childish ceremony

and form. Music, in general, is respected but little. Even poetry is a field left fallow, the psalms serving all their purposes. What they have in this domain is undoubtedly borrowed or, at least, learned from the Lutherans. All this is accounted for by the principle mentioned above: those things are not commanded—they cannot be produced immediately from the Bible. The process by which they are ruled out is thoroughly unhistorical, but, in the sense of the Reformed, thoroughly biblical. They are not to be looked upon as possessions of the church, to be retained precisely because they are so, unless the Bible prohibits them; the question with them is simply whether the Bible enjoins them as necessary, and then, of course, they are dropped, because there is no churchly prejudice in their favor. Whether the departure from these principles observed occasionally at the present day in the cultus of Reformed churches, betokens an approximation toward Lutheranism, or whether it is the result of the indifference which prevails so extensively in all churches, we will not presume to say; but the fact does not militate against the views here presented, because it may be accounted for in either of these ways.

With regard to holidays, fasts and festivals, these churches have certainly not relaxed their rigidity in the application of their biblical principle. Not only has the ecclesiastical year, among them, become a nonentity; but, in late years, even the Christian year with the epochs in Christ's history, are, at least in some denominations, dwindling entirely away. Even Christmas, Good Friday and Easter are falling into oblivion as high days for the Church: as if men feared they might show their Lord an honor, which He has not required in so many words, while the feeling of fitness and propriety is sufficient to secure a celebration of civil festivals, without law. The minor holidays, as belonging to the history of the Church, distinguished thus from those which refer directly to the earthly life and death of our Savior, never could be respected or relished by those who had no sympathy with the history of the Church—no appreciation of the Lord's life continued in His Mystical Body. To all this the Episcopal Church, of course, forms an exception, as a Church altogether *sui generis*, with her Reformed articles, Lutheran Prayer-Book, and traditions not altogether free from the Romish spirit.

Add to this the rejection of the sacramental element in the Reformed churches, and their bald worship will be sufficiently accounted for. They do not believe in the real, active presence of the Savior in His Church. They do not assemble

to receive from the Lord, so much as to bring to Him their offerings. Their cultus is altogether sacrificial. Even the Lord's Supper and Baptism are memorials. Whatever they have in the house of the Lord they are expected to bring with them. The whole cultus partakes, therefore, rather of a stirring, awakening, than of a quiet, solemn, soothing character. The sermon is more excited and exciting. So are also the prayers, and for this reason mostly extemporaneous. Thus, with all their endeavors to do away with all art and pomp as influencing the imagination, and to suit everything to the naked understanding, they fall into the Romish error again of trusting to natural enthusiasm, and this unquestionably from the unsacramental separation of the Holy Spirit from His chosen means of operation upon men's souls. This depreciation of the sacramental exerted its influence also in preventing a proper development of the sacrificial. They received little, and therefore, had little to give. Hence the sermon, in time, became not only the centre, but almost the sum of their cultus. Upon their principles could it or can it ever be otherwise?

We are now ready to appreciate the thesis, that the Lutheran Cultus is also distinctively Lutheran. If the genius of our Church were not evident in its parts and their arrangement, it would be an exception to the rest. But it is not: her cultus is an expression of her principles and faith. With her the word of God was paramount also; but this led her not to despise the customs of the Church, but rather to respect them. No one, who has the least acquaintance with her history, supposes that she went to work upon radical principles. She was strictly conservative from the start. The Bible was to her the touch-stone and test of all doctrines and practices; but she did not, in a destructive, revolutionary spirit, overturn all existing doctrines and forms for the purpose of constructing others anew from the Bible in their stead. The Bible was her norm and measure, and she applied it, as such, to things as they existed. She cut off excrescences, because they squared not with her rule; she supplied deficiencies for the same reason. Thus she reformed the old cultus as she did the old doctrine. She proved all things and held fast what was good. If a reformation consists in the entire destruction of a church and the creation of a new one from the Bible, as some seem to think, the Lutheran Reformation never was completed and, in the spirit of the Lutheran Church, never can or will be. She had no heart for any such work, and we trust she never will have. This conservative, historical principle is manifested in her order of public worship, as well as in the various parts of which

it is composed, both as to the form and the contents. The Kyria, Litany, Gloria, Creed, Sanctus Agnus Dei, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Demittis and Te Deum were as much her property, and are now, as they were the possessions of the Church before, receiving only, wherever necessary, a greater adaptation to her own spirit and her paramount purpose of instruction. The communion remained for her an essential part of every full worship, and of this the capital. By the word mankind was called to the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, in the Holy Supper this was received and enjoyed. Around these chief parts of the cultus all the others collected, as the forms of reception and thank-offerings for gifts received. Without either word or sacrament there can be no public worship in the Lutheran sense; without the communion there can be no complete worship. The spirit of our Church requires weekly communion.

The Church-year, upon the same principles, had her profound respect. She honored the festivals and holidays, with their appropriate lessons, giving them something more than a mere commemorative character in her eyes. Not only was the Lord's day, with the scripture texts which gave distinctive character to each in the year's revolution, and which were therefore, also the texts for her sermons, considered a high day, as the weekly festivals of the Lord's resurrection; she had a love for all that were rendered sacred by their associations with our Lord's history. The old Christian year, with its sumless saints' days and saints' legends, required reformation; but she did not find it necessary to abolish it entirely. She had a sure rule in her Bible, to guard against superstition and dishonor of God by giving honor to man. The festivals, at whose foundation lay a work and word of the Lord could stand, and the word made present the work. Not only the days of the highest order, as associated immediately with Christ's work, were to be sacred. Christ works in and through His people also, and the work in them and through them hallow certain days. There were festivals of a subordinate rank, therefore, retained as the apostles' days, Mary days, &c. Her historical principle necessarily prevented such from falling into contempt.

The Church and its furniture did not require destruction and re-erection and arrangement. She honored the old domes of the past, through whose "long drawn aisle and fretted vault the pealing anthem swelled the note of praise." "Once ye were holy — ye are holy still!" The wondrous organ — how could she else than love it warmly, since it praises God

with such deep solemnity? She loved the old statutes and pictures too, with a perfect love: they are a "visible word" that speaks when all around is silence. She did not fear that the Lord would be displeased by offering to Him the beauty and glory of earth; for all things fair and bright are His. Art belongs not to the devil, though often abused to serve his dark purposes; it may and should be baptized in Christianity and offered to the Lord, and then it will be an acceptable offering. The Lutheran Church thought it beneath her dignity to bring it into her service merely to please and invite ungodly artists by its natural charms; she well knew how to distinguish between nature and grace — between the operations of human art and the Holy Spirit. She steered clear of the Romish Charybdis in this respect; but she shunned the Scylla on the other side just as well. Her object was to instruct even in the beautiful and sublime, and she reckoned not amiss. She will not, moreover, be suspected of considering Christianity intended solely for the imagination and feelings, and arranging everything accordingly with a view only to influence them; but wrong would be done her just as well by imputing to her an exclusive concern for the intellect. She rather looked upon it as designed for man, in whom the intellect, sensibilities and will are found, than for any one of these taken separately; and man thus gained for Christ, he had the right and duty to exercise all his powers and have them exercised: art and science are holy when holy persons use them.

The altar had not the rule of faith and practice against it, but the usage and history of the past for it: it was retained. Nor is this at all improper; her principle required it. It is the symbolical representation of the place where the Lord dwells, who *is* present in the Church. From this holy place the Lord bestows the Gospel word and the sacrament, and here the congregation offer their sacrifices of prayer and praise, whence the minister turns, with the people, toward the altar in the latter case. The church retained also a characteristic ministerial dress, there being no word against it, and old usage, beside the propriety of an official dress upon him who really holds an office apart from the general priesthood, for it. She loved the sign of the cross, bowing at Jesus' name, &c. as natural utterances of her emotions, by signs both expressive and impressive. In all these things she had no fears whatever of going astray, for she was sure of her principle: her heart was fixed, and her steps bold and decided.

From the beginning the Lutheran Church was steady and unwavering in her faith in the Lord's real presence in His

Church. Her members accordingly assembled rather to receive from than to give to the Lord. A distinction was made, and is made still, between sacrifices and sacraments. The former consist of sin-offerings and thank-offerings. The Lord offered Himself once for all for the sins of the world. Man cannot and need not now make a sacrifice for sin. The offerings of the Church cannot be meritorious, and thus atone for our offences. We must be partakers of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and being recipients of this, we are prepared to make offerings, not of expiation for sin, but of praise for the expiation made by Jesus' blood. We are recipients in the sacraments, we are donors in sacrifices of prayer and praise for gifts received and to be received from heaven. The chief stress is thus necessarily laid upon the sacramental part of the cultus. We are empty and go to receive from Christ's fulness—our poverty is to be enriched by the unsearchable riches of Christ. The Lutheran Church, preserving this dependence upon her Lord, and receiving faithfully the gifts bestowed, became rich. The Savior's gifts to her enabled her to give in turn to Him the offerings required. Making faithful use of the sacraments, she became qualified to make acceptable sacrifices. Though thoroughly sacramental in her principles, no church has, in consequence, a richer store of material for the sacrificial part of the cultus. Nor was she sparing in the use of this material. Her heart was full, and from her fulness her mouth must needs speak, which she did the more cheerfully as the desire of instructing her members never departed from her, and this object of the cultus was never overlooked.

But the attention necessary to make the whole instructive to the laity could not be secured as long as they were mere idle spectators and hearers, as is mostly the case in the Romish church. The worship must be in the vernacular tongue, and the people must all participate in it themselves, not worship by proxy. A new feature was thus introduced into the cultus, namely, the active participation of the people in all by song and response. The idea of the general priesthood of all believers, now happily revived, called for this. Without it there was no assurance that the attention would be arrested and fixed, as it must be to accomplish what the cultus designs. The worship is tedious to one, who makes not every part his own peculiar concern; and whenever a transaction has a lively interest for us, nature requires that we should not be passive only, but active. Another consideration made this indispensable. The word and sacraments operate not *ex opere operato*. They require faith. Unto this the people must

be exercised and in this they must be rooted and grounded. All must retain the right mind to be worthy recipients of sacramental gifts. All must, therefore, engage in the cultus, whose design it is to establish the faith by giving it the necessary exercise in the way of outward manifestation, and by this expression to propagate it. It is never ripe without its proper utterance, nor can it otherwise exert the earthly influence intended. But neither have sacrifices their effect *ex opere operato*. All are to be prepared to receive the blessings which God bestows in His house; but all are to acknowledge them also and give thanks unto God for them. This requires their active participation in the sacrificial, as well as in the sacramental part of the cultus: the sacrament must be received, the sacrifice must be given, by all to be profitable. The priest cannot hear the word, or receive communion for all, by virtue of his inherence in Christ's body; just as little can he pray and praise for all, apart from any mental and cordial participation on their part. This participation might have place internally, without ever coming to a verbal expression in the way of prayers, praises and responses; but it will not be questioned that it is much more likely to have place when expressed than otherwise, because the very expression keeps alive the worshipper's personal interest in the subject, and because very few are inclined to act the hypocrite upon motives so feeble as those offered in public worship, where activity is a standing rule, all being expected to participate either sincerely or hypocritically. Besides, the Lutheran Church understood too well the relation of the internal condition and outward expression to, and their mutual influence upon, each other, to be indifferent in these things. In her worship there is, therefore, not merely one priest, who does everything for all the rest, but all are priests, and are active as such in sacrament and sacrifice.

To guard against the whims of ministers and congregations, to give the necessary variety of sound words, and to prevent disorder and confusion in the churches, a Liturgy was seen to be necessary, which was rendered altogether indispensable by the active participation of the people in the public worship. There was no disposition to use the glorious liberty of the Gospel in favor of disorder. There is a limit beyond which liberty becomes licentiousness. Accordingly there was no complaint of encroachment upon individual rights, when a certain fixed order of worship was prescribed. The liturgical service was adopted without protest, and retained without murmuring,

until the introduction of another spirit made other forms and a different arrangement necessary.

The Church needs a good Liturgy again : not the minister merely, but the Church : a Liturgy in which the rights of the people shall be respected and their devotional wants supplied. "With the heart we believe unto righteousness ;" but this is not all, nor sufficient : "with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." The people have not, according to this principle, performed their duties as worshippers, when they have been unresistingly, passively present at the public worship : they must worship in spirit and in truth, themselves. Nor is it enough that they have faith in their hearts to some extent, they are to possess it to that extent, at which it passes over into confession : they are to be full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, that from the fulness of the heart the mouth may speak. The Creed must not be said by proxy, with no participation on the believers' part, any more than we must believe by proxy. It is the people's concern as well as the ministers. Our Church has it in the shape of a hymn, that the people may say it or sing it. But the prayers and thanksgivings for bounties and blessings are just as little exclusively ministerial business. The word of God, sounding from the holy place in the people's ears, is not mere sound, according to the Lutheran faith ; nor is it mere history to be remembered ; it is fact and deed, made not only ideally present by the memory and imagination, but really, through the Almighty's almighty word. This must be received, and the effect of reception is thanksgiving, expressed, not permitted to pass in silence. So in the communion. All are to participate in the sacramental, without any *opus operatum* notions, and thus all are to be qualified for participation in the sacrificial. Every part of the latter, every offering made by the people's minister, must have the people's sanction, if it be merely by a simple "Amen ;" just as every offering brought to them by God's minister, must have its reception expressed, if it were merely in a brief "Gloria." But all this would occasion unspeakable confusion and disorder in the public worship, unless there were established forms of response for the laity ; and thus the whole would become an abomination to the object of worship, who is a God of order, not of confusion. Not every man could be allowed to say what seemed right in his own eyes, in season and out of season : there must be fixed liturgical forms, which should be the right and proper expression of right and proper emotions. And thus again the purpose of instruction will be subserved by the variety necessary to adapt the forms to the day

and its proper lessons, as well as by the confinement of the devotional feelings within their proper limits. That which is generally considered an objection to a Liturgy casts its weight thus decidedly in its favor. Without forms there can be no utterance. It is important that the emotions should be right, originating not in the old, but in the new heart. We want internal states as produced by the Holy Spirit, in word and sacrament, through faith. These must have their appropriate forms of expression. When these are once found they are found for all and forever. Those who do not find them satisfactory must learn to find them so. The right form will rebuke their wrong spirit, and serve to guide them aright. Let the same spirit be in all, and there will be unanimity in the response in the same words; and these words, in turn, will be a standing sermon of instruction concerning the right faith and feeling.

But to prevent jarring and confusion in the public ministrations, it is just as requisite to have forms for the ministry as for the laity, and to put the Liturgy into the hands of the one as of the other. The danger of mere formalism in this is not apparent. The right mind will delight to move within fixed limits, when these are sufficiently wide for all truly devotional purposes, and will love to express itself in fixed forms, when those forms are good and beautiful, as well as the appropriate utterance of the man in Christ. These are things to be considered in the formation of a Liturgy certainly; but they are no reasons against Liturgies altogether. And undevout men may also read forms in a perfunctory, formal way. But he who would use a prescribed form without the spirit, would unquestionably extemporize one without the right spirit also; for no one supposes that the Spirit comes by extemporizing, or that His coming is conditioned by the resolve to do so. And in case a spiritless prayer must be heard, which is the greater evil of the two? The extemporary prayer will necessarily be spiritless in form and contents, as well as in delivery; the prescribed one may be full of heavenly fire and emotion, in spite of the mumbled, heartless delivery. The one is cold and lifeless, in spite of the extemporizer's attempts to work up his feelings to some appearance of spiritual warmth, by dint of carnal enthusiasm—a form in which the devout cannot pray, and therefore, an impediment to prayer; the other is a form of sound words in which the people can give utterance to their desires, and to which they can give their "Amen" with all their heart and souls, notwithstanding the defect in its delivery. And if the minister is faithful, but unfortunately not just

in the right mood—which, however, rarely happens with him who humbly uses his form in his room before going to the Lord's house, on his way thither, in his vestry-room, and at the altar before opening public worship—where would he be more likely to catch the proper warmth than from the live, glowing coals of the old prayers, so full of quiet unction? Certainly not from any operation on his own cold, moody brain and heart by natural means, working himself into a perspiration and ending in a flash, at best, which leaves the darkness thicker and the cold intenser than ever.

Moreover, it is not with ecstasies that we have to deal in the sanctuary. The man who goes to worship in spirit and in truth takes the shoes from off his feet, for the place whereon he stands is felt to be holy ground. The prayers of the New Testament have a subduing, tranquilizing effect. They always soothe, never excite the passions. Springing from meek and quiet spirits, that have found rest for their souls in Christ and peace in believing, they suppress the tempestuous feelings within our bosoms and tame our wild excitement. This tendency to soothe and solemnize, rather than arouse in military style, is experienced by all earnest readers of Holy Scripture. Few fail to observe it and deem it holy when it is kept in view in the Church's Cultus. The Romish Church is generally felt to have approached nearer a right apprehension of Christianity, in this respect, than the churches that deal in passion's storm and tempest. Her's is the enthusiasm of art, which has caught the spirit of our religion; the other is the enthusiasm of wild, untamed nature, bringing its carnal zeal into the holy place. Who does not feel in the presence of Divine Majesty rather where art, in all its beautiful forms, calms and quiets, than where passion, in all its rude ebullitions, excites and arouses? The one awes, the other shocks the devout heart. Of course, the one is as exceptionable as the other, when substituted for the means of grace; but only the former harmonizes with true devotion; the latter has no right in the Lord's house under any circumstances, whereas, the former, as regenerate man has sensibilities still, which it is right and proper to exercise, is not only allowable, but highly desirable for its tranquilizing harmony with the Gospel. Christianity teaches us neither to shriek in pain nor shout in pleasure. To be with Jesus always — *in* Jesus ever the same in glory and in gloom, believing, confiding as a child, humbly and continually, whatever our temperament or condition; not hankering after the feeling of penitence and faith — its agony and its rapture—but the thing, leaving the effects to the Spi-

rit of God, who will make them what they ought to be ; not struggling ever to *feel* and *enjoy* His nearness, and to be in unutterable affliction when the fancy takes us that He is far off, but knowing from His word and believing Him nigh, in spite of the devil and our flesh attempts to drive us into despair, calmly trusting all the while — is this not Christianity? This equable frame, this abiding faith, in storm and sunshine, is expressed in the public worship. Let it not be said that we must pray just as we feel, and must therefore be without liturgical forms. Rather must we feel as we should pray, having forms uninfluenced by temperaments and moods, which shall direct us aright when we feel wrong. This is the only way in which all temperaments and moods, at any time present in the congregation, can unite in prayer. If the minister prays just as he feels, without any curb or check to his unsubdued mind — as they must desire, whom a good tranquil form will not suit — there will certainly always be some who cannot, and very probably never be many who can, follow him in all his spasmodic flights and tortuous windings ; and the danger is not small that in the expression : “we feel,” many an assertion devoid of strict truth will be borne to the heavens. Better, with calmness and evenness of mind, lay our petitions and praises before God, in sober, solemn words, according to a good form, which all can pray, without falling into any blustering excitement and irreverence.

The objections to extemporary public prayer are many and weighty, and few are the reasons to be presented in its favor, and weak withal. For the people, it is a form at all events, being not extemporized in their minds, and rarely is it a form at all comparable with those to be found in good Liturgies. There is no safe-guard, after all, against confused and confusing, stumbling and blundering, doctrinally false and morally unchristian prayers, but that of composing them at home, if they must be original ; and then what advantage have they which liturgical prayers have not? In this way abominable English, false thoughts and figures, bad Logic and Rhetoric, “diarrhoea of words and constipation of ideas,” irreverence and indecency, outbursts of carnal feeling and passion, historical, doctrinal and metaphysical declamation and argument thrust in to fill out the proper measure, unbecoming personalities and particularities, the unpleasant recurrence of pet phrases, dragged in by the hair to the disturbance of devotion—errors which, together with a host of others, are occurring constantly—may, indeed, be avoided ; but why not use an old form, “beautiful exceedingly,” and deep solemn and

impressive, which will be admired the more, the oftener it is heard, as most Christians must have observed in the case of the Lord's Prayer, whose beauty and power few appreciate who do not use it daily? Men of all denominations, who have known a good Liturgy and worshipped where it was used, have felt its calm, quiet force; and from more quarters than one the cry for a liturgical worship is becoming louder and more loud. We trust the Lutheran Church, which is originally and from principle, as we have seen, liturgical, will not bring up the rear in such a movement.

Whatever relation the past of our Church may sustain to the present in the minds of different persons, and whatever may be our views of the obligations thus imposed upon us with reference to the cultus, one thing is certain, that, as she has never become another church, she has never lost her original genius and spirit. The historical and sacramental principles which exerted so vast an influence upon her cultus originally, must be respected and exert their influence still, confining liberty within the bounds of principle. Her worship must not be mere pomp and gaudy show for the imagination; but just as little can it be a stark, naked, bloodless skeleton for the bare, heartless understanding. In her cultus, as everywhere else, she preserves her character for holding fast tenaciously the *via media* between extremes.

The forms, of which the worship is composed, must necessarily breathe the Church's spirit; and with regard to every part of the cultus, as well as with regard to it as a whole, her members have vigilance for the preservation of their purity made obligatory upon them. The command is given us to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." About this it becomes us to be very jealous; for "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." The consequences of a false doctrine are not to be estimated always by the eyes which see it introduced. They may show themselves in all their pernicious power of error fully developed, only many lustrums afterward, when the canker has already eaten too far about it to admit of easy and speedy cure. That there may be danger in the domain of the cultus admits, we presume, of no dispute.

The prayers, hymns, etc. of public worship exert a wider and deeper influence upon the people, than the symbolical books of the Church. They inculcate their spirit upon the mind and control the habits of thought and feeling. The same vigilant care which is confessedly requisite to preserve

the integrity and purity of the symbols, is proper also with reference to the cultus. What is acknowledged duty in the one case is duty also in the other; and so far as the retention and propagation of the truth is concerned the duty is the more stringent in the latter case, as its influence upon the mind and heart is greater. To convince us of the influence of a Liturgy in the preservation of a Church's proper life and spirit, in spite of surrounding changes, we need only point to the history of the Church of England, whose general Liturgy cannot be denied to have done much for making her and preserving her what she is. Principles are inculcated by the cultus rather than doctrines, by easy gradations; but from false principles the false doctrines will be developed, and that in trains. The Liturgy will have its force, as also the Hymn-book, in instilling the right spirit and principles, which will enable the laity to distinguish truth from falsehood immediately, however, ignorant in other respects.

Give us a Liturgy, then, with the old responses, and with prayers that are prayers, not idle declamation and battology. We want no outbursts of wild passion and excitement, no mad shrieks and shouts, of which, if they came before us in still and sober hours, we would be constrained to repent in sackcloth and ashes. We have no fears that forms will quench the Church's heavenly fire; we hope rather that they will tame all her carnal zeal and passion, and subdue all her merely natural excitement—will restrain the human and promote the divine within her borders. The heart is deceitful and desperately wicked; it may be trusted much too far at the Lord's altar, with the temptation besetting it to offer strange fire. Who, that has been doomed often to hear extemporary prayers offered by different persons, wise and weak, has not at least sometimes wished, for Zion's sake, while shuddering at the lawless liberties presumptuously taken with the King of kings, that the minister were guided in his devotions by a good form, instead of misguiding his people by a homemade, off-hand, bad one? Surely, if the people can be content to pray in the form, often sufficiently wretched, composed for them unpremeditatedly by the pastor, the latter may also learn to pray in a well-approved form of the Church, laying aside all desires to exhibit his piety and eloquence while addressing Jehovah. Prayers may then be had that are really edifying to the Church, breathing her spirit and communicating it to others, and a sweet-smelling savor to Him who heareth prayer. Devout men will then be sure, when with awe and reverence they enter the sanctuary, that they will not

be constrained to be mere idle spectators and hearers of a worship altogether foreign from their faith and feeling; and this worship, in turn, will contribute its share toward the preservation of that lowly, child-like spirit, which finds its proper utterance in the fixed liturgical forms.

We suppose that no one will be disposed to contend that our regular confession of faith must be governed by our ever-varying feelings, and, therefore, extemporaneous, however, much he might prefer the substitution of a self-made form for the Litany and Te Deum. As confession is an undisputed duty, not only once, but repeatedly and continually, a fixed form for this will not be considered formalism. In our latitudinarian age the only difficulty with many would be to concoct a form sufficiently wide to suit every man's "private judgment." The Lutheran Church had no such difficulty and has none now. With her respect for antiquity, as well as for the Providence of God in the Church's history, she never dreamed of asking whether the ancient creeds, brief and pithy, as required in the cultus, suited every body's fancy; but retained them, with the presumption that those who found them not adequate expressions of their faith would choose the better part by shaping their faith, which was *not* the Christian faith, according to the confession of God's people in all time rather than by shaping the Church's faith according to their whims. She desired not to stand aloof from the Church of Christ, whose confessions they were. She necessarily had respect for the Church and all that her Lord had done for her and through her. Nor was this at all inconsistent with her view of and reverence for the Bible. The latter was her rule and norm of faith and practice, by which all things were to be proved; but this left ample room for a traditional principle furnishing the things to be tested by the Bible, as the critical principle of faith and life. What was once the unanimous confession of the Church Catholic would not be otherwise to her than sacred. Whatever the Lord had since done, and may yet do, to deepen the Church's understanding of her possessions in its varied particulars, sure she was and is, that these possessions themselves are subject to no change; no development can abrogate or nullify them, how much soever it may expand. She wanted the very words in which millions who are members of the Church Triumphant delighted to give utterance to their heart's fulness; for they were a form of sound words, without all controversy; and the consciousness of a communion of saints, in time and in eternity, excited and nourished by confessing the Catholic faith, which is truth for time and eternity, was too pleasant

and important to her to admit of any indifference about the old form. Give us back, then, the adequate expression of our holy faith, as contained in the ancient Creeds, for liturgical use—confessions that have a cloud of witnesses in their favor in the New Jerusalem. How much of the infidelity to be found around us may be attributable to indifference concerning confessions generally, and to the absence, particularly, of a unanimous confession as part of our regular worship, we know not; but the question is worthy of being considered with earnestness and, so far as we may form an *a priori* judgment, with alarm.

There is a charm in poetry and music which renders the hymn no unimportant part of the Cultus. Art in this form has never met with the same opposition which obstructed it in sculpture and painting. Good poetry is allowed, and music is gaining ground even among old iconoclasts. The people love the sacred song. It is a joy to them in health and a comfort in sickness. No part of the cultus exerts a more marked influence upon their habits of thought and feeling. They imbibe the Church's spirit from it. The influence of secular song upon communities and nations is proverbial; the power of sacred song is just as great; poetry loses not its power when appropriated to holy purposes. Heretics knew and know its force, and used it for their own ends; so did the orthodox. False doctrines had not a little influence upon the development of hymnology, being disseminated in pleasant lyrics, and these challenged truth in the same and brighter forms. The purity of the hymns in use is essential to the purity of the Church in life and doctrine; false sentiments in forms of beauty are exceedingly pernicious. The consistancy of those who are very jealous for the confessional fidelity of the Church—for its old faith and symbols—and yet indifferent as to the character of the hymns put into the people's hands, is, therefore, not very obvious.

The hymnological part of the cultus may be considered the most difficult to supply in the English Lutheran Church. All who have directed the least attention to the subject have observed the scarcity of good hymns in this language. Few are the good English hymns of any character: a good Lutheran hymn is indeed, a rarity, as under the circumstances, all would suppose without much inquiry. The theory of Dr. Johnson, that the divine is no proper subject for lyric poetry, is put to shame by the rich hymnological literature of the German Lutheran Church. The cause lies not here. But the prevalence of the sacrificial element in the English churches

to the great neglect of the sacramental, has no doubt, something to do with this. The reformed churches, as distinguished from the Lutheran, have ever proved exceedingly barren in this domain when compared with the latter. The Lutheran Church has a very slender literature as yet in the English language, and it is therefore, not strange that she has no fair representation in Psalmody, which generally ripens not earliest. A good Lutheran Hymn-book, so far as we know, has never appeared in English; and, for the present, our hope must be to a great extent, in translations from the German. The attention, however, which the subject is exciting in various quarters, justifies our hope that a better day is about to dawn upon us. And with the blessing of Him, without whom we can do nothing, our Lord and our God, we may, ere long, have a "Lutheran Book of Worship," containing a "complete Liturgy" and "about one hundred hymns" that breathe the spirit of the Church, with all whose joys and sorrows we sympathize, because her faith is ours.

There is not much danger, in the present state of the Church, that the sermon will lose its place in the cultus. It has been attended to almost exclusively, whilst the other parts, equally essential, have been treated slightly. All art, in some protestant denominations, has been expended upon it, whilst all art was cried down in the rest of the Cultus; and in our country, we fear, the Lutheran Church has not been uninfluenced by the prevailing false public opinion in this respect. The sermon, of course, admits of the application of art, as well as the other parts of public worship. It admits of art precisely as part of the Cultus, which requires beautiful forms; but not otherwise. It receives not its power from human decoration and ornament or skill in arrangement: its power is the power of God's word. Not Logic and Rhetoric are the power of God unto salvation to all them that believe; but the Gospel of Christ in the service of which they are used. We fear there is something radically wrong where art is ruled out of the Cultus entirely, upon principle, save only so far as applicable to the sermon; it savors too much of the view according to which the effect of the sermon depends altogether upon the preacher's human skill: if art were considered merely a human concomitant, it would have its place as such in other parts of the cultus just as well. But also the concern for the confessional character of the Church has been directed with too much exclusiveness to the sermon. The obligation of our symbols has been considered mostly with an eye to this, without much attention to Liturgy and Hymn-book.

That the minister should explain and develop the faith of the Church, whose minister he is, in that Church's spirit, seems to us a position of plain morality, without any metaphysical subtleties; and hence it is not only right that he should be pledged to the symbolical books, but anything else must be wrong: he is pledged already by his call to be a Lutheran minister, and no Synod has any right to change or modify such call. But the sermon is not the whole cultus, and is, therefore, not all that requires vigilant fidelity. The Church's weal demands our care for the whole, and for every part of which the whole is composed.

The great falling off which is manifest in the sacrificial part of the cultus, stands in an undoubted relation to the falling off in the sacramental. The fact that we have little to give argues another painful fact, namely, that we have received little. Our worship is often a shame where it should be a glory. Alas! too many go only to "preaching" now-a-days; all the rest is tedious and tasteless. Even the immediate word and the sacraments—"what a weariness is it!" In this state of things it cannot be the divine word in the sermon that attracts — it is the human eloquence. Let the people be taught once more to pray, and receive the Lord's gifts with praise, taking an active part in all as worshippers in person, and then we may hope that the Lord will be worshipped once more in the beauty of holiness in our Church. Our sanctuaries will then be no longer filled with yawning, gaping crowds, who never seem to think that they have any duty or privilege in church beside that of hearing a speech. And then too we may hope that our mother will arise and put on her beautiful garments, and be a praise in the earth, while she prepares her millions for glory in heaven.

The Delegation of the Missouri Synod in Germany, being a Visit to that Country, in the Winter of 1851-52. (Continued.)

Translated from the German of Professor Walther, Editor of the "Lutheraner."

ON the next day we departed to Dresden where we had hoped to be able to hear Dr. Harless, the Court-preacher. Usually, however, he only preaches here every second Sunday, and to our regret we were here on the Sunday when there

was no service in the Church belonging to the Court. Yea, in the entire Capital with its many and in part gorgeous churches we could not on this day hear the pure word of God preached except in a small room in the Infirmary. Even here, when we first heard of it, it was too late. We were therefore compelled to content ourselves with a personal interview with the Rev. Court preacher, to which we had already been invited by him at Leipsig. This we did, and notwithstanding Dr. Harless is so much pressed with business, (as Court preacher, Vice President of the higher Consistory, Assistant Counsellor of the Ministry, or Religious Examiner and church Visitor) he devoted so much time to us daily during our sojourn in Dresden, that we were enabled not only to give him an outline of our doctrinal position, but were likewise permitted to converse fully with him in regard to those points which are now agitating the church. He heard our account with great interest, and expressed the most favorable hopes for our American Lutheran church, as well as for the church in general; he assured us also of his concurrence with us in the points of doctrine represented and held by us, and wished that a more active intercourse might in the future be kept up between the church on both sides of the ocean. In Dr. Harless we found a man whose entire appearance, as it filled us with heartfelt reverence, filled us also with entire and unreserved confidence. In him we found united with deep erudition, true christian simplicity; with a dexterity so necessary to his peculiar position, German plainness and true integrity; with great strength and energy, a remarkable mildness and patience, and what filled us with especial joy, a most unprejudiced esteem for all the *new* that is truly good, a most conscientious fidelity towards the *old*, yet *ever new* confessions of our church, and the most humble deference to our old Doctors. The assurance which had been given us elsewhere, was here confirmed, viz: that at present our American Lutheran church can have but little hopes for the sending to us from Germany of capable and faithful candidates of theology; inasmuch as not only the so-called church patrons, but also many of those in church authority, do not, as formerly, discourage true, faithful candidates, but rather seek them out, mourning over the lack of them. The Rev. Dr. Harless, in these matters, agreed with us in full, that the best means of aiding us would be to aid us in furthering and extending our own institutions at home, for the education and preparation of ministers for our church. With great interest he listened to the account of our Seminary, already established, and freely expressed his interest for our Concordia college.

Inasmuch as at present attention is awakened to the affairs of the church in America, throughout all Germany, and especially in Bavaria, Dr. Harless gave us, in the next place, a letter of introduction to her Majesty, *Queen Mary of Bavaria*, and to her Confessor, the Rev. Deacon Ritter Barger in Munich, so that through their influence a general church collection might be taken by us in the Lutheran church of Bavaria. Dr. Harless expressed the hope also, that after the Bavarian Lutheran church, we would visit the Saxon, where the affairs of the American Lutheran church were as yet but little known, but were somewhat spoken about. We spoke to him also about the written statement which our Synod was about to put forth, in reference to the church and the ministry; this met with his hearty approval. It pleased him to hear that this statement, while it would refrain from all personal attacks, and especially would have no polemical character, would yet present our doctrines plainly and truly, by the rich testimonies drawn from our symbols, and from the writings of our best Theologians. Dr. Harless assured us that this plan of defence taken by us, was altogether the best, and that we could not, by any means, suppose that doctrinal explanations, as we find them among our older Theologians, were as well understood by German Theologians as might be expected.

There were a number of Lutherans in Dresden, who had been former members of our church in this country, but had returned to Germany; pleasant as it was to see and speak with them again, even greater joy did it afford us, to receive from them a good confession of their faith. Here also I met with an old friend of my candidateship, candidate Rudel. He now officiates as chaplain to the Alms-house of Dresden. With him also, after a short conversation, we found ourselves entirely in union; formerly in the same errors in reference to Church and Ministry with ourselves he had also arrived at the same conclusions after a thorough and unprejudiced study of the Confessions of our Church and the writings of our older Theologians. The interview, though short, which we were permitted to enjoy with this distinguished, gifted, and well-informed man afforded us great encouragement and strength.

While we were here inquiring for Mr. Justus Naumann, the publisher, we learned to our surprise that Profs. Drs. Höfling, Thomasius, Hofmann and Delitzsch of Erlangen, Kahnis, Lindner, sen. and Lindner, jun., of Leipzig, and Krabbe and Baumgarten, of Rostock, had already in July, of the former year, caused to be sent forth to a great number of German publishing houses a circular requesting aid for our Seminary

in literary works. Among other things it spoke thus: "Dear Brethren: you are certainly not unacquainted with the ecclesiastical wants of our brethren who have gone to North America, and we the undersigned desire to express to you the conviction, that it is our duty to send to the Ev. Lutheran Church there the necessary means of self-preservation and self-extension in the midst of the crowd of other churches and sects, and to aid them in preserving with the confessions of the mother church also the German language, German customs, German learning, and above all, German theology. In the clear conviction of this, our holy duty towards the preachers and teachers of the Seminary at Fort Wayne, we should also look to an institution which has made it a special object to preserve *German church knowledge*. This is the college which was started in Perry County, Missouri, but has been transplanted to St. Louis. The two Presidents of the Missouri Synod, Rev. Wyneken and Rev. Walther, have undertaken an official journey to Germany, and will arrive some time during the month of August. And it is the earnest desire of the undersigned that it may be possible to send with them for the college at St. Louis, a considerable gift of books in the departments of theology, philology, &c. To obtain such a collection of books by the usual method, would require much money, and this is therefore impossible. We have, therefore, ourselves determined to go to the publishers with the request that they would make donations of their publications to our needy brethren in the faith in North America. The publishers, Dürfling and Franke, of Leipsig, are ready to take charge of such friendly donations, and the undersigned guarantee their exclusive application by them to the object indicated, &c. Upon our journey back through Leipsig, we had the pleasure of seeing that the request of the worthy brethren had been richly granted, even beyond expectation.

While pastor Wyneken now returned direct from Dresden to Leipsig, and there took the opportunity of speaking with Rev. Prof. Lindner Sen., (Prof. Bruno Lindner had gone away) I made an excursion by myself to Kleinhartmansdorff, where I desired to spend a few hours with my other living sister, and to Leülitz, near Wurtzen, where I met an old school and university friend, Rev. M. H. Hasse. In reference to the last mentioned person, while our intimate friendship, commenced in early youth in the same mutual deficiency in christian knowledge, had not been a little prejudiced by my having been permitted by God, already at the university, to

arrive at a confiding belief of our confessions, while my friend Hasse only acknowledged a general christian position, to my great joy he had not remained in the positions formerly taken by him; already the storms of these latter days, by which so many had found the foundation of their faith wavering, had been blessed by the Lord in him, so that he became duly sensible of the necessity of casting his anchor upon the rock of the church confessions. After another short and blessed delay in Leipsig, on my return through that place, I hastened on towards Bavaria, the true goal of our travels.

It was on Sunday, the 5th of October, when I at last (by way of Altenburg, Zwickau, Hof, Culmbach, Bamberg, and Erlangen) arrived at Nürnberg, and was again united with pastor Wyneken, who had hastened thither before me. In accordance with an invitation given us before, we took up our abode in the house of Mr. A. Volk, and met there with a hearty and friendly reception. Our stay at this house (whither we so often returned, and where we continually received new proofs of affection) will remain unforgotten while our life is spared us. Among other things, to our great comfort, we saw in Mr. Volk's large family a *liturgical family service*, conceived and carried out with true patriarchal dignity. Although we were very desirous now of proceeding on to the grand aim of our mission, which was so near at hand, we could not resist the earnest request of Mr. A. Volk to spend the next day also in Nürnberg. We employed the day in viewing this magnificent old town, with its unsurpassibly beautiful and venerable churches, and its thousand historical reminiscences. On this day also we became acquainted with Mr. Volk's son-in-law, Rev. Mr. Reuther, pastor of St. Sebaldus' church in Nürnberg. We soon found ourselves united to him in warm brotherly affection.

On the following day we went in a carriage, procured for us by Mr. Volk, in company with him, to Neuendettelsan, Southwest from Nürnberg about seven leagues, near the convent of Heilbronn, where pastor Löhe is at present performing the duties of his pastoral office. Inasmuch as the favorable or unfavorable result of this visit was of great consequence to our deepest convictions, with heavy hearts we entered the parsonage of Neuendettelsan. But the heartfelt manner, the open frankness and honesty with which pastor Löhe received us, soon drove away all sorrow from our hearts. It was not long before we found ourselves engaged in a lively and friendly conversation upon those doctrinal points in which a difference had been brought to light, between our Synod and pas

tor Löhe. As the present principal of the Preparatory Seminary at Nürnberg, for America, Rev. Catechet Bauer, was present with us (he had set out on the journey before us, and had announced our coming), he took part in our conversation. How much was accomplished towards the so much desired union, can best be seen by the reader from an article of pastor Löhe's, published in his and pastor Wucherer's paper in Nördlingen, entitled "Communications from and about North America." Although I communicate part of this at this time, I must premise that afterwards we were brought still more closely together than it then appeared, and than the article in question will indicate.

Pastor Löhe has devoted nearly the whole of one of the numbers of the paper (No. 10, of the year 1851), to an article entitled "In memory of the presence of the Rev. brethren Walther and Wyneken in Germany," over which also the heading was placed, "The visit of Messrs. Walther and Wyneken, the two Presidents of the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, to Germany," * * * * *

"We therefore make known the following conclusions in reference to our future dealings with the North American church, to which we had already come before the arrival of our American brethren. 1st. That if it be possible for us to labor in behalf of other portions of the American Lutheran church, we will continue to do so. 2d. We reserve to ourselves full freedom of action; but it is still our decided desire to act for other regions, with and through our brethren, in so far as they themselves desire it. 3d. We will especially, according to the best of our knowledge and ability, labor for the furtherance of the particular work of our brethren in their Synod.

We have not laid this article, before printing it, before our brethren from America, but hope that they will be able to see from the same, our sincere and honest purpose. Beloved brethren, for you and with you, we gladly labor; may Jesus and his spirit unite us forever! The Lord bless your outgoings and your incomings, now and evermore, ! Amen.

W. L."

NEUENDETTELSAN, Oct. 24, 1851.

Upon our arrival in Bavaria, we found church affairs to have taken a new turn. The higher consistory had just granted a

¹ Here follows a long extract from Dr. Löhe's article, which we do not here insert, as the substance of the article will be found in what has been said by the Editor of the "Lutheraner" himself. We give only the closing part of the extract.—T.B.

rescript upon the complaints presented by pastor Löhe, and others of like mind, in reference to the proper position of the Lutheran church in Bavaria. In this rescript it was declared that the fears of these persons were utterly groundless, assurance was given of the entire security of the Lutheran church of Bavaria, and remaining in the communion of the same was declared to be a conscientious duty. A general conference was needed. For this preparations were made for the 9th of October, and it was held in Schwabach. We also accepted, with great pleasure, pastor Löhe's invitation to be present. Its result has already been made known, yet it is proper that we again repeat the chief points. Those concerned presented to the higher Consistory a written declaration, which they also subscribed, to the effect that, awaiting a correction of abuses, upon the assurance of the Court Consistory, they would remain in union with the church of the country, but that they must now in writing, and hereafter by act, withdraw themselves entirely from that *mixed union in the Lord's Supper* (between the Lutheran and Reformed, or United). This step, the carrying out of a position taken by ourselves at home, naturally met with our hearty approval.—It was of great service to us to see here, all together, so great a number of those who compose the circle of Bavarian Lutheran ministers, among whom pastor Löhe moves. There were present, besides the gentleman just mentioned, pastors Wucherer, of Nördlingen, Stirner of Fürth, Fischer of Aufsess, Fischer of Artelshofen, Volk of Rühland, Rödel of Mengersdorf, Semm of Memmingen, Catechet Bauer (President of the Mission Institution) of Nürnberg, and Assessor Hommel from Erlangen. Although upon conversation with one and another of those here assembled, doctrinal differences came to light between us, yet we confess that the spirit exhibiting itself among these dear men soon won our whole soul towards them. We found here such an humble spirit, such candor, such purity, such earnestness, such joy in the faith, such courage and zeal to give up everything for the honor and word of God, and such unity as we had not yet found in even greater christian communities.¹

After the close of the conference, pastor Wyneken returned to Neuendettelsan, where he was to preach on Sunday, and I by Nürnberg (where I again remained over night at the house

¹ A circumstance which occurred at this meeting, was quite interesting to us Americans, viz : after the business had commenced, a soldier entered who showed the instructions given him by the government to watch over the proceedings.

of our beloved Mr. Volk), to Erlangen. Inasmuch, as before remarked, according to instruction of Synod, I had to prepare for publication in Germany, and in their name have published, a faithful, written statement of their position, which had hitherto been delayed through sickness, I determined to do this at Erlangen. I did this because I expected to be able here to obtain the necessary literary aids from the University library. I had thought indeed, that two weeks would have sufficed to get the work ready for the press, but through daily interruptions (which were brought about by invitations extended to us, and which were as friendly as they were honorable), our stay at Erlangen was extended to a month (pastor Wyneken had come to Erlangen shortly after me). I came there on the 18th of October. Among all the dear friends of my candidateship, I especially esteem Dr. Delitzsch, who having been called thither about a year before, from Rostock, was now engaged as a regular Professor of Theology. The joy of seeing him again, after so many years, rich with experience, was great.— Although in the meanwhile the unassuming youthful friend had become a learned, influential and eminent German Professor, yet was he the same humble minded man who was not ashamed to acknowledge the bond of union formed between us in our youth, and with a depth of love, I may say, only to be found in a Delitzsch. Through him I very soon became acquainted with his colleagues, from whom, as pastor Wyneken was already acquainted with most of them, we met with a hearty and most friendly reception, far beyond our own expectations. Here were the Professors and Doctors of Theology, Hofmann, Thomasius, Höfling and Schmid, also Professors Karl, and Rudolph von Raumer, and von Schaden of the Philosophical, and Prof. von Sebewerl, of the faculty of Law. It was favorable to us that this was now the time of their vacation, as these highly honored men were thus enabled to devote more time to us than they could otherwise have done. But few days passed in which we did not have an invitation to dine with some one or other of the Professors, and to take part in their conferences. It would lead us too far were we to attempt to particularize all matters of interest which happened to us there through our intercourse with these distinguished men, and to describe the advantages we gained therefrom. We found here the greatest interest for our American Lutheran church, and especially for our Theological Institution at St. Louis, for which further substantial aid was willingly promised us. Nevertheless, we were not able here to escape discussion also. With the exception of Prof. Delitzsch,

the Professors here assembled, in general agreed with the opinions in reference to the holy office of the ministry, which Dr. Höfling had uttered and maintained in his essays directed against pastor Löhe. According to his views, the ministerial office has not only (as our symbols declare) been given "*directly*" to the church, and has its root "*originally*" (*principaliter*) in her, but also, in so far as it is to be conferred upon particular persons, and is established in a congregation, and publicly exercised by a society, does *not* rest upon any especial divine requisition, nor upon any explicit command of the Lord, but results only from "*a social and moral necessity*," i. e. it has only entered into the life of the church, because otherwise the church could not remain as an organized society, and her objects as a body for gathering together, could not be attained. The most that Dr. Höfling hereby grants, is that the Lord has undoubtedly "*indicated*" his will that the church shall, in the manner that has ever been practised, carry out the command placed upon her, to administer the word and the sacraments. Nevertheless, he rejects every thing like a divine institution of the ministerial office by means of a direct divine command, as something which would give the office the character of a legal ceremonial arrangement, opposed to the most vital and fundamental principles of the Lutheran church. This view we were obliged decidedly to oppose, since our confessions in accordance with the holy scriptures, declare that, "we have a well established doctrine that the office of the ministry comes to us from the *common calling of the Apostles*" (Schmalk. Art. 1st Appendix, New York ed. page 318). Prof. Höfling, however, does not deny that the *Apostolic* office rests upon divine command and divine installation. It is also said, in the seventh article of the Apology, "The church has the command of God to appoint preachers and deacons." Accordingly, the church has not only the general divine command to bring into use the means of grace, but also the specific command to bring the *office* vested in herself into such a form that it may be exercised by persons regularly appointed, "preachers and deacons;" this divine office, in a narrow sense, the office of pastor or presbyter, is not only indirectly in *accordance* with the command which the church has received, but is also an unconditional divine ordinance and institution. We were here at last obliged to observe, that the views of the ministry held by Dr. Höfling, as it appears from his statements, stood upon the Socinian foundation which our church has time and again rejected. Not without alarm did we afterwards learn, in our correspondence, that the Lutheran Theologians

in the University at Dorpat, formerly so excellent, agreed throughout in this matter with the majority at Erlangen.

Another matter of disagreement, which detracted much from our enjoyment in the society of these distinguished men was, that they disapproved of the efforts of pastor Löhe for the reformation of the established church in Bavaria, and the Lutheran churches of the country generally, and refused to coöperate with them. As little as we could think of giving a definite opinion in all points of this matter, to which we were in a measure strangers, yet in the principal point, viz: the demanded abolition and renunciation, in word and deed, of the mixed participation of the Eucharist, we were obliged to give pastor Löhe right, because, in this point, it did not simply amount to a mere hearing patiently, of an accidental misunderstanding, but regarded an actual sin, a practice which not only disfigures the church, but which also affects the essence and stability of the church herself. We cannot, however, express our gratification sufficiently, that this great difference of opinion on this point, as well as on the former, did not, in the least, affect the friendliness with which the Professors had, from the first, received us.

In addition to what has been already mentioned, there were two other circumstances which, in an especial degree, rendered our stay in Erlangen pleasant. First, we could here associate with Mr. Hommel, Associate Judge, one of the most firm friends of pastor Löhe. True, our daily meetings brought out also, almost daily discussions in reference to the church, ministry, Antichrist, &c.; yet Assessor Hommel, with all the decision and energy by which he is characterized, is so exceedingly humble, with all his dialectic acuteness in disputation, so really honest and candid, and with all his seeming harshness, so inwardly a God-fearing christian, that throughout all our discussions, not even the shadow of *discord* appeared between us. Every day did this candid man become dearer and worthier in our eyes, and we hope in him to have left behind us in Germany, a warm personal friend, as well as a warm friend of our church. Mr. Hommel has lately published an excellent musical liturgy, and has dedicated it to his brethren in the faith in America. We propose noticing this in full in our next number, but we may here, in advance, call the attention of those brethren, who have perhaps long since felt the need of a complete musical liturgy, for minister, choir and congregation, to this work, with the assurance that they will herein find, together with advice for correct performance prefixed, all

that is necessary for the liturgical part of public, as also of private worship.

The other matter which so engaged, and rendered profitable our stay in Erlangen, was, that we here became acquainted with a large number of pious students, with whom we almost daily enjoyed an exceedingly pleasant intercourse. Here also (besides the other general christian society of the students of the so called "Uttenreuther") for a short time back, a society of students attached to the Lutheran confession has been in existence, under the name "Philadelphia," as a branch of the Leipsig "Philadelphia," suggested also by the one there. The members of this society, as there are as yet but few of them, eat at the same table, where we also were repeatedly present. We sought to make ourselves as useful as possible to these zealous and hopeful young men, by giving to them what we even in our literary poverty had learned in America, our praise of the writings of our older Theologians, calling their attention to the treasures which there, under a less showy form indeed, lie concealed—treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and experience, which would be sought for in vain in the writings of our later Theologians. While we showed them that it was proper, and a duty for them to become acquainted with the productions of our later Theologians, and that it would be foolish to deny that their works added much to our growing and progressive theology, we also assured them that now, when there was such commotion in the sphere of theology, and scarcely any where a full perception of the truth, it was especially necessary that they should first become acquainted with, and hold fast what our pious, faithful and true Fathers have already built up in their difficult and mighty contests with error. Luther naturally is the first, in whose spirit stirring, life breathing writings, we pointed out to these young students heavenly wisdom. Luther, in whom, as Dr. Rudelbach so beautifully expresses it, "is found the sanctuary for the development of Evangelical doctrines." Judging from verbal and written testimony, this, our witness for the truth, has not been without rich fruits. May the Lord bring them to maturity, and fulfil richly and abundantly, the hopes and prayers which a few of these students thus express, in a letter since written to us. "Should the Lord, in mercy, bring to maturity the fruits of the hours we were permitted to spend in your society, our future labors in the church of Christ shall date from the blessings of these hours. Pray for us, that we may in future be faithful stewards over the mysteries of God. '*Ubi ecclesia ibi patria*,' is the motto of yours, bound to you by the bonds

of a common faith," &c. We cannot forbear here imparting the names of these young men. They are as follows: P. Kellner, candidate for the ministry of Schwirz, in Prussian Silesia, F. Pöhlmann, candidate for theology, of Lorenzreuth in Oberfranken, in Bavaria; Mr. Frommel, student of theology, of Carlsruhe, in Baden; A. Wagner, student of theology, of Dresden, in Saxony; J. Niemach, student of theology, of Kirchwaren, near Hanover; E. Kollmann, student of law, of Grüssom, in Mecklenberg Schwerin, and Th. Merz, student of theology, of Greiz, in Reuss. They also expressed the desire, in an animating, brotherly letter, which they sent with us for the students of Concordia Seminary, to establish a spiritual intercourse between the students on this side, and those on that side of the ocean. Supposing that the contents of this letter will not be uninteresting to most of our readers, we here insert it:

"Dear Brethren:—Grace be with you from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. The church of one faith, upon one Lord, impels us to declare our love for you, although we do not *know* you, even as we love Him, although we have not seen him. Yea, truly are we rejoiced to hear that you stand upon the same foundation with us, and are running towards the same goal. We therefore reach out to you our heart and hand, not for the purpose of founding, but for the purpose of strengthening a union which we have not now first to establish, but which God the Lord himself, has sealed and strengthened. We are members of the same body, children of the same Lord, sons of the same mother, stand upon the same confession of faith, the three oecumenical symbols, and the uncorrupted concordia of our Evangelical Lutheran church; have one aim, to labor with body and mind for Him who was crucified, to prepare ourselves for one calling, and in Christ's stead to beseech, "*Be ye reconciled to God.*" Your fathers in the Lord have earnestly sought, and truly accomplished this union of friendship with our fathers. We will consider sacred the inheritance of our fathers, and defend the same against the Devil and the world, by the truth which through Christ, by the aid of the Spirit, appears to be life itself. Brethren, the enemy of Christ, the Devil, and his host of followers, are raising their hellish darts against the poor, distressed, and small company of the children of God, more than ever in these latter days. Brethren, this murderer from the beginning, shall fail in his attempts to destroy the pure truth of our Lutheran confessions, and with the watchword "*not on earth but*

under Heaven," we will fight and endure, until we also, out of undeserved mercy, shall be removed from every earthly conflict, to the church triumphant. For this conflict we will join hands, united upon the ground of one confession, united especially through mutual intercessions. We send you the mutual regulations existing between us and the Leipsig Society; see whether you can use any or all of them, and so may God bless you in your studies, that you may become qualified to battle for our Lutheran church, with the full armor of Lutheran combatants. Retain in your hearts, a place especially for our Lutheran church in Germany. Prove your acknowledgment of her, in earnest supplication that she may more and more know and confirm the treasures inherited from the toil and struggles of our father Luther. So greet we you with a holy kiss, and commend you and us to our beloved Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. He will fully prepare, strengthen, and comfort us all, and to Him be honor and thanks now and evermore—Amen.

"The Philadelphia Evangelical Lutheran Society of Students at Erlangen."

Who that loves our church, and our old Fatherland, can read this without heartfelt emotions of joy? As such language is uttered by the young men of Germany preparing for the service of the church, and that too, as we well know, coming from the depths of the heart, we can fondly trust that light in our old home will not be entirely extinguished, but that the Lord determines in mercy to build up there more firmly this beloved Zion. So then, beloved readers, who bear in your souls a desire for the welfare of the church, when you approach a throne of grace, remember these youth in your supplications, who for Christ have enlisted in the fierce struggles of these last troublesome times, holding forth the spotless banner of the word.

We must, however, proceed. Our stay at Erlangen was lengthened, from this cause also, among others, viz: we received many pressing invitations during this time, to visit other places, which we could not refuse. In the first place, the faithful ministers of Nürnberg, viz: pastors Pürkhauer, Reuther, Vorbrugg, Heller, Steger, Friedlein, Merkel, Detzel and Rödel, invited us to come among them, with whom, at different times, we found other ministers also, from the surrounding country. We were called upon anew to give an account of our church relations in this country, a service which we gladly and willingly performed. In our conversations, as was natural, we had to notice the difficulty existing between ourselves

and the Bavarian Central Missionary Society, whose executive committee have their seat in Nürnberg. This society, founded by, and depending upon Government, had originally a very undecided character, as it had been collected together out of many heterogeneous elements. We learned, however, with great joy, that the necessary steps were being taken to place it upon a pure church basis. Yea, that this has already been done, and it is even now ready to take that higher stand, lacking only an expected official approbation and ratification. Yet the more we rejoiced at finding such a numerous circle of faithful servants in the Lutheran church, so much the more regret did it occasion us, to learn that no inward agreement existed between these men and pastor Löhe; that they could not sanction in full, the late steps which he had taken for the reformation of the Bavarian church, although with him, they confessed that the *common participation* in the Lord's Supper, and the united practice in general, which had here and there crept in so completely, should be abolished. They were, however, entirely of the opinion that, as so many evils have been gradually removed, partly by the return of a pure faith, and partly by the action of the superior church authorities, no one should, by too rapid strides, interrupt the quiet and natural development thus commenced. Pastor Wyneken was desired to preach once in Nürnberg, which he did willingly. I must not omit to mention, that from many families in Nürnberg, we received proofs of very marked affection, especially in those of Messrs. Zeltner, Fabricius, Dr. Beck and Fleischman. We expect to refer hereafter, more fully to Rev. Catechet Bauer.

A second place whence we received repeated invitations to visit, was Fürth, where we met with a most friendly and brotherly reception in the house of the truly excellent pastor Stirner, who, with Catechet Bauer, is the co-publisher of the "Correspondens-Blatt" of the society of Home Missions by the Lutheran church. With him we spent many pleasant hours. While here also, we took opportunity to call upon the other faithful ministers of that place, pastors Kranszold and Lehmus, who likewise received us with marked brotherly affection. At the invitation of pastor Stirner, I here presented a confession of our faith before a large and attentive audience.

We have already stated, that when speaking of the great necessity of extending our Theological Institution at St. Louis, Dr. Harless had kindly furnished us with letters of introduction to her Majesty, Queen Mary of Bavaria, and her confessor, the Rev. Dekan Ritter Burger, in Munich, so that thro'

permission of the ecclesiastical authorities, by which alone it could be done, we might take up a general church collection for that purpose in Bavaria. Although we had not expected such aid, yet when offered, we did not feel at liberty to refuse it. We spoke of the matter also with pastor Löhe, the Professors at Erlangen, and the ministers at Nürnberg and Fürth, and they all advised us to follow out the plan proposed. The last mentioned, indeed, promised themselves many good results from the intercourse of the representatives of our church with those of the Bavarian Lutheran church. Professor Dr. Thomasius also furnished us with a letter of introduction to Dr. Boeckh, Counsellor of the upper Consistory of Munich. We accordingly, on the 10th of November, went to Munich by way of Nördlingen, Donauworth, and Augsburg. On the following day we paid our first visit to the Rev. Dekan Burger, made known to him the object of our coming, and presented to him the letters of introduction received in Dresden. He very obligingly offered his coöperation, and invited us to dine with him on the next day. He declared himself the more willing to furnish us with pecuniary assistance, that we might have no need to call away faithful candidates from Bavaria for the service of the American Lutheran church. He lamented the great lack of such, and gave us this information among other things; that at the last examination at Anspach, in which he assisted, *eleven* of the students, if I remember correctly, were rejected in their application for the candidateship in theology, because they could not pass examination. Truly a sad evidence this, of the baneful influence of the political commotions of late years, upon the studies of the young Academicians. But, on the other hand, it furnishes conclusive evidence that there are yet many in the church in Germany, who, notwithstanding the pressing want for faithful candidates, will not entrust negligent *so called students* with the ministry at the conclusion of their course, nor indeed follow the bad plan *sometimes* pursued in this country, of entrusting *licensure* upon a hazardous trial, to any not well proved. True, the Rev. Dekan Burger is the pastor of the "Protestant" congregation of Munich, and is not yet able to demand of every member of his congregation a positive statement that by his entrance into the congregation, and participation in the holy Lord's Supper, he declares himself free from the faith of every other church organization, and comes over to the communion of the Lutheran church; nevertheless, we were rejoiced to know that he acknowledges the distinguishing doctrines of our church as they are, in reference to the real presence of Christ's

body and blood in the Lord's Supper, in opposition to the Reformed doctrine, the power of holy baptism to work regeneration, and the like. The Rev. Dekan is also of those who regard all their hearers according to this confession, as Lutherans, and who discourage those who through fear will not acknowledge it. From Rev. Burger's we proceeded to Dr. Boeckh, where we presented the letter of introduction given us by Dr. Thomasius. We are free to say that the acquaintance which we have formed with this elevated man, will ever be an exceedingly agreeable and precious remembrance. He met us at once with such a lively interest, that we found no difficulty in freely speaking out our minds to him. He gave us to understand too, that the faith of the Symbolical books was his faith, and when we had explained to him the position taken by the body represented by us, he expressed himself exceedingly gratified. He not only immediately promised us his entire influence for the attainment of our object, but did not conceal from us his conviction that he viewed the development of the truly believing Lutheran church in America with hope as great as the anxiety with which he scanned the future of the Lutheran church in Germany; and that therefore he eagerly embraced the opportunity of forming a union with us. While in other parts of Germany we found in so many *no anxiety* in regard to the Revolutionary spirit yet slumbering under the ashes, and full of foreboding and destined in time to spread itself abroad, but rather a trust (to us inexplicable) in the present state of things, in the Rev. Dekan Burger, and in the worthy Counsellor of the Consistory, we found a clear insight into the unsound state of political as well as churchly relations. As we were about to leave the Counsellor, he communicated to us confidentially, that the Court Consistory, in which hitherto he had interceded for pastor Löhe, had thought it necessary, from the late positions taken by pastor Löhe and other likeminded ministers, in reference to the *mixed communion*, to order a rescript, in which the alternative was placed upon them either to submit themselves to the State church without conditions, in the assurance that the upper Consistory would rectify all improprieties entering into the church, or to lay down their ministerial office. This information, after the statements of the Counsellor of the Consistory in relation to his church views, was so entirely unexpected and disheartening, that we took hasty leave, in order to consider maturely before God what course it would be necessary for us to pursue under the change of circumstances brought about by the information. We saw the danger in which we were of violating

our consciences. Nor did we here require long deliberation. Our conclusion was soon reached, and it was this; that we would recall the request for aid which we had presented. We were very sorry that we had already delivered over to Rev. Dekan Burger, the petitions for aid furnished us by Dr. Harless, which, with our letter of recommendation, he had promised to send to the Queen as soon as possible. We feared lest not entirely without blame to us, the Rev. Dekan would be in some way compromised by the interest manifested in our behalf. We accordingly sent him a note immediately, requesting him to delay the delivery of the letters directed to her Majesty the Queen. To Counsellor Boeckh we gave this further explanation: that the communication imparted to us by him had filled us with sorrow, and had thrown us into not a little perplexity; that we could not, without violating our conscience and christian sincerity, suffer the petitions held by him in our behalf, to be presented to the higher Consistory, inasmuch as we would have to appear there exactly as pastor Löhe, believing that the practice of admitting to our Sacraments members of the Reformed and United churches, without evidence of a thorough change to true Lutheranism, was opposed to the doctrines of our church, and that a Lutheran should, above all things, avoid and guard against every such practice. And should we yet go to the higher Consistory with our petitions for aid, we would subject ourselves to the appearance at least, of opposition to pastor Löhe and his sound Lutheran principles, &c. At the same time, we expressed ourselves ready and willing for a closer personal conversation on the subject.—Hereupon the Rev. Dekan Burger informed us by note, that he had, immediately after our deparure, sent off our letters by a royal attendant, who happened to come in, so that they might most speedily reach their high address. Counsellor Boeckh answered us with a friendly note, inviting us to call upon him again on the next day, the 12th of November. As it thus became necessary for us to spend a succession of hours in Munich, without doing anything in the scope of our mission, we improved them in taking a view of the treasures of art accumulated in this city, perhaps, in this respect, second to no other in Germany, more especially a few of the gorgeous new churches, the picture gallery and the statuary museum, to which some of the artists, nearly related to myself, furnished us entrance. I must confess that my soul was too much occupied by events just narrated, to enable me to relate to the reader anything of the extraordinary splendor which met my bodily vision.

In accordance with his invitation, we appeared at the board of the Rev. Dekan at noon next day, and heard here from him that the Queen had read the letter, and had returned it to him immediately, for his opinion upon it. We rejoiced exceedingly that the matter had gone no further, and besought the Rev. Dekan to forbear rendering the assistance so kindly proffered us, inasmuch as our consciences would not allow us to continue our petition. We could here, alas! only in general terms signify our position, as the information given us by Dr. Boeckh was yet confidential, and it was not at our option to make use of it or not. Upon taking friendly leave here, we made a second call upon Dr. Boeckh, who received us with as much, if not with more openness and frankness, than at the first. He told us that the frankness and readiness with which we had declared our position, had increased his love and trust toward us, and his willingness to aid us; that he himself agreed with us in our view of the mixed participation of the Eucharist, and that our only difference was in regard to the best means of getting rid of the impropriety. When we replied that from the statements made by him under other circumstances we should not hesitate to accept aid from him, but would now be compelled either to violate our sense of christian uprightness, or if we wished to preserve inviolate our christian candor with them, (as otherwise we could not do) to render the granting of our requests impossible; this excellent man assured us that he very well saw which was our safest course, i. e. to withdraw our request for aid until after the fuller development of this affair. To this he also added, that if it pleased God to bring it to a happy termination, we could renew our request from home by letter, assuring us that he would then promote our interests even as he would his own. Thus did we part from this lovely man with feelings of the deepest regard. At the same time, we could not but be touched with sorrow when we reviewed the difficult position in which he is placed, as a member of a board such as is the higher Protestant Consistory in the kingdom of Bavaria.— Plainly did it appear in all the transactions passing around us, how exceedingly dangerous the strife is, through which a Lutheran who would be faithful to his soul, must pass.¹

¹ Before we had returned from Germany, pastor Löhe and his friends had answered the alternative presented by the higher Consistory, by declaring that they could neither submit to the conditions connected with their remaining in the State church, nor of themselves resign their office. In a letter from pastor Löhe, of the 9th of March, received a short time since, he writes me that the matter stands as formerly, only that the Consistory, in a new rescript, had given the threat of suspension publicity. The great number of

On the same day we again left Munich ; with lighter purses indeed, but also with a light and free conscience, and this was to us, very naturally, much more pleasant than if the contrary had been the case. Of what gain would the aid of our Institutions and Synod with earthly means be, if it must be purchased by a concealment, or even denial of the truth ? As our journey back from Munich took us through Nördlingen, we could not forbear spending a few hours here where pastor J. F. Wucherer resides. He is known to us as the publisher of a popular introduction to the writings of the New Testament, which appeared in the year 1848, and as the co-publisher of the "Nördlinger Sountass blattes," now edited by pastor Müller, of Immelsdorf, in which last especially, he has in our opinion, given an example worthy of imitation, showing us how we should write for the *people* concerning spiritual and worldly subjects. He furnishes a like proof of this, his peculiar gift, in the annual Lutheran Almanac, published by him under the title "Freimund." And we do not say too much, when we confess that in this highly gifted, as well as firmly established servant of the Lord, we became acquainted with a true ornament of our Evangelical Lutheran church. We have met with but few men who united with such deep earnestness, such an attractive and trust-awakening candor, which, under the most discouraging ministerial experience, had not suffered detriment. Yea, the more intimately we became acquainted with him, the more cause did we see for the regret of those persons at Munich, who lament to see him among those who now, with such inexorable resolution, demand either the purification of the Bavarian Lutheran church from all its Unionistic, Reformed and Rationalistic leaven, or if this is not granted, will no longer remain in her communion.

While here, we could not permit the opportunity of seeing the well known antiquarian collection of theological works in

laity who presented the petition to the Consistory for full permission to withdraw and organize a Lutheran church, have been called before the Consistory, for the purpose of instructing them better; only the officers of the church being cited from Neuendettelsan. Pastor Löhe further writes, "with the exception of a single church Consistory, all have remained true." Professor Dr. Delitzsch has taken especial pains to invite the associates of pastor Löhe in furthering, in a spirit favorable, his efforts. "Professor Delitzsch," writes pastor Löhe, "has written pretty nearly right concerning union in the Lord's Supper." He adds in conclusion, the following : "Harless wrote to me soon after your departure, that he had read the proof-sheet of your written defence, and found it consistent with the symbols and the scriptures; but he remarks in a later letter, that he had heard from North America something "wonderful" in reference to your views." We can well believe that we have *friends* here who would with pleasure render us the *friendly* service of making known in Germany, many things "wonderful in our views."

the store of Mr. Beck, in Nördlingen, to pass by unimproved. We therefore sought it out, and with intense pleasure reviewed the full granaries of the olden Lutheran literature here laid up in store. We heard, at the same time, that Mr. Beck, so indefatigable in his line of business, has entered into so extensive business connections, that it would be difficult to find an old theological work which he would not be able, upon demand, soon to produce. We therefore call attention to this fact, among all the friends of such literature. It is, indeed, highly worthy of remark, and delightful, that the sale of good old substantial works, has never before reached its present extent. While not a few *elegantly bound* new books lie moulding in their cases, from all sides there come enquiries after the heavy old board-covered books: they are brought forth from out of their more than hundred years' dust and mould, proving ever, that within their rough shells costly pearls are found.— We beheld with real astonishment, how high in price old theological works had become, inasmuch as when we resided in Germany, they were bought almost as so much waste paper; but who will not heartily rejoice, if in this manner the pure word of God does become clear to men.¹ With the view of paying another visit to pastor Löhe, whom we had seen in the meanwhile at Nürnberg, we went, on the 13th of November, by railroad through Oettingen, to Gunzenhausen. Here, passing the night in a small inn, we met with a minister, probably from the surrounding country, who, according to all appearances, with good Bavarian beer, and tolerable suppers, passed his time, pleasantly removed from his ministerial and family concerns, in gossiping society. What faith the spiritual man held, we were unable to learn.

On the next day we went in a carriage to Neuendettelsan, distant about five hours travel from Gunzenhausen. Here, as the reader would naturally expect, we again had a lively interchange of thought in reference to the controverted points already spoken of. We cannot, indeed, conceal, that in doctrinal particulars this conversation, like the former, did not result in full agreement. It more especially appeared that a difference existed between us in reference to *ordination*, which could not, for the present, be overcome. While we maintained the doctrine that ordination, in its narrow sense,² was not

¹ We speak here of the price only as *high comparatively*. The books, considered in reference to their innate, *priceless* worth, are indeed very cheap.

² That ordination in the wider sense, viz: the order of the ministry itself, (in which Metonymic sense the Apology speaks of the laying on of hands)

a divine institution (i. e. of divine appointment), and although salutary and worthy of honor, was only an apostolical ordinance of the church, for the public and solemn confirmation of the ministerial call, by prayer and the laying on of hands; pastor Löhe, on the other hand, could not yield the point that ordination was not a divine ordinance, and *more* than a mere confirmation of the call to the ministry. We indeed, on our side, assured pastor Löhe that we considered the practice of ordination as highly good, and greatly reprobated the levity and frivolity of those who, although they have been able to apply for ordination, from some impure motive exercise the functions of the ministry without this solemn induction thereunto. We also freely granted that the prayer accompanying ordination, if it has been offered to God in faith, and grounded upon the many glorious promises of scripture pertaining to the ministerial office, will certainly not remain unanswered, but will, without fail, be crowned with the outpouring of all needed ministerial gifts. Pastor Löhe, on the other hand, gave it as his opinion, that all rights and privileges granted by Christ, do not necessarily belong to any particular class, but to the whole congregation of believers, the justified children of God. And finally, whilst we had to concede to pastor Löhe that some of the Theologians of our church, and some church regulations, hold language similar to his own in reference to ordination, he also granted to us that our most distinguished Theologians undoubtedly agreed with us, and adopted the views advanced by us on the controverted points. Thus we could not fail seeing that the impending differences would not, and could not, be any hindrance on either side, to prevent us from reaching out the brotherly hand, and pushing forward together the work of the Lord. We must also remark here, that although one in reading the writings of pastor Löhe, where he speaks of the church as she should be constituted, might be at a loss to determine whether doubtful opinions are not at the bottom of his system; still, were he to hear this excellent man himself, not only when in the sanctuary, with glowing eloquence he carries everything along before him, but also when in private conversation, he lays open the fountains of his soul, then will he learn to know better a man full of the most admirable earnestness, truth, mildness, humility and deference for each child of God, and for all good, whenever and wherever it may be found; then will all fears quickly vanish,

is of divine appointment, we would not only not deny, but also retain it as a jewel in our most holy faith.

and he will be compelled to say: here is no aspiration of priestly pride to be seen, here is that humility which forgets self, and thinks only of the church, "the noble maid" and her bridegroom, who bought her with his blood; here does the spirit of Christ reign; here beats a true Lutheran heart. And thus did we depart in joy, and with the firm conviction that it was not in the power of the Devil to cast anything between us and this dear instrument of God, to estrange us from each other, and to destroy the blessings of communion in faith and love.

On the 15th of November we returned to Nürnberg. As we had not before found time, especially on account of the work required to be finished at Erlangen, to examine more closely the Institution of Nürnberg, of so much interest to us, we did so at this time. This is the institution for the preparation of Missionaries, established there under the management of Catechet Frederick Bauer. When the Theological Seminary at Fort Wayne was established, in the year 1846, by funds furnished almost entirely by the love of the brethren in Germany, through the mediation of pastor Löhe, and by the entrance of those few students who had been sent here, a number of likeminded candidates of Theology, soon after founded a preparatory school for that Seminary, in Nürnberg, as it was foreseen that this Seminary would be obliged to supply itself for a long while almost entirely with pupils from the mother country. It thus happened that many young men presented themselves, whom it would have been hazardous to send over the sea untried. "The chief object, therefore, of the Institution," to use the language of the Superintendent, in one of his annual reports, "is to be to examine by instructing, and instruct by examining." It regards its object as fully attained, when the utmost possible conviction has been reached, that the tendency of faith, the character, the capacity for instruction, and ability to instruct, are possessed by a youth in such a degree as is needful to him in his future calling (Tim. 3: 1). But as this assurance can be arrived at only through protracted conversations and thorough instruction, especially in theological matters, whereby the amount of existing abilities may be measured;—this time of probation is employed as a time of instruction, so that a foundation is laid for the more important theological training, and training also in general knowledge, and aid and direction is given them for the practical duties of their future calling. The requisites for reception are, not only tolerable, but decidedly good talents, and especially such as are required in the holy calling of the min-

istry. Accuracy and versatility in verbal and written style of expression ; christian knowledge, matured in the school of experience, and sincere adherence to the Lutheran confessions ; true sincerity, with holiness of walk and life ; a good character and favorable recommendations. In addition also, good health, freedom from other obligations, permission of parents, &c., are required. In one respect the institution is an independent one, and in another it is united with "*the Society for Inner Missions in the Lutheran church*," founded in the year 1849. To this intent, therefore, the plan of instruction, the house and life regulations are all regulated by the Superintendent, and without a recommendation from him, none of the pupils can be sent forth. Unassuming in its origin, the institution has grown up with her North American twin sister with an inward growth towards perfection, or, as one of the reports says, "like unto a tree with a double root, one in the old home soil, the other on the opposite side of the ocean, the shade and fruit benefiting our spiritually destitute brethren in faith and lineage in North America." Up to the close of the year 1849 about forty-six students received instruction in this Institution, of whom eighteen have already been sent out to Fort Wayne. The Institution underwent a considerable change during the year last mentioned. The Rev. Catechet Bauer, who had before also performed duties as a teacher in the Agricultural and Artizan's school of Nürnberg, resigned his position there, to devote himself entirely to the interests of the Missionary Institution. He still occupies the same position as formerly, while there are united with him Candidate Moritz Gürsching, teacher in the Latin school at Nürnberg, as vice superintendent, and a large number of other faithful candidates and teachers residing in Nürnberg, as assistants, distinguished as well for their fidelity as for their ability. In delightful astonishment we saw how successful the Institution has been in every respect, and what a blessing it gave promise of being to our German brethren in America. With deep self abasement also, we viewed the love and affection which here is shown, in joyfully granting to their needy brethren, that which they themselves so often need ; if only they may supply the spiritual destitution of their countrymen, who, alas ! in but too many cases, do not even truly feel their destitution ! What a love, which, here unseen and unesteemed by the world, expects no thanks from the unknown recipients of its bounty, desires no other reward than to see at some future time, in the eternal world, some souls brought to a knowledge of salvation through the instrumentality of ministers educated by their liberality ; and

never grows weary in bestowing the most abundant offerings. The expenses of the Institution are necessarily considerable: but to the question, "have you ever been in want?" the answer from all the students was, "never." Among others, a number of ladies from Nürnberg, Fürth, Hersbruck, and other places, have sent in so much of the products of their own labor, for the students to be sent out, that within a short time back, the supply has exceeded the demand, and allowed a considerable portion to be sent to poor students in our college at St. Louis. We see here the blossoms and fruits of the first love, as spoken of by the apostle, in 2 Cor. 8: 1-4. *"Moreover brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed upon the churches of Macedonia; How that in a great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For to their power (I bear record), yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves; Praying us with much entreaty that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowship of the ministering to the saints."*

Besides the institution itself, an intimate acquaintance with the Rev. Catechet Bauer, as also with the other teachers of the institution, made our long stay in Nürnberg very pleasant and profitable. Well grounded in Theology, possessing a comprehensive knowledge¹ of things in general, and a remarkable connoisseur in musical liturgy, the Rev. Catechet Bauer unites with good powers of teaching and communicating, the fullest and most self-denying devotion to his difficult calling. May God long uphold this zealous and gifted workman in his church, and grant rich blessings upon his untiring efforts. It afforded us also not a little joy to become acquainted with a numerous circle of believing christians here in Nürnberg, who stand in close union with the Rev. Catechet Bauer, and regard him with great affection, as their fraternal friend. These, almost all of them old and ardent friends of the American church, desired me, some evening, to give them as complete a representation as possible, of the position of our church in this country. This I did as well as I was able in my unprepared state, before a very attentive audience, which was so large that a tolerably spacious room in the institution, together with the hall, were well filled by them.

¹ The "Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik," German grammar, published by Mr. Bauer, is proof of his remarkable and extensive acquaintance with the German language; in which the most important results of the recent thorough researches in the history of language, as for example those of Grimm and others, are made use of as the common property of our schools.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTES ON PROPHECY.

*Notes on the kingdom referred to in verse seventh of Daniel,
seventh chapter.*

By Rev. J. Oswald, A. M., York, Pa.

IV. WE have heretofore had occasion to observe, that the prophet, in his vision by night, saw four great beasts, "diverse" one from the other, rise successively, representing four successive universal monarchies. The first three had *each* something monstrous connected with it, and yet, each found a representative in nature. But the fourth was left nameless; this the prophet only described, v. 7.

What, it may be asked, is intended by the symbol employed in this passage? We answer, a government or state, as in the preceding instances. The particular government or state intended, or signified, is the Roman; not of modern times, but of antiquity. That the Roman government is intended, is evident from the fact, that *this*, and no other universal monarchy succeeded the Macedonian, on the one hand, and on the other, the description of it, given by the prophet, is applicable to this government precisely, and only. The prophet calls it "a fourth beast." The three preceding, were the lion, the bear and the leopard, each representing a state, viz: the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian and the Macedonian. The Roman power was the *fourth*, of which this beast was doubtless emblematic. Again, Daniel describes it as "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly;" indicative of fortitude, hardihood and force, in all which particulars, the Roman State was, perhaps, never equalled, certainly, I apprehend, never excelled. Once more, the prophet declared that this beast "had great iron teeth," and that "it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it." Rome reduced Macedonia into a Roman province about B. C. 168; the kingdom of Pergamos about B. C. 133. Syria was reduced by the Romans 65, and Egypt about B. C. 30. But besides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it subdued many other provinces and kingdoms, so that the "fourth beast" or kingdom, indeed devoured the whole earth, trod down and brake in pieces, and became in effect what Roman writers delighted to

call it, "the empire of the whole world." This beast was moreover "diverse from all the beasts that were before it." The Roman State was governed in another manner, in a manner different from those which preceded it, and by other maxims. Its form of government was different, and different too, at successive periods of its history. It was regal, and it was consular. It was governed by decemvirs and by military tribunes. It was a kingdom, a republic, a dictatorship, and an empire. Again, the religion was different. The state religion of the preceding monarchies was pagan, and so of this, from the founding of the city, B. C. 748, until the reign of Constantine the great, A. D., 315, i. e. during the period of 1063 years, but *then*, the standard of the cross was erected throughout the empire, and the christian banner streamed from Cæsar's palace. The religion of the State was henceforward christian. The Roman empire was diverse from all that preceded it, in greatness and in power, in duration and in extent of dominion. It differed also, in locality. Though the Romans subdued countries, states and kingdoms in the *east*, which successively belonged to Babylon, Medo-Persia and Macedonia, yet their empire (the body, head and horns of the beast) was in the *west*. Finally, "it had ten horns," i. e. "ten kings," (v. 24) or kingdoms, existing not consecutively, but contemporaneously. These "ten horns" or kingdoms were the Ostrogoths in Mesia, A. D. 377. The Visigoths in Pannonia, A. D. 378. The Sueves and Alans in Gasgoine and Spain, A. D. 407. The Vandals in Africa, A. D. 407. The Franks in France, A. D. 407. The Burgundians in Burgundy, A. D. 407. The Heruli and Turingi in Italy, A. D. 476. The Saxons and Angles in Britain, A. D. 476. The Huns in Hungary, about A. D. 356. The Lombards first upon the Danube, and afterwards in Italy, A. D. 483. Thus we have additional proof, that the government or State intended in the passage under consideration, was the Roman, for this was thus divided, as here symbolized, into ten kingdoms. True, in the progress of time, there were occasionally, in respect to these kingdoms, changes in localities, in names, and in number, yet were they still known as the ten kingdoms of the western empire, on the one hand, and on the other, these occurrences and changes of after times, need not obscure our subject, for, guided by prophecy, we *know* that the ten kingdoms intended, were the *first ten before* "there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots."

All the four beasts symbolized in this chapter, are yet in existence. The nations of Chaldea, and Assyria are still the first. Those of Media and Persia the second. Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt the third, and the nations of western Europe the fourth. The dominion of the first three has been taken away, but not so the fourth, which in its last phase, still exerts a wide-spread and powerful influence, in almost every land, not excepting free protestant England, and still freer protestant America.

Most interesting and incalculably important facts for the church and the world, transpired under this government, in its pagan phase. The succession of those great monarchies; which we have been considering, lead gradually to that fullness of time; that maturity of the divine counsel which suited the introduction of christianity. They arose one after another; enlarging one upon the other, until by the permission of heaven, Rome triumphed over, and swallowed up all others, and expanded, opened, united and consolidated that wide extended, well informed and civilized empire, through which the gospel of Christ was destined to make a progress so rapid, and wonderfully successful. "To prepare the way of the Lord, throne was shaken after throne, and empire swallowed up empire;" Alexander ran eastward with his all-conquering arms; Cæsar westward, and Augustus having given peace to a troubled, agitated world, shut the bloody portal of Janus.

1. In the former days of this "fourth beast," i. e. under pagan Rome, Christ was born; "the first among many brethren;" "the heir of all things;" "the prince of the kings of the earth." "Toward this eventful hour time, from the first dawn of light, began to flow in one rising, swelling tide, here it came to its fullness, and hence it began to bend its awful course to lose itself in eternity again." In the advent of this wonderful personage, "all the children of men who lived before, or who arose after it, have a serious, an everlasting concern. Is it any wonder, then, that by so many signs in heaven, and signs on earth, that by the tongues of prophets, the decrees of princes, the revolution of empires, the descent of angels, the finger of God should have pointed it out to mankind?" The angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin, of the house of David indeed, but indigent in circumstances, announcing to her that she should be the mother of Jesus, who should be great, and called the Son of the Highest, and to whom the Lord God would give the throne of his father David; that he should reign over the house of Jacob forever, and that of his kingdom

there should be no end. Mary having gone up from Galilee, into Judea, unto Bethlehem, the city of David, in consequence of, and in obedience to the decree of Cæsar Augustus, for all the world to be taxed, there, in a stable gave birth to Him, who from, or out of the manger, ruled the worlds, and who, though in his mother's arms, filled heaven and earth with his presence.

2. Under this government also, life and immortality were brought to light by Him, the great Teacher, whose advent we have noted. He fully and clearly proclaimed the great doctrines concerning a future state: such as the separate existence of the soul, after the dissolution of the body; the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust; the last judgment; the destruction of the finally impenitent, and the eternal blessedness of the children of God. Concerning some of these great and most interesting subjects, the nations formed lame conjectures only, and of others, they literally knew nothing at all. The scriptures of the Old Testament, even, though really, in substance, containing these doctrines, yet gave of them but a twilight view. Christ, and Christ alone, clearly exhibited, demonstrated or proved them. For a *certain* knowledge of things beyond the boundaries of time, and the grave, the world is indebted to Jesus Christ. He spake as no man ever spake, his enemies being witnesses. He taught as none other could teach. His words were light, effectually dispelling all darkness, or ignorance and blindness of mind; giving assurance that all those who believe on him shall never die; that all those whom faith and affection make one with himself, shall live forever. He was a greater than Jonah, a greater than Moses, a wiser than Solomon. The wisest of men was only as a teacher, a great querist, a teacher of negatives. Jesus could tell what things were. Solomon shook his head, and told what happiness is not: Jesus opened his lips, and enunciated what it is. Solomon said, "knowledge is vanity; power is vanity; mirth is vanity; man and all his pursuits are perfect vanity." Jesus said, "humility is blessedness; meekness is blessedness; purity of heart is blessedness; God is blessed for evermore, and most blessed is the creature that is likest God; holiness is happiness." "We labor and find no rest," said Solomon. Jesus answered, "Come unto me all ye that labor, and I will give you rest." "All is vanity," sighed the preacher. "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me ye shall have peace," replied the Savior. "What is truth?" asks Ecclesiastes. "I am the truth," returns the Di-

vine Evangelist. Solomon was tall enough to scan most of earth and see an expanse of sorrow ; the Son of Man knew all that is in heaven, and could tell of a comfortor who fills with peace unspeakable, the soul immersed in outward misery. Solomon could tell that the gate of bliss is closed against human effort. Jesus has the key of David, and opens what Adam shut ; and into the Father's propitious presence he undertakes to usher all who come through him. Solomon composed earth's epitaph, and on the tomb of the species wrote, All is Vanity. Accustomed to date mens' history from their death, Jesus substituted, All is Heaven or Hell."

3. In the time of this "fourth beast," or power, the Savior, Christ the Lord was crucified, and by *its* sanction and authority, for the sceptre had now departed from Judah, the supreme authority rested in the hands of the Romans. Roman sentinels were standing at every corner, and Roman tax-gatherers in every city, town and village. The glory in this respect had departed from the land of Israel. At the instigation of their wicked rulers, the populace might indeed cry, "away with this man," "crucify him, crucify him," but rulers and people might not put him to death, without the consent or permission of Pilate, the Roman procurator, which he finally gave, though not without extreme reluctance, and repeated protestations of the innocence of Jesus Christ. All this is remarkable, when we consider the unprincipled character of Pilate. But he was unquestionably influenced by the overruling providence of God, for though condemned and executed as a malefactor, it was the purpose of God to make the righteousness of Jesus clearly appear, by the fullest, the most authentic, and the most public evidence. (a) By the testimony of his judges, Pilate and Herod. After an examination of the evidence, Pilate said "to the chief priests, and to the people, I find no fault in this man," and again, "when he had called together the chief priests, and the rulers, and the people," he "said unto them, ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people ; and, behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him ; no nor yet Herod : for I sent you to him ; and lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. And he said unto them the third time," when the people were clamorous for his death, "why ? what evil hath he done ? I have found no cause of death in him." Luke 23. (b) By the message of the procurator's wife, delivered to him on the tribunal. "When he was set down on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, have nothing to do with that just man : for

I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him." Matt. 27: 19. (c) By the testimony of the traitor Judas. "Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself; and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned, in that I have betrayed innocent blood," and in despair for his enormous crime he hanged himself.—Matt. 27. (d) By the testimony of the centurion, and those that were with him watching Jesus, at the crucifixion. When they "the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, truly this was the Son of God." Matt. 27: 54. (e) By the testimony of the penitent and believing malefactor, who was crucified with him. "And one of the malefactors which were hanged, railed on him, saying, if thou be Christ, save thyself and us. But the other answering, rebuked him, saying, dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly: for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss." Luke 23: 39, 40, 41. Perfectly innocent as he was, the Jews denied the holy One and the Just, and being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, they took, and by wicked hands crucified and slew the Prince of life. But the just in suffering and dying, suffered and died for the unjust. He bare the sins of many. Our iniquities were laid on him. He was made to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. And now, to transgressors are offered white robes and a golden harp; apostates are invited to the fellowship of angels, and as many as believe on Jesus, will be gathered into the heavenly Zion, be citizens of the New Jerusalem, whose streets are gold, whose gates are pearls, in the midst of which is the throne of God and the Lamb, from whence proceeds and flows forever, the river of life and of pleasures, the full fountain of which is Jehovah himself; "an ocean which Gabriel's line cannot fathom, and athwart which the Archangel's wing cannot traverse."

4. Jesus having dismissed his spirit, Joseph of Arimathea, a rich man, and a disciple, begged his body of Pilate, wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out of the rock, and rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre. At the solicitation of the chief priests and the Pharisees, a band of the followers of the Roman eagles was detailed as a watch at the grave. But the conquerors of the world shook and became as dead men, for fear of the angel who descended from heaven, and rolled back the

stone from the mouth of the sepulchre, when He who is the resurrection and the life, triumphantly arose from the dead, on the morning of the third day. After this he showed himself alive to his disciples, by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. Then he was taken up; clouds were *his* chariot, who in the days of his humiliation rode but *once*, and then on a borrowed colt, when the whole multitude of the disciples rejoiced, and praised God with a loud voice, for all the mighty works they had seen;—"Saying, blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest." Luke 19. After his ascension, his disciples, as directed, returned to Jerusalem, and there abode until the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost was poured out upon them, and they began to preach Jesus—repentance, and remission of sin through his blood, and men from all parts of the *Roman* world, heard them speak in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God. Thousands believed and were baptized, and the first christian congregation was formed, at Jerusalem, where this beginning was to have been made, and from whence the light of the glorious gospel was first to shine and spread; fill Palestine; the Roman empire; the world.—Finally, the New Testament church was established in the days of this "fourth beast;" the promise of Jehovah to Abraham, began now, (that most of the nations of the known world, were subdued, and held together in one, by this "dreadful and terrible," and exceedingly strong power) to be signally fulfilled, "and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Gen. 12: 3.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.—*Hengstenberg* is just bringing out a commentary upon the "*Song of Solomon*," which he regards as an allegorical poem.—*Delitzsch's* "*Commentary on Genesis*" has also made its appearance, and is thus noticed by the "*Litterar. Centralblatt*." Although the writer maintains views very different from most of his modern predecessors, we have no doubt that he will be read with satisfaction, even by those who oppose him; the work is one of the most genial and profound that has appeared for the last ten years in the department of Old Testament Exegesis." His theory of the author-

ship of Genesis is this: "It is, in all probability, of Mosaic origin, though not written by Moses himself, but brought into its present form by two men animated by his spirit, one an Elohist priest, contemporary with Moses, the other a Jehovistic prophet, of the time of Joshua, part of it being written from oral traditions. The historical contents are indubitable, being derived from the national traditions of the chosen people themselves." "In his exposition, he has constant reference to the gospel plan of salvation, of which Genesis presents the first period, and which finds its completion when the prophecies of the Apocalypse are fulfilled, and God holds personal intercourse with the renovated race of man in the New Jerusalem." It is published by Dörffling and Francke, under the title of "*Die Genesis*." Caspari has also published his "*Commentary upon Micha*" (Ueber Micha den Morasthiten u. seine prophetische Schrift. 2 Theile. gr. 8. 2 Thl. 16 Ngr.) of which several specimens have appeared in the "Zeits. f. Luth. Kirche u. Theologie," from which we receive a very favorable impression as to the character of the work. Dörffling and Francke have also announced that they have in press the "*Prophecies and Lamentations of Jeremiah*," by W. Neumann (Jeremias von Anathoth. Die Weissagungen u. Klagelieder des Propheten nach dem masorethischen Texte ausgelegt von Wilh. Neumann) 2 vols. gr. 8. Prof. M. Baumgarten, of Rostock, has published the first and second parts of his work on "*The Acts of the Apostles*," under the title, "Die Apostelgeschichte, oder der Entwicklungsgang der Kirche von Jerusalem bis Rom. Ein biblisch-historisch. Versuch." Part I: From Jerusalem to Antioch. Part II: From Antioch to Corinth. Ewald has completed his "*History of the Israelitish People until Christ*." It is in three vols. gr. 8. and costs 7 Thlr. 15 Ngr. Dr. Noack, of Giessen, (author of "Der Genius des Christenthums oder Christus in der Weltgeschichte") has just published a new work under the title of "Die Prinzipien der evangelischen Geschichte u. die Aufgabe der speculativen Theologie," 58 s. gr. 8. Dr. H. W. Thiersch has published the first volume of his "*History of the Christian Church in Ancient Times*," (Die Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Alterthum." This part contains "The Church in the Apostolic age, and the origin of the New Testament writings." This work will be read with great interest, notwithstanding its distinguished author's lamentable hallucination in regard to Irvingism.

The third No. of the "Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie u. Kirche," for the year 1852, contains the following discussions: 1) A. S. Rudelbach, Staatskirchentum u. Religionsfreiheit (concluded.) 2) H. E. F. Guericke, Versöhnliches über brennende Kirchenfragen der Zeit, 1 Art. 3) C. P. Caspari, Wer sind die Vollstrecker des Strafgerichts über Juda u. Jerusalem in B. Micha? 4) J. Diehl, Eine kurze Beleuchtung der Frage, ob der gegenn. s. g. geistliche Stand ein christlicher sei. Of these, Dr. Guericke's article has already excited great attention in various quarters. Although he has not yet developed his ideas to any great extent, it is evident that he designs taking a much more friendly position towards the Prussian Union than he has hitherto occupied. The way is now fully opened for this, by the principles laid down in the Royal Prussian ordinance, of the 6th of March, 1852, by which the policy hitherto pursued is essentially modified, the right of the

Lutheran church to retain its distinctive character and proper confessions, once more fully accorded, as is also shown by the practical application of these principles, in the action of the Prussian Oberconsistorium, on the 14th of July last. The former declares that the Union was not intended to promote a transition from one confession to another, and still less to form a third different from either, but is to be interpreted "*in the sense and spirit of fidelity to the confessions*" of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. By the latter, the Oberconsistorium, which had the management of religious affairs generally, was divided into three sections, the first, composed of seven members, professing their attachment to the confessions of the Lutheran church, the second of three members of the Reformed church, and the third of one member (Dr. Nitzsch) who represents the Union, properly so called, that is, a church based upon the confessions of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, in so far as they agree with each other. It was, at the same time, decided that none but those members professing attachment to it, can act in cases where the doctrines of either confession are concerned. Thus is the Lutheran church not only tolerated, but also reinstated in its ancient rights in Prussia. The arrangement certainly strikes us as being quite as fair and liberal as could be expected, where the union of church and state is established, and we are not, therefore, surprised that Dr. Guericke should give in his adhesion to the union, under these circumstances.

The fourth No. of the "*Zeitschrift*" contains the following articles: 1) *W. F. Besser*, Johannesche Studien. 2) *H. Gademan*, Johannes der Täufer. 3) *T. F. Karrer*, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche des Fürstenthums Oeltingen. 4) *K. Ströbel*, die Evangelische Kirchenz. 1852. Both numbers, of course, contain their usual variety of bibliographical notices.

The fourth No. of the "*Studien u. Kritiken*" has the following "Essays:" 1) *Dörtenbach*, die Methode Dogmengeschichte. 2) *Staib*, die Schöpfungsthat u. das Ebenbild. "Thoughts and Remarks:" 1) *Ullmann*, das Reformatorische u. Speculative in der Denkweise des Verfassers der "*Deutschen Theologie*." 2) *Koester*, wie verhält sich in der H. Schrift die Offenbarung Gottes zu der freien Gottesthätigkeit der heiligen Schriftsteller?

Reviews.—1) *Delitzsch*, das Hohelied; res. von Umbreit. 2) *Ritschl*, die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche; res. von Redepfennig. 3) *Jacobi*, Naturleben u. Geistesleben; res. von Wächtler.

Ecclesiastical.—*Süskind*, Beleuchtung der neuerdings erhobenen Reclamation der Privatbeichte vor d. Abendmahl.

The *Zeitschrift* for Luth, Theol. and Church (No. IV., for 1852, p. 702) speaks very favorably of an irregular sort of periodical edited at Strassburg, by Profs. *Reuss* and *Cunitz*, under the title of "*Beiträge zu den theologischen Wissenschaften, in Verbind. mit der Theol. Ges. zu Strassburg,*" &c., giving it an intermediate rank between *Ullmann's Studien* and the *Jahrbücher* of *Baur* and *Zeller*, as in many respects equal, and in others superior to either of these well established periodicals. The same journal also praises *Henke* and *Lindenkohl's* edition of *Abelard's* celebrated work, which they have now, for the first time, given complete, under the title of "*Petri Abelardi Sic et Non*." Marburg, 1851; pp. XVI and 444; large 4 to; price 2 Thlr. *Neumann* gives a very favorable notice of the first No. of a new lex-

icon of the Hebrew and Chaldee, which Dr. Julius Fürst has commenced to edit, under the title "Hebräisches u. Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, von Dr. Julius Fürst." Erste Lieferung. Leipzig (B. Tauchnitz jr.) 176 p. 8. 22½ Ngr. The same reviewer has a very severe notice of *Hitzig's* "Commentary on Daniel." Ströbel has a very favorable notice of *Dr. Kliefoth's*; and Guericke a similar one of *Dr. Ebrard's* recent work on Romanism. The former appears under the title, "Wider Rom! Ein Zeugniss in Predigten gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth," &c. Schwerin (Stiller). 1852. pp. X and 104. 8. The latter, "Wo ist Babel? Sendschreiben an Ida, Gräfin Hahn Hahn." Leipzig. 1852, 51 pp. 6 Ngr. Neumann notices very favorably *Henstenberg's* *Kirchenzeitung* for 1851, from which we may perhaps infer the approximation of the two parties heretofore represented by the "Kirchenzeitung" and "Zeitschrift;" doubtless a very desirable consummation.

SCANDINAVIA.—Iceland has just lost one of her greatest scholars, *Dr. Egilsson*, who had lived to finish his great work, the Dictionary of the Old Norse poetic dialect. The Royal Society of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, is preparing to publish this, as another of their valuable contributions to Scandinavian philology. The same Society is about publishing a second volume of their "Russian and Oriental Antiquities," derived from Scandinavian historical monuments; also, a second volume of the "Younger Edda," and the Icelandic text (with an English translation) of a history of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, from A. D. 865 to 1231.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Messrs. Bagster and Lous are preparing to publish a new edition of the Greek Testament, by *Dr. Toegelles*, who has been gathering his materials for this for many years past. The work is to be in quarto form, and Jerome's Latin version is to be printed on the same page with the Greek text, with the various readings at the bottom of the page. *Drs. Riddle and Freund* are preparing a Latin-English Lexicon on the basis of *Dr. Andrew's* translation of *Freund's* Latin-German Lexicon, published in the United States. It will, of course, contain all the improvements of the second edition of his work, which *Dr. Freund* is now publishing in Germany. *Professor Ferrier*, of St. Andrew's College, (Glasgow) has just brought out a new work in Metaphysics, "*The Theory of Knowing and Being*," in regard to which anticipations are very favorable, as his articles upon these subjects, published from time to time in *Blackwood's Magazine*, are distinguished for their brilliancy. *Dr. Gideon A. Mantell*, the well known writer of various Geological works, especially the "Medals of Creation," "Wonders of Geology," "Thoughts on a Pebble," &c., &c., died very suddenly on the 10th of November, 1852. *Dr. Chas. Richardson* has been favored with a pension of \$250 per annum, "in consideration of his services in compiling his Dictionary of the English language." *Layard's* new volume entitled "Babylon and Ninevah," is published simultaneously in London and New York.

AMERICA (U. S.)—The American Oriental Society held its semi-annual meeting in New Haven, on the 13th and 14th of October. Fourteen articles were presented, some of which are upon topics of considerable interest. The Society has correspondents in Persia, Syria, Hindostan, Asam, Burma, China, Southern Africa, Germany, &c., &c. *Scribner*, of New York, has pub-

lished a work which appears anonymously, but is generally attributed to Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, D. D., entitled "The Voices of Nature to the Soul of Man." Prof. S. H. Turner's "Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews," is published by Stanford and Swords, New York. Carter and Bros. have brought out a translation of "Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse," in two volumes. J. Murphy of Baltimore, "Lectures on the Eucharist," by Cardinal Wiseman. M. W. Dodd, "Krummacher's Early days of Elisha." Gould and Lincoln (Boston) have in press, "The Preacher and the King, or Boardaloue in the court of Louis XIV, from the French of L. Bungener. With an Introduction by Rev. S. Potts, D. D." Robt. Carter and Bros., "D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation," vol. V. Also a reprint of Archbishop Whately's "Historic Doubts respecting Napoleon Bonaparte." By Leavitt and Allen, "Notes on Daniel, by Rev. A. Barnes." By C. Scribner, "Home life in Germany, &c., by C. L. Brace; Author of "Travels in Hungary." Also, "A History of the Translators of King James' Bible," by Rev. Dr. McClure. Frederika Bremer will shortly publish her new work, based upon her travels in the United States, under the title of "Homes in the New World." It will appear simultaneously in Sweden, London and New York. According to "Norton's Literary Gazette" for December, 1852, there were published in the United States, for the current year, over twelve hundred volumes, of which, about one-third were original works, the others reprints of British publications.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane, of Airthrey and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane. By Alexander Haldane, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. New York: Robt. Carter and Bros., 285 Broadway—1853.

THE name of Haldane has long been familiar to the christian public, and these memoirs of the lives of the two distinguished and excellent men who have made it most illustrious, will be welcomed in many a christian family. The two lives here exhibited are among the most striking monuments of the power of the gospel, with which the world has, in recent times, been favored. Various circumstances combine to invest them with an unusual interest. That the gospel ministry should receive accessions from the ranks of the rich and the noble of this world, is an event of rare occurrence; and to those who can judge only from external appearances, no two men would probably have seemed less likely, than the subjects of these memoirs, to enlist under the banner of the cross. Belonging by birth to the high aristocracy of their native land, nursed in the lap of affluence, and reared amidst the immunities

and pleasures of rank and opulence, Robert and James A. Haldane entered, at an early age, the service of their sovereign; having soon attained to brilliant distinction as naval officers, with a certain prospect of rapid promotion, they had before them what the world is wont to regard as a splendid career. But Providence had designed that, however distinguished, it should be far other than early appearances indicated. A faithful and pious mother had instructed them, at a tender age, in religious truth, and sought to enkindle in their hearts the love of the Savior. Amid the pursuits of public life, and the active duties of their profession of arms, the good seed thus early sown was, for years, prevented from germinating; but in the Lord's own time, the power of his word and grace appeared, and an entire change took place in the state and character of the young soldiers. Having become decided followers of Christ, they laid aside the trappings of war, and donned the armor of the Prince of Peace, wielding thenceforward no other sword than that of the Spirit, even the word of God. They became most laborious ministers of the gospel, devoting their lives and fortunes to the service of their Master, and cheerfully encountering for his sake, in consequence of this remarkable change, misrepresentation, reproach and contumely. Laboring indefatigably in season and out of season, they powerfully preached the word, to the blessing and edification of thousands; they originated, and with largest liberality sustained, various institutions and operations for the conversion of sinners, and the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom at home and abroad; infused anew, into rationalistic and torpid portions of the church, especially at Geneva, a truly evangelical spirit and the fervor of vital piety: in many able writings, lectures and familiar discourses, they expounded and enforced the doctrines of the gospel, promoted the diffusion of the Bible by their exertions and their wealth, vindicated its divine origin and authority against all aspersions and assaults, defended and maintained the purity of the scripture-canon and contributed, in many ways, by word and deed, to the advancement of the cause of truth and righteousness among men. The results of these two lives are beyond computation; and as they honored their Savior in life and in death, so will this memoir, now that they have gone to their reward, be subservient to the glory of his name. While with some of their theoretic opinions and doctrinal views we can, of course, have no sympathy, we profoundly admire and reverence, in their life and character, the beauty, excellence and dignity of the christian profession. These memoirs form a large Svo volume, and for all who love the truth and the cause of true religion, it possesses an absorbing interest, and we commend it to our readers as highly adapted to provoke unto love and good works.

The Private Life of Daniel Webster. By Charles Lanman. N. York: Harper and Brothers—1852.

THE writer of this volume was, for many years, the private secretary of the great statesman who has so recently gone to his rest. We suspect the greater part of it was ready for the press, even before that sad event occurred. We have little to say in commendation of the tone and style of the book: the former is that of a worshiper, to whom even the slight-

est motion of his idol is expressive of greatness: the latter is inaccurate and inelegant. But in spite of these blemishes, these memoirs of the great man at home cannot fail to be exceedingly attractive to the American public. They present many reminiscences of his boyhood, his college-days, his early legal career, his home-pursuits, and also of his public life, and they will be read by all with deep interest: they exhibit many amiable and engaging traits of character, which, though they may not increase our admiration of the great lawyer, senator and statesman, win for the man our respect and cordial esteem. The book will furnish a variety of interesting materials to Webster's future biographer.

Woman's Record; or, Sketches of all distinguished women, from the Beginning till A. D. 1850. Arranged in four Eras. With Selections from female writers of every age. By Sarah Josepha Hale, Editor of "The Lady's Book," author of "Traits of American Life," "Northwood," "The Vigil of Love," "The Ludge," etc., etc. Illustrated by 230 portraits, engraved on wood by Lossing and Barritt. New York: Harper and Bros—1853.

THIS is truly a most elegant volume; and when we say that it numbers over nine hundred pages, our readers may be able to form some idea of the amount of matter which it contains. It presents to us well written, spirited and interesting biographical sketches of two hundred and twenty-nine women, who have, from the days of our common mother Eve, distinguished themselves in any walk of life, and gives selections from the writings of those whose distinction has been acquired in the pursuits of literature. Upon the preparation of this volume the author has bestowed the unremitting labor of three years, and, beyond question, the work is one of great and permanent value, and calculated to awaken a deep interest in the community. The collection and arrangement of so vast an amount of materials, can have been accomplished only by great patience, persevering research, and indefatigable industry. Indeed, we regard the undertaking and the manner of its accomplishment as so highly meritorious, that we would fain bestow unqualified praise; but as this might be construed into an endorsement of all the opinions advanced in the volume, we must, to save our credit as a discriminating critic, record our most decided dissent from some views, that are put forth with no small degree of confidence, and unadvisedly assumed authority. Our distinguished author, then, is thoroughly possessed with the fixed idea, that woman is essentially and incomparably man's superior: as to the *quo modo* and the *qua ratione* of this distinction, although she probably intends to discriminate, her disquisitions are calculated to leave us floating in nubibus: at one time we are led to suppose that it is in the moral sentiments and powers only; while to man intellectual superiority is conceded; but scarcely have we laid this

flattering unction to our sorrowing soul, when even this remaining bit of comfort is snatched from us, and woman is placed before us as towering high above us poor male dwarfs, in power of mind and reason. Thus discourses our author, when, in her sketch of Eve, she gives an account and explanation of the fall: "Commentators have imputed weakness of mind to the woman, because the tempter assailed her. But does it not rather show she was the spiritual leader, the most difficult to be won, and the serpent knew if he could gain her the result was sure? Remember that her husband was "*with her*" [sic?]*—*the serpent addressed them both — '*Ye shall be as gods,*' &c. Now, is it not reasonable to suppose that the nature (the human pair was then one,) best qualified to judge of these high subjects, would respond? The decision was, apparently, left to her. The woman led; the man followed. Which showed the greatest spiritual power, the controlling energy of mind? In the act of disobedience the conduct of the woman displayed her superior nature. The arguments used by the tempter were addressed to the higher faculties of mind as her predominant feelings, namely, the desire for knowledge and wisdom. With her these arguments prevailed; while man, according to his own showing, had no higher motives than gratifying his sensuous inclinations; he ate, because his wife gave him the fruit. Precisely such conduct as we might expect from a lower nature towards a higher; compliance without reason, or from inferior considerations." Now, is not this too delicious? What profound philosophy! The lady ought to be made professor of hermeneutics at some theological Seminary. We greatly wonder whether she was wont to hold such high discourse to *her* husband, and if so, how he relished it. In this explanation she boldly takes for granted a good many points which still require proof, and which cannot be demonstrated.— However, we cannot pursue the subject here: but the manner in which she labors to establish and maintain her position, by an extended discussion of the fall, and by a learned treatise, in her general preface, on the 11th chap. of 1 Cor., in which the accumulated learning and wisdom of former commentators are scattered to the winds, and St. Paul is very ingeniously represented to mean the very reverse of what he says,— this performance, we say, is so exceedingly ludicrous, that we are strongly tempted to look upon it as a most elaborate joke. Apart, however, from this very singular and unintelligible affair, the volume before us claims our highest admiration: the biographical sketches of many women, less important and less known than their sisters, are mere paragraphs; but wherever it is necessary, they are as full and complete as we have any right to expect; and the selections from the writings of those who achieved any literary distinction, add greatly to the attractions, the interest and the value of the work. The portraits, apart from their personal interest, are important in that they represent to the eye

the costume, often very singular, of different ages and countries. In all its externals the volume is most elegantly got up; and while it cannot but have a deep interest for the men of America, to whom it is inscribed, to our fair countrywomen it will be a most welcome and valuable acquisition.

Select British Eloquence: embracing the best Speeches entire, of the most eminent Orators of Great Britain, for the last two centuries; with sketches of their Lives, an Estimate of their Genius, and notes, critical and explanatory. By Chauncey A. Goodrich, D. D., Professor in Yale College. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 329 and 331, Pearl Street, Franklin Square—1852.

It is not necessary to do much more than name this large and beautiful volume to our readers. A brief description will excite a general desire to possess it. It begins with Sir John Eliot, who was elected to the House of Commons at the commencement of the contest with Charles I, and gives his speech on the Petition of Right, and closes with Lord Brougham, whose five greatest efforts are given in full. There are no less than eighteen of the speeches of Lord Chatham, and six of those of Edmund Burke given entire, besides other productions of this extraordinary man. Numerous specimens of the eloquence of Lord Mansfield, Grattan, Sheridan, Fox, Wm. Pitt, Lord Erskine, Curran, Sir James Mackintosh, Canning, and six other eminently distinguished orators and statesmen, are here presented entire, as also the most striking of the letters of Junius, with a treatise, historical and critical, on these admirable productions. The biographical sketches have been prepared with great care and accuracy, and are highly interesting; the critical remarks upon the peculiar characteristics of each orator, are acute, discriminating, just, and in good taste; the marginal notes are apposite and valuable; indeed, they are indispensable to readers not intimately acquainted with events, affairs, and debates with which the speeches are connected. It must be obvious to every one, that a volume like this, containing entire the greatest efforts of the greatest orators of Great Britain for the last two centuries, as well as a large amount of important information relating to them, possesses a great and permanent value, especially in a country like ours.

The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution: or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics and Traditions of the War of Independence. By Benson J. Lossing. With several hundred Engravings on wood, by Lossing & Barritt, chiefly from original Sketches by the author. In two volumes, vol. II. New York: Harper and Brothers—1852.

THE second volume of this splendid and truly national work is now complete, and has just been received. On its character and value we have fully expatiated in our notice of the first volume. Both the conception and the execution of this work are admirable; and it is a matter of congratulation that it was undertaken by a gentleman every way so competent to the task, just in time, ere it would have been forever

too late. To the history of our Revolution, the work before us is precisely such a supplement as every lover of his country and its institutions would covet. The vast amount of information relative to interesting localities, battle fields, events and persons, which it contains, is the fruit of long and indefatigably laborious inquiry; the engravings, beautifully executed, are most valuable illustrations of the text: open the book wherever you please, and there is not a page that will not attract and lure the reader on, by the absorbing interest of the narrative, and by the delightful food everywhere presented to our insatiable curiosity relative to the men, the places, the occurrences and scenes, that make up the great historic picture of our Revolution. Tho externals of the work are exceedingly beautiful, and it will constitute a prominent and most valuable ornament of every American library.

American Missionary Memorial. Including Biographical and Historical Sketches. Edited by H. W. Pierson, A. M. With numerous Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers—1853.

THIS handsome volume contains a pretty full narrative of the "Origin of American Foreign Missions," by Rev. Dr. Worcester: a spirited account of the "Ordination of the First American Foreign Missionaries," by Rev. Dr. Smith; and memoirs of the lives of twenty-seven distinguished American foreign missionaries, male and female, written expressly for this work, at the editor's request, by eminent clergymen of different denominations. The illustrations are, with a few exceptions, portraits. The several articles, having been furnished by well informed and ready writers, deeply interested in the subject of missions, are written *con amore*, and in a tone of lively sympathy with the noble characters and self-denying labors of those christian men and women, who have so faithfully devoted themselves to the work of evangelizing the heathen, and they set before us a gallery of portraits, skilfully drawn and depicted with fresh warm colors, that will be regarded with great interest by the christian public in America. The work is a valuable contribution to the literature of christian missions.

Corneille and his Times. By M. Guizot. New York: Harper & Brothers—1852. *Shakspeare and his Times.* By M. Guizot. New York: Harper and Brothers—1852.

WE have associated these works together in one heading, because, proceeding from the same author, and written with substantially the same design in reference to the two great dramatic poets of France and England, they are very much alike in their general character. We confess to a high admiration both of the genius, and the character, public as well as private, of M. Guizot. No man can doubt his competency justly to appreciate the greatest dramatist of France, and probably no

Frenchman ever was so fully capable of doing justice to the greatest dramatic poet that ever lived. In each work a complete resumé and a searching dissection of the peculiar characteristics, political, social and literary, of the times in which Shakspeare and Corneille respectively appeared, are given, and in this connexion deeply interesting historical details are presented. Circumstances and causes that influenced the poetic spirit of these two periods, and contributed in forming, and bringing on the public stage, those two master-minds, are traced and analyzed with keen inspection and profound skill, and the poetic genius of each is projected, canvassed and estimated in a genial spirit, and with acute penetration. In the volume first named above, other celebrated Frenchmen, particularly the gifted but eccentric Paul Scarron, are in like manner introduced to our acquaintance, and their character and influence duly ventilated. Both works are replete with such facts as could be obtained relative to their respective subjects, and in the case of Corneille, much that is new is communicated; nothing new is added to the scanty particulars known of Shakspeare's life and fortunes.—Our author displays a just and genial appreciation of the two great poets whom he has undertaken to delineate, and in each case we have a great deal of enlightened, discriminating, generous and elegant criticism. The two works are worthy of M. Guizot's well earned fame, and will command the admiration of readers of discernment and taste.

Essays from the London Times. Second Series. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 200 Broadway—1852.

ANOTHER of the neat volumes of Appleton's Popular Library. The present volume contains fourteen essays, some on deeply interesting subjects, and all written with much ability. The last but one is a critique on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, unfavorable and very severe in its strictures. The sixth is a review of "*The Life of John Sterling*, by Thomas Carlyle," in which Carlyle receives a very severe but well deserved castigation for his unfair treatment of his subject, and his blasphemous infidelity is fully exposed, and commented upon with unsparing rigor. These select essays from the *London Times* have a permanent intrinsic value, and will be read with much interest.

Knick-knacks from an Editor's Table. By L. Gaylord Clark. N. York: D. Appleton and Company, 200 Broadway, and 16 Little Britain, London—1852.

THIS very pretty volume is a *mélange* of multifarious jottings, sad and gay, humorous and grave, witty and serious, by the editor of the *Knickerbocker Monthly Magazine*, selected from the numbers of many past years. The author concludes his preface with the following paragraph: "Of one thing at least the reader of this volume may be assured; and that is, abundant variety. There are sad thoughts and glad thoughts recorded in these pages; influenced by all seasons, and jotted down at all seasons; scenes and incidents in town and country, and all over the country; familiar 'home-views,'

anecdotes and 'stories' not a few ; many and multifarious matters, in fine, original or communicated, that have made the writer laugh ; and many, moreover, that have moistened his eyes, as he wrote and read and re-read them ; the whole forming a dish of desultory 'Gossip,' in which it is hoped that every body may find something that shall please, and no one any thing to offend him." It is an exceedingly entertaining book, containing very sober reflections on most serious subjects, and abounds in witty things and amusing anecdotes and scenes, which, if read after dinner, will serve to aid digestion.

Parisian Lights and French Principles, seen through American Spectacles. New York : Harper and Brothers—1852.

THIS is a very sensible book by a very soundly thinking and correctly feeling American, on the brilliant but desperately corrupt capital of France, its society, its sights, its manners and principles. Subjects that require careful and delicate handling, are unhesitatingly introduced, but they are viewed from the right stand-point, treated with becoming seriousness, exhibited with due reserve, commented upon with just severity, and set before us in such a light, as to make us rejoice that we are citizens of a country in which the conjugal relation is still held sacred, morality respected and cultivated, and religion revered. It contains many striking descriptions, much interesting information, and expresses very just opinions upon men, institutions and life in Paris. It is in the main a serious, throughout interesting, book, and calculated to instruct, to warn, and to benefit the inhabitants of our highly favored land.

The History of Romulus. By Jacob Abbott. With Engravings. New York : Harper and Brothers—1852.

THIS is another volume of Jacob Abbott's Historical Series, and possesses all the merits and attractions that characterize its numerous predecessors. This volume is got up in the same handsome style as the others, and the whole constitute an invaluable historical library, not for young persons only, but for general readers of any age.

Grammaire Anglaise d'après le Systeme d'Ollendorff, à l'Usage des Français : par Charles Badois. The Elementary Spanish Reader and Translator. By Miguel T. Tolon. Professor of Modern Languages and Spanish Literature. New York : D. Appleton and Company, 200 Broadway—MDCCCIII.

THE former of the two works here named is a very excellent grammar, on Ollendorff's inductive method, for the use of Frenchmen in the acquisition of a practical acquaintance with the English language. The second supplies a want which has long been felt by teachers of Spanish. The only suitable reader for students of this noble language has hitherto been "Fenelon's Compendio de las Vidas de los Filósofos." The volume before us consists of a copious series of progressive exercises, selected and arranged with great judgment and care. In the second part of the volume there is a complete vocabulary for each lesson. To those who desire to study the Spanish lan-

guage, we recommend this reader as, in every respect, adapted to their purpose.

Cornelius Nepos, with Notes, Historical and Explanatory. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, Rector of the Grammar School, etc. New York: Harper and Brothers—1853.

THIS edition of Nepos, in which the author's misstatements and inaccuracies are carefully corrected, possesses all the excellencies which distinguish Dr. Anthon's editions of the Greek and Roman Classics. The notes are, as usual, very full, and, as respects both history and philology, rich in valuable and necessary instruction. Nepos is a favorite text-book for schools, and it is therefore strange that no accurate edition with adequate English notes has ever yet appeared. The present edition by a scholar who has, in this country, no rival in this department of learning, leaves the instructor and the student nothing more to desire.

The life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by Robert Chambers. In four volumes. Vol. IV. New York: Harper and Brothers—1852.

WITH much pleasure we announce, that the fourth volume of this valuable and delightful work is, at last, published. We have already more than once enlarged on the superiority of this life of Burns over all others that have preceded it. Those who would fully appreciate Burns' genius, to which all render homage, and thoroughly understand his character and life, in which there is so much to deplore and condemn, will not fail to possess themselves of this complete and admirable work.

Elements of Geology. By Alonzo Gray, A. M., author of "Elements of Chemistry," and "Elements of Natural Philosophy," and C. B. Adams, A. M., Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Professor in Amherst College, and State Geologist of Vermont. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers—1853.

WE have examined this volume carefully, and to an extent sufficient to satisfy ourselves of its distinguished merits, not only as a class-book for schools, but as an admirable manual for general readers. Natural, and therefore philosophic in its arrangement, rich in the detail of facts, copious in illustration, simple and clear in statement, fair in the discussion of conflicting theories, and carefully discriminating in determining their respective claims, it presents a view of the science in its present state, sufficiently complete to prepare the student thoroughly for its more extended study, and its more minute investigations. It is not a dry and meagre sketch; but every subject is so fully exhibited, and so abundantly illustrated, as to excite at once, a lively interest, and to keep it alive throughout. The last two sections are devoted to, 1, Geology and Natural Theology: 2, Connection of Geology with Revelation. These are pervaded by a serious and devout spirit, by a profound reverence for the sacred volume, and the second of the two, while it commu-

nicates and examines other theories, presents in full and ventilates in extent, the only method of completely reconciling Geology with the Mosaic account of the creation. The difficulties of this question have often been needlessly exaggerated: the explanations here adopted, and long since accepted by the most enlightened minds, removes them all. We commend the volume to instructors and private students, as an excellent guide in the study of a most important and interesting science.

The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France. By Alphonse De La Martine. Author of "The History of the Girondists." Vol. III. New York: Harper and Brothers—1852.

THE third volume of this work, of which we have already spoken twice, is before us. In the opening book we have Napoleon's departure for St. Helena, and the volume concludes with his death, and a review of his reign. It bears all the prominent characteristics of its predecessors, and is deeply interesting. The author earnestly strives to be impartial, and probably is as much so as any Frenchman can be on his theme: his judgments are, on the whole, fair and just, and the volume is written with his wonted brilliancy, presenting large and liberal views, and exhibiting a broad, and vivid picture of the stirring times of the Restoration.

History of Europe from the fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1822. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. Author of the "History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution, in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo," etc., etc. Part I, new series. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 and 331, Pearl St., Franklin Square—1853.

THE first part of this work has been received so late, that we can barely announce it. Narrating the history of Europe for the last thirty-eight years, it possesses for those who have been contemporaries of the remarkable developments of that eventful period, a peculiar interest. Impartial, Alison is not, however strictly upright his intentions: but his great merits as a historian are well known, and his defects understood: to those who are acquainted with his former work, it is not necessary to commend the present: there is no history of Modern Europe to be compared, in comprehensiveness of plan, and general fidelity in details, with Alison's great work.

The Cyropædia of Xenophon, with notes for the use of Schools and Colleges. By J. J. Owen, D. D. Formerly Principal of the Cornelius Institute, and now Professor in the Free Academy in New York city. Third edition. New York: Leavitt & Co., 191 Broadway—1852. *The Anabasis of Xenophon, with notes for the use of Schools and Colleges.* By J. J. Owen, D. D. Eleventh edition.

PROFESSOR Owen's books are the most complete classical series for the study of the Greek language, to be found in any country, and wherever they have been examined with care, and free from prejudice, a favorable verdict has been given. We have, several times, taken occasion to commend Dr. Owen

as an editor, and we think we can with safety say, that he has by his seasonable and well directed efforts, rendered service to the cause of education, and advanced the interest of Classical learning in the United States. Of his abilities as a scholar, it seems superfluous to speak. His works have secured for him a high reputation. His acquaintance with classical literature is accurate and extensive. His faithful and learned labors are appreciated wherever they are known. We trust he may meet with the encouragement he so richly deserves, and be disposed to continue his efforts in the direction so successfully commenced.

Classical Series. Cornelii Nepotis Liber de excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium cum vitis Catonis et Attici. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea—1853.

WE have always had a predilection for Cornelius Nepos, as an elementary school book, although a different opinion has frequently prevailed, and we are really glad that it has been added to the admirable series of classical works, published by Blanchard and Lea. A classical series on the plan proposed, would be imperfect, which did not embrace an edition of Nepos. The notes are chiefly historical and grammatical, and are marked by the same excellencies which distinguish the other volumes of the series, and which have been favorably noticed in the pages of the Review. The publishers deserve our thanks for introducing to the American public this valuable series. They have our best wishes for their success in the effort to furnish the youth of our land with a cheap and attractive edition of some of the most prominent Roman authors.

Hand-Books of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. By Dyonysius Lardner, D. G. L. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea—1853.

DR. Lardner is so well known to the scientific world, that it seems unnecessary to say anything in praise of the work, whose title page has been given. The volume constitutes the second of the author's Hand-books on Natural Philosophy, embracing the discussion of the following subjects: *Heat, Magnetism, Common electricity, Voltaic electricity*; which it is proposed to succeed with another on *Astronomy and Meteorology*. The three volumes will form a valuable series on Natural Philosophy, adapted not only to the purposes of teaching, but also as a convenient manual to those, who may desire to obtain a general and profitable knowledge of the subjects presented.

Outlines of Astronomy. By Sir John T. W. Herschel, Bart, K. H., &c. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard—1852.

THIS edition is taken from the fourth London, and professes to bring the science of Astronomy down to its most recent state. Of the general character of this most excellent work, we can but repeat what we stated in Vol. I, pp. 447, 448. We are, however, disappointed in seeing in this edition, only a reprint of that of 1849.

The Character and Value of an Evangelical Ministry, and the duty of the Church in regard to it. By Rev. Simeon W. Harkey, D. D., Professor of Theology in Illinois State University. Published by T. Newton Kurtz.

WE hope that this appeal to our churches upon the subject of an enlightened and pious ministry, will be extensively circulated and read. The great want of our church is ministers well educated in the schools of literature, science and Theology, and full of the spirit of Christ. Read, ponder, act.

NOTICES of other books are omitted for want of room.

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